

Affect and Cognition in Attack Politics

by

Neal J. Roese

A thesis
presented to the University of Manitoba
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Psychology

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BY

NEAL J. ROESE

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

The effects of insulting political campaign rhetoric were assessed in a laboratory setting. In Experiment One, 166 subjects categorized as for (N=56), against (N=56), or undecided (N=54) about French language rights read a political debate transcript focusing on this issue in which one candidate insulted or did not insult the other candidate. Interpolated insults resulted in less favourable affective evaluations, but had little effect on competence or integrity judgments of the candidates. Affect was in turn far more predictive of vote intent than either competence or integrity judgments. The more popular candidate lost votes when he was the source but not when he was the target of insults; conversely, the less popular candidate gained votes when he was the target but not when he was the source of insults. Subjects' attitudes about French language rights also predicted their impressions of the candidates, but did not interact with the insult manipulation. Results suggest that backlash against a frontrunning attacker but not an underdog attacker is a likely effect of insulting rhetoric; results also confirm the primacy of affect in guiding voting. In Experiment Two, 121 subjects categorized as for (N=42), against (N=38), or undecided (N=41) about French language rights read debate

transcripts embedded with insults that implicitly attacked either controllable target attributes, uncontrollable target attributes, or that contained no attacks. Congruent with Weiner's (1986) attribution theory, controllability of insult was correlated with perceived fairness. The major findings of Experiment One were replicated, with the additional finding that insults directed at uncontrollable traits of the target were in the same direction as, but more extreme than, those effects noted for controllable-trait insults. Results are discussed in terms of political campaign tactics and the relation of affect and cognition to political person perception.

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Introduction

For the third time during the American vice presidential debate of 5 October 1988, Senator Dan Quayle was challenged by the panel to explain what he would do were he suddenly forced into the presidency. This time, he compared the duration of his senate experience to that of icon John F. Kennedy. His opponent retorted, "Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy" ("Transcript of the Vice Presidential Debate," 1988). The words issued smoothly and easily from the lips of Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the pain and humiliation of Dan Quayle hung dead in the air, sharp and severe, so foul one could not help but wince.

It was called the year of the negative campaign. Through 1988, national elections in Canada, Israel, and most notably, the United States, were bitter, caustic, and callous, dense with cutting personal attacks and at times descending to previously unthinkable depths of pettiness and inanity. In Canada, television advertisements replayed Liberal John Turner's debate attack on Conservative Brian Mulroney, "I happen to believe you've sold us out." Mulroney was not seen responding, only standing and listening and fuming angrily ("Turner, PM Turn Trade Deal Into Scrap Over Patriotism," 1988). A

commercial sponsored by Israel's Labour party depicted a man in a supermarket asked to list Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir's accomplishments; he could only stammer vacantly while a nearby woman giggled ("A Bitter Divorce," 1988). In the United States, eastern voters were mailed Republican party brochures asserting that "all the murderers and rapists and drug pushers vote for Michael Dukakis," ("Dukakis Makes Strong Response," 1988).

Despite the prevalence of attack politics, research examining its effects is meagre. The studies described here integrate three separate areas of political research: negative campaigning, affective/cognitive modes of social evaluation, and the influence of attitudes on social perception. In the first experiment, one component of negative campaigning, the rhetorical insult, was manipulated within a debate context and its effects on both affective and cognitive evaluations of political candidates were assessed. In the second experiment, the differential effects on affect and cognition of insults that suggest either controllable or uncontrollable attributions about the target were studied. In both experiments, the moderating influence of subjects' premeasured political attitudes was investigated.

Definition of Rhetorical Insult

Insults are viewed here not as an operationalization of negative campaigns, but as one specific aspect of them. In addition, discussion of them here is restricted to the domain of rhetorical confrontations, that is, written or oral discussions between two or more clearly identifiable participants, with "argumentation [as] the essential mode of action ..." (Burgess, 1973, p. 65). In this setting, insults are clearly attributable to one specific participant, called the source, and clearly directed toward another, called the target. As such, an insult is a personal attack made with the intent of damaging the target's image. By this definition, insults subsume the following characteristics:

Negative Information. An insult contains some information about the target that is undesirable or counternormative.

Emotionality. The insult is conveyed in a way that is highly emotional and inflammatory.

Personalism. A rhetorical insult is not directed at institutions or countries. Rather, it is directed specifically at one person, attacking some aspect of that target's character or competence.

Intentionality. Although many real life insults are simply unintentional slights, this analysis, by necessity

of the rhetorical setting, restricts itself to those insults that are deliberate acts.

Research on Attack Politics

Empirical documentation of the effects of negative campaigning is sparse, with a handful of studies using one of three approaches: surveys, field studies, or laboratory experiments.

When asked directly what they think of negative political advertising, voters almost always express disdain (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1989; Merritt, 1984; Stewart, 1975; Surlin & Gordon, 1977). The perceived truthfulness of a political attack often determines effectiveness (Garrazone, 1984). For example, negative advertising recalled by voters as untruthful tended to produce a backlash effect, that is, it engendered strongly negative feelings toward the source, but had little influence on impressions of the target. Advertising interpreted as more truthful, however, was effective in making impressions of the target more negative. Another frequent finding is that voters' partisan affiliations and attitudes predict their reaction to negative advertising. Merritt (1984), in a survey of California Congressional election voters, discovered that negative attacks were only effective in making target evaluations less favourable when voters already supported the source.

Backlash, on the other hand, was more likely when voters supported the target. Merritt (1984) also noted a clear tendency for attacks to engender more negative impressions of both the target and the source.

Several problems plague this sort of research, however. First, when asked directly to estimate the effects of a specific situation or stimulus on their behaviour, people are rarely able to give accurate information (Nisbett & Bellows, 1977). Sociopsychological research has demonstrated that people tend to underestimate situational effects on behaviour (e.g., Jones & Nisbett, 1971) and are frequently unaware of either the causes of their actions or the mechanisms of their thinking (e.g., Nisbett & Wilson, 1977; Wilson, 1985). Even if respondents are completely truthful, they may simply not know what is happening to them. Second, when asked straightforward survey questions, people often strive to present themselves as favourably as possible (e.g., Christensen, 1981). Self-presentational biases almost certainly taint responses to political questions, particularly those of a highly emotional nature. Perhaps most importantly, subjects in surveys (e.g., Garramone, 1984) are frequently asked to recall a television commercial in "which one candidate criticizes his opponent," and then requested to "think about one critical

commercial that stands out in your mind," (p. 252).

Subjects are therefore not responding to the same stimulus, but to any one of a vast field of dissimilar stimuli. Such a large source of uncontrolled variation in these data limits the strength of any conclusions drawn from them.

A clearer test of the effects of negative campaigning came during the 1980 United States Senate race, when the National Conservative Policy Advisory Council (NCPAC) attempted to evaluate the efficacy of their ongoing attack-advertisement programs (Robinson, 1981). In Missouri, Democrat Thomas Eagleton was running what appeared to be an easy re-election race against Republican Gene McNary. The NCPAC set up a field study in the town of Springfield, MI, hiring a private pollster to measure public opinion before and after pro-conservative television and radio blitzes. The advertisements were almost completely negative, featuring slogans such as, "The closer you look at Tom Eagleton's record, the less you like what you see," with the intent of painting Eagleton's record in the most unfavourable light.

In the space of only two weeks, Eagleton's lead was cut in half. On issues such as the economy, his approval rating dropped from 30% to 14%; on defense, it plunged from 42% to 10%. Although Eagleton eventually won the

election, statewide polls of his share of the decided vote found that his enormous lead of 65% in May had plummeted to 31% by June (Robinson, 1981).

Although this test had the makings of a fine field experiment, it lacked one crucial component: a control group. Without a comparison to another, similar town that was not exposed to a negative advertisement blitz, other explanations for Eagleton's drop in popularity cannot be ruled out. In fact, it is hardly uncommon for incumbents to begin a campaign with a wide margin of support, only to see it shift to a more moderate level after opponents have defined themselves. As impressive as these results seemed to NCPAC strategists, similar test programs in other states failed to yield such spectacular results. In six closely monitored Congressional races, only two were successful, and in many cases there was speculation that the attacks had motivated voting for the target.

Another field study run during a 1986 South Dakota Senate election indicated that inoculation messages (i.e., campaign statements refuting possible criticisms) mitigated the effects of subsequent attacks. The effect of the attacks themselves, however, remained unknown as they were not compared to a control condition (Pfau & Burgoon, 1988).

Although the effectiveness of negative campaigns was left unclear by these field assessments, Robinson (1981) suggested that attack commercials funded by political action committees such as the NCPAC work best when opponents let attacks go unanswered.

Garramone (1985) addressed this argument, as well as the hypothesis that independently sponsored advertisements reduce backlash. She varied sponsorship (advertisement paid for either by the attacking politician or by an independent action committee) and rebuttal (rebuttal by target vs. no rebuttal) in a laboratory paradigm utilizing half hour local TV news broadcasts from Montana interspersed with campaign advertisements. In all conditions, a campaign commercial attacked another politician on the basis of his stand on a foodstamp issue, branding him "too liberal for Montana" (p. 151). As predicted, independently-sponsored attacks resulted in less favourable evaluations of the target than candidate-sponsored attacks. Rebuttal by the target politician made evaluations of the attacking candidate less favourable, but had no effect on perceptions of the target.

In another laboratory experiment, Mason and Nass (1989) examined perceptions of newspaper bias among subjects who had read a single article in which an "important Republican" (p. 568) attacked another political

figure. In addition to noting that subjects were more likely to report biased news coverage when their partisan beliefs favoured the target than when they favoured the source, these researchers also found that subjects evaluated both politicians less favourably when the article contained an attack than when it did not.

Thus, research on attack politics to date points to three conclusions. First, attacks may engender less favourable impressions of both the source and the target. Second, the target typically fares worse after an attack than the source. Third, backlash effects are likely when attacks are rebutted, and also when those attacks are perceived as unfair. However, the effects of the insulting attack itself have yet to be addressed by an appropriately controlled experiment.

Affect and Cognition in Politics

George Bush's 1988 presidential campaign repeatedly stressed "hot-button issues," that is, topics that tend to excite the passions of the voting public. By alternating between happy, upbeat visits to flag factories and dour, alarmist speeches on the dangers of furloughed murderers, he directed his campaign at the feelings of voters ("For Bush on the Campaign Trail," 1988). Michael Dukakis, on the other hand, emphasized his experience and record as Massachusetts governor, attempting to portray himself as a

competent manager and even-tempered technocrat ("The Likability Sweepstakes," 1988). The November election gave Bush a clear victory, indicating to many that emotions, and not reasoned evaluations, guide voting (e.g., "Anatomy of a Victory," 1988).

The primacy of affect in political perception has been increasingly accepted by psychologists in recent years. Abelson, Kinder, Peters, and Fiske (1982), in examining 1980 American presidential election survey data, found that affective judgments (i.e., how one feels about a candidate) predicted candidate preference and ultimate voting behaviour independently of and more powerfully than cognitive judgments (i.e., how one evaluates a candidate's performance). These results were interpreted in terms of Zajonc's (1980; 1984) assertion that there exist two separate and largely independent systems of social evaluation: a fast, affect-based system, and a slower, cognitive-based system. Interestingly, Abelson and his colleagues also described a pattern of affective ambivalence, that is, positive and negative affective items were correlated to a much lesser extent than positive and negative cognitive items.

Granberg and Brown (1989) as well demonstrated a stronger relation between affect and voting than between cognition and voting, but noted in addition that

congruence between affect and cognition predicted stability over time. Affect without relevant cognitions resulted in unstable patterns of voting.

Passionate politics, politics imbued with heated and insulting rhetoric, should be interpreted principally via affective processing, which in turn more potently influences voting. This analysis therefore predicts a strong relation between insults and both affective responses and voting, but a relatively weak relation between insults and cognition, and between cognition and voting.

Political Attitudes

Sociopsychological research has emphasized a strong tendency for people to maintain consistency among cognitions (e.g., Heider, 1958). Consequently, judgments of others' dispositions and behaviour tend to conform to existing attitudes. Laboratory experiments have demonstrated that such beliefs bias attention to new information (Snyder & Swann, 1978), interpretation of that information (Darley & Gross, 1983) and recollection of prior information (Read & Rosson, 1982) in such a way that balance is maintained between previous and current cognitions.

Empirical evidence supports the contention that cognitive consistency processes play an important role in

political person perception (Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, 1960; Granberg & Brent, 1974; Kinder, 1978). For example, Bothwell and Brigham (1983) found that subjects in both field and laboratory studies demonstrated selective evaluation and recall after viewing the 1980 Carter-Reagan debate. Overall, subjects better recalled their preferred debater's arguments than those of the opposition. Judgments of debate victory were also biased in favour of predebate presidential preference.

Similarly, as the Watergate scandal threatened the presidency of Richard Nixon, voters selectively attended to information which confirmed their previous opinions of the president (Sweeney & Gruber, 1984). As damaging testimony was heard by the Senate Watergate committee during the summer of 1973, anti-Nixon voters' judgments of Nixon became progressively less favourable, whereas Nixon supporters changed little in their opinion of the president (Carretta & Moreland, 1982). Clearly, voters' existing attitudes have an impact on how they interpret political events and information.

To summarize, the literature on attack politics, although scant, strongly suggests that negative attacks can influence both popular opinion and voting behaviour. Affective appraisal, at which political attacks are directed, has been demonstrated to be more predictive of

voting than cognitive evaluations. Further, the impact of negative attacks should be, as with other social or political events, differentially interpreted according to the attitudes of voters.

Experiment One

Overview

Subjects read transcripts of a debate ostensibly held during a 1987 byelection in a central British Columbia community. Two politicians were identified as election candidates and participants in the debate. Personal attacks launched by one candidate against the other were inserted into the text of half of the transcripts.

The debate presented opposing viewpoints on the issue of guarantees of French language rights in the predominantly English-speaking province of British Columbia. All subjects were preselected for participation in the present experiments because they were strongly in favour of, strongly in opposition to, or undecided about French language rights, as assessed by a survey of University of Manitoba introductory psychology students taken not long after the start of the 1989-90 school year. Given the political backdrop of continued discord over Canada's Meech Lake constitutional amendment as well as attacks on the national policy of bilingualism (see "A Battle Joined," 1989, for a discussion), this issue guaranteed a high degree of impact and realism for subjects. After reading through the transcripts at their leisure, subjects answered a variety of questions based on the debate.

Subjects' impressions of the candidates were evaluated by two measurement clusters designed to differentially assess "hot" affective and "cold" cognitive appraisal. The affective cluster comprised items derived from previous work (e.g., Abelson et al., 1982; Marcus, 1988) that was in turn based on Roseman's (1984) structural theory of emotions. The cognitive cluster included six trait measures of competence and six of integrity. These two trait categories have emerged frequently in open-ended candidate judgments by voters (Miller & Miller, 1976; Page, 1978) and in factor analyses of trait batteries (Kinder, Peters, Abelson, & Fiske, 1982; Markus, 1982). In addition, participants indicated which candidate they would most likely vote for.

Hypotheses

The primary focus of this research was the assessment of the effects of rhetorical insults on participants' impressions of the two candidates, as measured by both affective and cognitive scales. The moderation of these effects by subjects' attitudes toward the debate issue was also of interest. Based on the preceding discussion, several hypotheses were advanced.

Both anecdotal ("Accentuating the Negative," 1982) and empirical (e.g., Mason & Nass, 1989; Merritt, 1984) evidence, as well as pilot research preceding this

experiment, suggest that negative attacks can be damaging to all candidates involved. It was therefore hypothesized that insults would engender less favourable impressions of both the target and the source. Because insults are emotionally charged entities, this effect was predicted to be greater for the affective ratings than for either the competence or the integrity ratings.

Congruent with recent empirical evidence (e.g., Abelson et al., 1982; Granberg & Brown, 1989), it was hypothesized that affect would more powerfully determine vote intentions than either competence or integrity ratings. The design of this experiment also permitted an assessment of Abelson et al.'s (1982) finding of affective ambivalence (i.e., a low correlation between positive and negative affective elements).

Anecdotal (Robinson, 1981) and survey evidence (Garramone, 1984), as well as the conventional wisdom ("Getting Down and Dirty," 1988) suggest that attacks are generally successful in making voters' impressions of targets more negative. It was expected that in the absence of any other cues (such as consistency, consensus, or distinctiveness information; cf. Kelley, 1967) impressions of the target would be even less favourable than impressions of the source in the insult condition. Further, this effect should also be evident in measures of voting intention.

It was noted that existing attitudes guide and shape perception of political candidates and their actions. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that a premeasure of subjects' attitudes toward the debate issue should predict their impressions of candidates sharing or opposing those views. Recent research (Garrazone, 1984; Mason & Nass, 1989; Merritt, 1984) has indicated that political attitudes influence voters' reactions to negative campaign tactics. An interaction between the premeasured attitudes factor and the insult manipulation was therefore hypothesized, such that when subjects agree with the source's stance, impressions of the target should be even more unfavourable following an insult than if there were no such agreement. Conversely, when subjects agree with the target, impressions of the source should be even more unfavourable than would be the case without such agreement.

Method

Subjects

The sample comprised 166 (82 male, 84 female) introductory psychology students enrolled at the University of Manitoba, randomly assigned to the two experimental conditions. Subjects were selected for participation on the basis of the results of an attitude survey conducted four months earlier. One item of that survey asked, "How do you feel about guaranteeing French language rights in every location across Canada?" Subjects responded on a 9-point scale anchored by "very strongly opposed" and "very strongly in favour." Those who scored 1 or 2 were classified as strongly opposed to (N=56), those who scored 5 were classified as undecided about (N=54), and those who scored 7, 8, or 9 were classified as strongly in favour of (N=56) French language rights.¹ Thus, subjects were specifically selected so that the sample comprised only those individuals who had strong beliefs or were undecided. All subjects received one credit toward a class research participation requirement. The responses of three subjects from the original sample were discarded from the analysis because they had been residents of Canada for less than 5 years, and may not have had the baseline familiarity with Canadian politics necessary to understand the debated issue.

Materials

Each subject read: a) an introduction, in which the general format and purpose of the experiment were expressed (see Appendix A), b) short personal background material on the two candidates, who were identified only by a first name and an initial (Charles T., Edward K.), followed by a brief introduction to the transcript, and the debate transcript itself (see Appendix B). The debate comprised three exchanges, with "soundbites" (portions of the debate used on nightly news coverage) highlighted in orange and blue, and d) a questionnaire containing the dependent measures (see Appendix C).

Insult Manipulation

All subjects read the same debate transcript, but half read transcripts containing three insults launched by the same candidate, whereas the other half read transcripts containing no insults. Insults were highlighted in orange and blue and referred to as soundbites. Filler sentences were also highlighted, such that one soundbite was highlighted in each of the candidates' three exchanges. Charles T. always advocated a pro-French language rights position and Edward K. always argued the opposing viewpoint. Transcripts were counterbalanced such that in half the transcripts Charles T. was the source of the insults; in the other half Edward K. was the source.

One insult was embedded within each of the source's three page-length debate statements. The three insults were:

1) I can't believe anyone could make such dumb proposals. My opponent's policies are like a menace to society.

2) I don't know what's worse, deceit or ignorance, but my opponent has got both covered.

3) My opponent's record as a public servant is like a "how-to" book on bungling, botching, and screwing up.

These insults, along with those used in Experiment Two, were prerated on 9-point scales by a separate sample (N=21) of second-year psychology undergraduates who found them to be significantly more insulting ($\bar{M} = 7.64$) than filler items ($\bar{M} = 2.36$), $t(40) = 15.36$, $p < .001$.

Dependent Measures

Five separate dependent measures assessed subjects' impressions of the candidates. For competence, integrity, and affect, the six scales composing each were averaged to provide composite indices.

Competence. Impressions of candidates' competence were assessed by six 9-point Likert scales, with three positive items (has clear and concrete plans, has leadership ability, is diplomatic) and three negative items (is poorly prepared, is uninformed, is incompetent

and unable to do the job). The general format of each item was: "Edward K. is uninformed," followed by a scale anchored by "not at all true" and "very true."

Integrity. Impressions of candidates' integrity were assessed in the same way, with three positive (is friendly and warm, is honest, is confident and self-assured) and three negative items (is weak, is cold and distant, is unfair).

Affect. Subjects rated the degree to which each candidate made them feel hopeful, pleased, sympathetic, angry, annoyed, or uneasy on 9-point Likert scales anchored by "not at all" and "very much."

Vote Intention. Subjects indicated which candidate they would most likely vote for.

Manipulation Check. Subjects were asked which, if any, of the candidates was more insulting than the other. To avoid tainting subjects' responses to the principal dependent measures, the manipulation check was administered with the post-experimental questionnaire (parts III and IV of Appendix C) after the other dependent measures were completed.

Procedure

Subjects participated in groups of up to eight, but they read the materials and completed the questionnaire privately and anonymously.

Upon arrival at the laboratory, subjects were greeted by the Experimenter, seated, and given copies of the Introduction. Subjects followed along on their copies as the Experimenter read through the Introduction aloud:

We are studying the influence of different forms of media (e.g., TV, newspaper, radio) on how people understand various political issues. Accordingly, some subjects will watch a videotape of a political debate, some will read a transcript of a debate, and others will listen to a tape recording of a debate.

The debate is between the two leading candidates in a provincial byelection held in 1987 in a central British Columbia riding. The candidates' names have been changed to protect their anonymity; they are referred to only as Edward K. and Charles T. (not their real names). The political parties that they belong to have also been deleted.

Please pay close attention to the debate. When it is over, the Experimenter will give you a short questionnaire to complete.

If you have any questions at this time, please feel free to ask the Experimenter.

The credibility of the cover story was enhanced by the obvious presence of a videocassette recorder, monitor, and tape deck set up on a table at the front of the room. After reading the introduction, subjects were then advised that they would be reading transcripts:

All of you today have been randomly assigned to the transcript condition, which means that you'll be reading a typed version of the debate. I'm going to hand out the transcripts now. You can take as long as you want to go through them. When you're done, I'll give you a questionnaire to fill out.

As each subject finished reading the transcript, he or she was given a questionnaire (Appendix C). When this had been completed, subjects were given the post-experimental questionnaire (Parts III and IV of Appendix C), which contained the manipulation check (see Dependent Measures). Subjects were then given their experimental credit and were free to go. Participants were provided with a written outline of this research, the variables of interest, and the results several weeks later (Appendix D).

Results

Post-Experimental Questionnaire

Two judges blind to the experimental conditions (interrater reliability, $r = .93$) assessed responses to the open ended post-experimental questionnaire (PEQ) items for subjects' awareness of the hypotheses and/or independent variables, suspicion of the cover story, and also perceptions of what factors had most influenced their decisions. None of the subjects were aware of the insult manipulation, nor did any correctly surmise that their relevant attitudes had been premeasured by a separate survey. There was no evidence of suspicion regarding the cover story.

Subjects identified a variety of decisional influences: 11% noted the presence of insults as important, and 42% indicated that their attitudes toward French language rights had influenced their evaluations.

The manipulation check did not bear any relation to the actual insult manipulation, however. A chi square analysis revealed that subjects' ratings of candidate insultingness were unaffected by the actual presence of interpolated insults, $\chi^2 (3) = 1.52, p > .65$. Perceived insultingness was closely related to vote intention, however, $\chi^2 (3) = 37.16, p < .0001$, with subjects tending to rate the candidate they did not vote for as most

insulting. This suggests that subjects saw candidates opposed to their viewpoint as insulting regardless of whatever specific insults were actually embedded in the debate. Overall, PEQ responses suggested that subjects took the debate seriously and found the cover story credible.

Description of Subjects

Asked what party they would most likely vote for in the next federal election, 46% of the sample responded Liberal, 37% Progressive Conservative, and 17% New Democrat. These proportions are fairly representative of current party preferences of adults across Canada. The mean self-rating of liberalism/conservatism was $\bar{M} = 5.29$ on a 9-point scale.

Candidate Preference

Subjects tended to favour the pro-French language rights candidate, Charles, over his opponent, Edward. Main effects for candidate were found on measures of affect, competence, and integrity. On ratings of affect, subjects preferred Charles ($\bar{M} = 5.41$) over Edward ($\bar{M} = 4.67$), $F(1,142) = 6.38$, $p < .01$. On ratings of competence, subjects favoured Charles ($\bar{M} = 6.52$) over Edward ($\bar{M} = 5.53$), $F(1,142) = 33.64$, $p < .0001$, and on ratings of integrity, subjects also preferred Charles ($\bar{M} = 6.40$) over Edward ($\bar{M} = 5.09$), $F(1,142) = 21.55$, $p <$

.0001. There were no reliable effects for gender or candidate speaking order on any dependent measures.

Affect

Affective responses were analysed by a 2 (insult) x 3 (attitude) x 2 (speaking order) x 2 (sex of subjects) x 2 (within-subject candidate evaluation) analysis of variance (ANOVA). As predicted, a significant main effect for insult was found, $F(1,142) = 7.83$, $p < .01$, but an examination of cell means (Table 1-1) revealed that this effect was due entirely to shifts in ratings of Charles. The presence of insults engendered more negative feelings for this candidate only, regardless of who issued the insult. A candidate x attitude interaction was highly significant, $F(2,142) = 19.96$, $p < .0001$. Subjects tended to react more favourably to the candidate sharing their views while responding more negatively to the candidate opposing those views (Table 1-2). There were no other significant main or interaction effects.

Competence

Competence ratings were subjected to another 2 x 3 x 2 x 2 x 2 ANOVA. In contrast to the affective ratings, the main effect for insult was not significant, $F(1,142) = .03$, $p > .85$. Except for the candidate effect already described, all other main and interaction effects were not significant.

Table 1-1

Summary Affect Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Insult

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	5.61	4.70
Insult	5.07	4.73

Table 1-2

Summary Affect Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Attitude Toward French Language Rights

Attitude	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
For	6.61	3.41
Undecided	5.23	5.08
Against	4.40	5.51

Integrity

Another $2 \times 3 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA was applied to ratings of integrity. As with competence, the main effect for insult was not significant, $F(1,142) = .04$, $p > .45$. However, a series of significant interactions were noted. As with affective responses, there was a strong tendency for subjects to give higher ratings to the candidate sharing their views on the debate issue, an effect manifesting itself in a highly significant interaction between attitude and candidate, $F(2,142) = 9.67$, $p < .0001$ (Table 1-3). An interaction between insult and candidate indicated that the effects of insults were different for each candidate, $F(1,142) = 4.51$, $p < .05$ (Table 1-4). This effect was clarified somewhat by a 3-way interaction between candidate, speaking order, and insult, $F(1,142) = 4.98$, $p < .05$. When Edward was the source, there was no appreciable change in his integrity ratings, whereas ratings of Charles were substantially more negative when he was the source (Dunn, $p < .05$; see Table 1-5). There were no other significant main or interaction effects.

Multiple Regressions

Affect, competence, and integrity ratings were analysed by multiple regression for their relative predictiveness of vote intent. Separate analyses for

Table 1-3

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Attitude Toward French Language Rights

	Candidate	
Attitude	Charles	Edward
For	6.99	5.38
Undecided	6.20	5.69
Against	6.02	6.01

Table 1-4

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of Insult

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	6.57	5.54
Insult	6.24	5.86

Table 1-5

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Insult and Speaking Order

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	6.57	5.54
Insult (Edward is source)	6.60	5.69
Insult (Charles is source)	5.88	6.01

ratings of Charles and Edward were run to control for multicollinearity. Both the model for Charles ($F(3,161) = 69.02, p < .0001$; adjusted $R^2 = .55$) and the model for Edward ($F(3,161) = 56.86, p < .0001$; adjusted $R^2 = .55$) were well specified, and residual analyses on both indicated an absence of significant outliers. As predicted, affect was by far the most significant predictor of voting in both regressions (Table 1-6).

Correlations

Correlations between these variables are presented in Tables 1-7 and 1-8. Clearly, affect correlated with voting to a much greater extent on average than either competence or integrity. Partialling the contributions of both competence and integrity out had little effect on the relation of affect to voting. In marked contrast, competence and integrity were more weakly correlated to voting after affect was partialled out (see Figure 1).

For affect, competence, and integrity indices, the positive and negative components were correlated to provide an index of ambivalence. For Charles, these correlations were $-.78, -.44, \text{ and } -.70$, respectively, and for Edward, they were $-.79, -.54, \text{ and } -.72$, respectively. Clearly, correlations for affect were as high as those for competence and integrity. Moreover, subjects who were undecided about the debate issue did not differ to any

consistently significant extent in their ambivalence from subjects with stronger attitudes (Table 1-9).

Calculation of Cronbach's alphas (Cronbach, 1984) indicated that affect ratings were more internally reliable than either competence or integrity ratings (Table 1-10).²

Voting

An omnibus chi square test revealed that the insult factor had a nearly significant overall effect on vote intentions, $\chi^2 (3) = 7.20$, $p < .07$ (Table 1-11). When vote proportions were assessed separately for the two candidates by log-linear analyses, an intriguing pattern emerged. For Charles, being the target of an insult had no appreciable effect on his vote share (59%) relative to the no-insult condition (63%), but his vote share decreased significantly when he was the source of insults (43%), $\chi^2 (1) = 2.09$, $p < .05$. The reverse was true for Edward. Issuing insults did not affect Edward's vote share (41%) compared to the no-insult condition (37%), but being the target increased the number of votes he received (57%), $\chi^2 (1) = 2.09$, $p < .05$.

Attitude was also significantly related to voting, $\chi^2 (2) = 13.09$, $p < .001$, with subjects preferring to cast votes for the candidate sharing their stance on French language rights (Table 1-12).

Table 1-6

Multiple Regression Analyses of Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings as Predictors of Vote Intent.

Candidate: Charles			
Variable	Parameter Estimate	t	p
Intercept	2.680	16.62	.0001
Affect	.140	9.26	.0001
Competence	.059	2.24	.0267
Integrity	.009	.32	.7258
Candidate: Edward			
Intercept	.464	4.02	.0001
Affect	.149	8.97	.0001
Competence	.018	.80	.4251
Integrity	.029	1.02	.3114

Table 1-7

Correlations of Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings
With Vote Intent

	Candidate	
Rating	Charles	Edward
Affect	.7380*	.7387*
Competence	.5221*	.5717*
Integrity	.5044*	.4857*

* $p < .001$

Table 1-8

Partial Correlations of Affect, Competence, and Integrity
Ratings With Vote Intent

Rating	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
Affect (with competence removed)	.6457***	.6549***
Affect (with integrity removed)	.6226***	.5832***
Competence (with affect removed)	.1919**	.1101
Competence (with integrity removed)	.2845***	.1409*
Integrity (with affect removed)	.0950	.1219
Integrity (with competence removed)	.3156***	.3925***
Affect (with competence/integrity removed)	.5940***	.5736***
Competence (with affect/integrity removed)	.1691*	.0593
Integrity (with affect/competence removed)	.0232	.0792

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .0001$

Table 1-9

Correlations Between Positive and Negative Components of
Affect, Competence, and Integrity Within Levels of
Attitude

Candidate: Charles			
Rating	Undecided	Decided	Difference
Affect	-.6159**	-.8039**	+.1880*
Competence	-.3924**	-.4736**	+.0812
Integrity	-.6237**	-.5882**	-.0355
Candidate: Edward			
Affect	-.6956**	-.7354**	+.0398
Competence	-.5709**	-.5645**	-.0064
Integrity	-.6927**	-.6561**	-.0366

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 1-10

Reliabilities of Positive and Negative Components of
Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings

Candidate: Charles			
Rating	Positive	Negative	Mean*
Affect	.804	.876	.839
Competence	.563	.707	.631
Integrity	.651	.467	.551

Candidate: Edward			
Rating	Positive	Negative	Mean*
Affect	.812	.846	.829
Competence	.537	.744	.632
Integrity	.446	.466	.456

* The geometric mean: the square root of the product of the two reliabilities.

**Coefficients are Cronbach's alphas.

Table 1-11

Number of Votes Received Within Levels of Insult and
Speaking Order

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	52 (63%)	31 (37%)
Insult (Edward is source)	24 (59%)	17 (41%)
Insult (Charles is source)	18 (43%)	24 (57%)

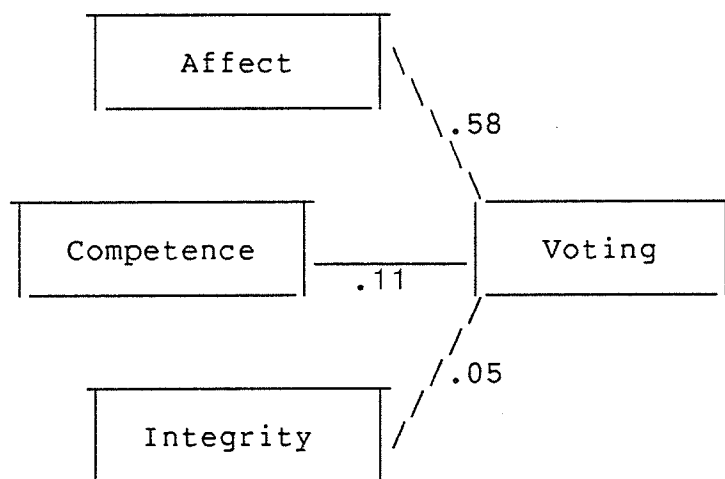
Table 1-12

Number of Votes Received Within Levels of Attitude Toward
French Language Rights

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
For	41 (73%)	15 (27%)
Undecided	30 (55%)	24 (45%)
Against	22 (39%)	34 (61%)

Figure 1

Second Order Partial Correlations of Affect, Competence,
and Integrity Ratings with Voting



Discussion

To summarize, interpolated insults influenced significantly the voting intentions of subjects. The mechanism for this influence was principally an affective one: insults had a greater impact on ratings of affect, which in turn better predicted voting than cognitive ratings of either competence or integrity. Subjects' attitudes toward the debate issue also influenced impressions and voting, but did not interact with the insult manipulation. There were no reliable effects for gender.

Dead heats are uncommon in elections; although public support can build or fade rapidly, one candidate is typically favoured over others at any given time. A similar pattern emerged in this study, with subjects in the control condition clearly preferring the candidate advocating guarantees of French language rights, even though subjects were evenly split in their views on this issue. Anecdotal PEQ comments by subjects suggested that they tended to see Charles in a better light because of his tendency toward loftier, more philosophically-flavoured arguments, whereas his opponent tended to discuss more practical (and perhaps less interesting) points. Regardless of the source of the effect, it proved fortuitous in that it permitted an evaluation of

differential insult effects for a frontrunner and an underdog, a more typical scenario than the case of two candidates in a dead heat.

Insults embedded in the debate transcripts had a dramatic effect on subjects' perceptions of the candidates involved. Voting patterns were influenced by insulting comments, but this effect depended on whether the candidate was favoured or not favoured. Charles tended to be favoured across all dependent measures, and when he was the target of insults, he received roughly the same number of votes as he did in the no-insult condition. When he was the source of insults, however, he lost votes. The situation reversed itself for Edward. As the less preferred candidate, his vote share was unaffected by being the source of insults, but he gained votes when he was the target. It seems that in this scenario, "going negative" with a barrage of insulting attacks carries few penalties for a candidate lagging in popularity, but may be extremely damaging to a frontrunner. While it is unclear why this should be the case, statistical explanations can be ruled out: none of the means are sufficiently extreme to suggest floor or ceiling effects. One possible explanation is that attacking represents a more inconsistent behaviour for a candidate viewed in a more positive light, and it may be that such inconsistent

or uncharacteristic actions are reacted to harshly. For a more negatively viewed candidate, going on the attack may be perceived as less surprising.

As predicted, a strong main effect for insult was detected by affective measures only. However, an examination of cell means indicated that this effect was due entirely to changes in ratings of the frontrunner. Although a significant main effect for insult was not found in integrity ratings, interaction patterns paralleled those of affect, with the frontrunner again suffering most after an attack. This again supports the contention that frontrunners have the most to lose by going on the attack but that underdogs can emerge comparatively unscathed. Sabato (1981) stressed this as a popular belief among political strategists, noting that "the most common circumstances under which negative ads are produced ... are when a candidate is far behind and not gaining in the polls ..." (p.166). Conflicting opinions abound, however, and other strategists are just as likely to assert that the least known candidate must first establish a positive image before going on the attack, or that the first to attack always triumphs ("Sometimes, a Negative isn't Positive," 1989). The results of this study provide the first tentative empirical validation of the tactic described by Sabato (1981).

The attitudes toward French language rights that subjects brought with them into the laboratory had the predicted effect on both impressions and overt voting. For affective as well as integrity measures, subjects gave higher ratings to the candidate espousing a position consistent with their own, while at the same time giving the opposing candidate lower ratings. In number of votes cast, the pattern was the same: subjects preferred to side with the candidate closest to their own issue position. This finding was hardly surprising; researchers of voting behaviour have long cited issue stance as a prime indicator of candidate preference (Lau, 1986; Nimmo & Savage, 1976), and the sociopsychological literature is replete with empirical documentation of the crucial role existing attitudes play in the interpretation of social events (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1973; Read & Rosson, 1982; Snyder & Swann, 1978).

The influence of attitudes was so powerful, in fact, that on the manipulation check, the candidate perceived as most insulting was almost always the one espousing the opposite issue stance, an effect which was independent of the actual insult manipulation. Evidence for an interaction between insults and attitudes was not found. This may be due in part to the previously mentioned skew in candidate preference, but more likely the insult

manipulation lacked the strength necessary to provide a meaningful interaction. That attitudes overshadowed their perception of interpolated insults lends credence to this possibility. The hypothesized interaction was based on recent political research (Garrazone, 1984; Mason & Nass, 1989; Merritt, 1984) and is consistent with the literature examining the effects of prior attitudes on social perception. Vallone, Ross, and Lepper (1985), for example, demonstrated that passionately held political attitudes actively bias perceptions of news events, such that people with opposing attitudes can see the same event in entirely different ways. Given that strongly held attitudes do colour perceptions of social information, then interpretation of insulting rhetoric should be similarly influenced. Future research could perhaps discern such an interaction by employing a stronger manipulation.

Affect was by far the most powerful predictor of voting. It correlated more strongly with vote intent than either competence or integrity ratings, and was the only consistently significant predictor of voting in regression analyses. These results constitute laboratory documentation of a finding previously demonstrated with surveys (Abelson et al., 1982; Granberg & Brown, 1989; Marcus, 1988).

The present findings contrast markedly with another of Abelson et al.'s (1982) observations, however. They found that positive and negative affective judgments were nearly independent, but that positive and negative cognitive judgments were not. In contrast, the present findings were that positive affective items (e.g., hopeful, pleased, sympathetic) carried a strongly inverse correlation with negative items (e.g., angry, uneasy, annoyed). This pattern is particularly provocative given that the affective measures used in these experiments were adapted directly from the larger collection used by Abelson et al. Cognitive items were also highly correlated, though somewhat less so. The finding of Abelson and his colleagues that inverse correlations between positive and negative items are higher among strongly decided than undecided voters was not replicated.

The discrepancy between the present and Abelson et al.'s (1982) findings can be accounted for in part by the fact that this experiment centred on a single issue, whereas Abelson et al.'s survey spanned several candidates and many issues. Moreover, the single issue employed here was a decidedly passionate one, inciting most subjects to strong feelings. Such passion probably not only decreased any tendency toward ambivalence among feelings, but as well gave rise to the surprisingly strong predictive power

of affective ratings, which accounted for no less than 50% of the voting variance, and to the strikingly high internal reliability coefficients for affect as compared to cognitive judgments.

In addition, Abelson et al.'s (1982) affective measures were retrospective; voters were asked to recall if, for example, Jimmy Carter had ever made them feel annoyed. Because voters were potentially recalling many different occasions, opposing emotions were more likely to be listed side by side. The affective items used in this study, on the other hand, all required participants to report how they feel right now. In such cases, ambivalence is far less likely. Affective ambivalence may be common in people (Warr, Barter, & Brownbridge, 1983) but measures of discrete episodes probably underestimate it, whereas retrospective self-reports likely tend to overestimate it.

In light of these findings, a second experiment was conducted with two goals. First, the results of this first experiment were to be replicated, and second, the differential effects of insults categorized as referencing controllable or uncontrollable target attributes were to be examined within the same paradigm used in Experiment One.

Experiment Two

When a negative event occurs, it typically inspires an attributional search for reasons as to why it took place. The nature of the cause attributed to the event gives rise to a predictable pattern of affective and behavioural responses. Weiner (1986) posited three orthogonal dimensions on which all attributions may be classified: locus of causality (i.e., internal vs. external), stability, and controllability. The outcome of an attributional search for reasons as to why an insult was issued (e.g., because the target deserved it, because the source is nasty) determines effects on impressions of the target and the source. Various situational and personality variables inherent in the rhetorical setting, and in politics in general, may moderate attributions and, in turn, impressions.

However, an insult not only inspires a search for reasons as to why it was launched, but as well suggests an underlying cause for the state of affairs described by the insult. When a target is labelled 'ugly,' the very nature of ugliness suggests internal, stable, and uncontrollable characteristics. This perceived causal structure then determines affective reactions toward the target (e.g., pity) as well as behavioural responses (e.g., voting for the target). Thus, the effects of rhetorical insults

should be influenced not only by situational and personality variables, but by the very nature of the insult itself.

A large body of attribution research has examined both the dimensions of locus of causality (e.g., Jones & Pittman, 1982) and stability (e.g., Weiner, 1980). More recent experiments have explored the controllability dimension. For instance, giving excuses that refer to controllable behaviour (e.g., I felt like doing something else) rather than uncontrollable circumstances (e.g., My car broke down) results in more negative impressions of the excuse giver (Weiner, Amirkhan, Folkes, & Verette, 1987). As well, people in general react to others with onset-uncontrollable stigmas (e.g., cancer) with pity and a readiness to help, whereas those with onset-controllable stigmas (e.g., drug abuse) are perceived with anger and neglect (Weiner, Perry, & Magnusson, 1988). In general, attribution theory predicts that negative events or characteristics ascribed to controllable causes engender more negative evaluations, but when ascribed to uncontrollable causes, they engender more positive evaluations.

Gut reactions would seem to follow more from uncontrollable-trait insults than controllable-trait insults. Insults aimed at something over which the target

has no control are generally seen as heartless and cruel. Jokes about the handicapped and the elderly are examples, and such cruelty typically violates the social norms of North Americans, even those norms surrounding political debates (Graber, 1976). Violation of such social norms had been shown to increase the likelihood of internal attributions by observers to the source, and not to the target (cf., Costrich, Feinstein, Kidder, Maracek, & Pascale, 1975; Jones & Davis, 1965). Perhaps because insults targeted at attributes that are not controllable (e.g., a candidate's personal life, medical history, etc.) represent a much more serious breach of social norms, voters tend to find them unfair and inappropriate (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1989) with backlash far more likely than for controllable-trait insults.

Conceptually similar, Roddy and Garramone's (1988) recent study assessed a parallel hypothesis, that negative advertising aimed at issues would lead to more favourable evaluations of the source but less favourable evaluations of the target, but that attacks on a candidate's image would reverse the effect. Their evidence did suggest that source impressions were damaged more severely following an image than an issue attack. Unfortunately, the lack of a control group coupled with inadequate statistical analyses prevented source/target comparisons and examinations of

interactions. One prediction consistent with Weiner's (1986) theory, that impressions of the source should be more negative than for the target following image-insults but not issue-insults, was supported by the pattern of reported cell means (although no statistical tests assessed this question).

This experiment focused on the possibility that it is strategically advantageous to use insults that speak of controllable causes (e.g., You are uninformed and lazy) as opposed to those of an uncontrollable nature (e.g., You are short and ugly). As controllable-trait insults (CTIs) and uncontrollable-trait insults (UTIs) are conceptually similar to issue-attacks and image-attacks, respectively, this study places the work of Roddy and Garramone (1988) into a clearer theoretical framework, while at the same time permitting a more rigorous examination of differential insult effects via the inclusion of a control group and the use of appropriate statistical analyses. As well, this experiment reexamines the role of affect and cognition in attack politics.

Overview

This experiment was an extension of Experiment One, with two insult conditions (CTIs and UTIs) and a no-insult condition. Again, the existing attitudes factor comprised three levels (pro-issue, undecided, and anti-issue).

Because gender was not a significant factor in Experiment One, it was not examined in this experiment.

Hypotheses

Several hypotheses were posited. First, CTIs should cause more negative impressions of the target than either UTIs or no insults, with less backlash against the source. Second, UTIs should have less of a negative effect on target impressions than CTIs, but should cause greater backlash. These effects should be noted principally via affective as opposed to cognitive measures.

An overall preference for the pro-French language rights candidate was predicted in light of the findings of the first experiment. Based on this, it was predicted that the preferred candidate would be perceived less favourably only after issuing an insult, but that the less favoured candidate would be perceived more favourably only when he was the target of an insult.

It was also predicted that affect would again be a far more powerful predictor of voting than either competence or integrity judgments. A replication of the finding of significant inverse correlations between positive and negative elements of both affective and cognitive ratings was expected.

As in Experiment One, it was expected that attitudes of subjects toward the debate issue would exert a main

effect such that candidates sharing their stance would be evaluated more favourably. This effect was also hypothesized for measures of vote intent. Because no interaction between attitudes and the insult manipulation was found in Experiment One, such an interaction was not expected in this study.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 121 (93 female, 28 male) introductory psychology students, randomly assigned to the three experimental conditions. Classification according to attitudes was accomplished in the same way as for Experiment One, with 42 for, 41 against, and 38 undecided about French language rights. Seven subjects were eliminated from the original sample because they had been residents of Canada for less than five years.

Materials and Procedure

Experimental materials, dependent measures, and procedure were identical to those of Experiment One.

Insult Manipulation

One insult was embedded in each of the source's one-page debate statements, making a total of three insults issued over the course of the debate. The three controllable-trait insults were identical to the ones used in Experiment One. The three uncontrollable-trait insults were:

1) My opponent doesn't know a thing about this issue as it relates to this community. How could he? He grew up in some big fancy house with rich parents, not like some of us who had to work when we were young.

2) My opponent has more skeletons in his closet than the Smithsonian Institute. His grandfather was a compulsive gambler, his mother is a drunk, and now his sister-in-law has been indicted on ethics charges. Who knows where it'll end.

3) My opponent's just not one of us, he didn't grow up around here, and no one's going to vote for an ignorant outsider like that.

These insults were prerated for perceived insultingness, fairness, and controllability on 9-point scales (see Results section).

Results

Pretest

Pretest analyses (N=21) revealed that UTIs were perceived as under significantly less volitional control of the target ($\bar{M} = 1.87$) than CTIs ($\bar{M} = 6.24$), $t(40) = 10.18$, $p < .001$, but UTIs were perceived as no less insulting ($\bar{M} = 7.56$) than CTIs ($\bar{M} = 7.63$), $t(40) = .208$, $p > .10$. Subjects found UTIs to be significantly less fair ($\bar{M} = 1.97$) than CTIs ($\bar{M} = 3.33$), $t(40) = 3.57$, $p < .01$. Fairness, insultingness and controllability ratings were correlated within each item; the weighted Fisher Z transformations of the resulting correlations were then averaged across subjects to obtain overall correlation coefficients. Not surprisingly, judgments of fairness were inversely related to judgments of insultingness, $r = -.54$, $p < .05$. Judgments of controllability were weakly related to judgments of fairness, $r = .30$, $p < .09$, and the correlation between insultingness and controllability was not significant, $r = -.20$, $p > .15$.

Post-Experimental Questionnaire

None of the subjects indicated any awareness of the insult manipulation, nor did any correctly surmise that their attitudes toward French language rights had been premeasured by a separate survey. There was no evidence of suspicion regarding the cover story. Again, subjects

reported a variety of decisional influences on their judgments of the candidates: 31% wrote that their own attitudes had been important, and 19% noted the presence of insults as important, twice as many as in Experiment One. Anecdotally at least, it was apparent that subjects in the UTI condition tended to make more specific comments about those more emotional and less relevant insults than was the case for CTIs. In nearly all of these cases, subjects expressed disdain for such lowbrow tactics.

As with Experiment One, the manipulation check bore no relation to the actual presence of interpolated CTIs, but there was a clear relation between UTIs and perceptions of insultingness, $\chi^2 (1, N = 40) = 12.38, p < .001$, with roughly 78% of subjects noting that the candidate who had uttered the UTI seemed most insulting. Subjects also tended to vote against the candidate they deemed most insulting, $\chi^2 (2) = 51.7, p < .0001$. It was concluded that participants took the debate quite seriously, accepted the cover story as credible, and found UTIs in particular to be salient.

Candidate Preference

The consistent main effect for candidate on all three indices of indices of affect, competence, and integrity was replicated. As predicted, subjects tended to favour the pro-French language rights candidate, Charles, over

his opponent, Edward. On ratings of affect, subjects preferred Charles (\underline{M} = 5.40) over Edward (\underline{M} = 4.65), \underline{F} (1,103) = 4.75, $p < .05$. On ratings of competence, subjects favoured Charles (\underline{M} = 6.31) over Edward (\underline{M} = 5.60), \underline{F} (1,103) = 10.40, $p < .01$, and on ratings of integrity, subjects also preferred Charles (\underline{M} = 6.21) over Edward (\underline{M} = 5.52), \underline{F} (1,103) = 10.95, $p < .01$.

Affect

Affective ratings were subjected to a 3 (insult) x 3 (attitude) x 2 (speaking order) x 2 (within-subject candidate evaluation) ANOVA. Unlike Experiment One, a main effect for insult was not found, \underline{F} (2,103) = 1.27, $p > .28$ (Table 2-1). When the two insult conditions were collapsed together, it became clear that, as with Experiment One, insults engendered more negative feelings for Charles (Dunn, $p < .05$) but had no effect on impressions of Edward. The prior attitudes of subjects interacted significantly with candidate, \underline{F} (2,103) = 14.60, $p < .0001$, and followed the same pattern of subjects rating the candidate sharing their issue stance more favourably than the candidate opposing that view (Table 2-2). No other effects achieved significance.

Competence

Another 3 x 3 x 2 x 2 ANOVA was applied to competence ratings. As predicted, subjects rated the candidate

Table 2-1

Summary Affect Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of Insult

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	5.82	4.46
CTI*	5.22	4.71
UTI**	5.13	4.80

* CTI: Controllable-trait insult.

** UTI: Uncontrollable-trait insult.

Table 2-2

Summary Affect Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Attitude Toward French Language Rights

Attitude	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
For	6.43	3.54
Undecided	5.46	4.66
Against	4.28	5.78

Table 2-3

Summary Competence Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Attitude Toward French Language Rights

Attitude	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
For	6.52	5.34
Undecided	6.49	5.42
Against	5.93	6.02

sharing their views more favourably, $F(2,103) = 2.33$, $p < .05$ (Table 2-3). Aside from the main effect for candidate, there were no other significant main or interaction effects.

Integrity

Unexpectedly, a $3 \times 3 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA revealed a main effect for insult, $F(2,103) = 5.17$, $p < .01$, but post hoc analyses indicated that this effect was due entirely to the damaging effect of UTIs on Charles (Dunn, $p < .05$; see Table 2-4). A highly significant interaction between insult, speaking order, and candidate was discovered, $F(2,103) = 7.88$, $p < .01$. UTIs were especially damaging to judgments of Charles' integrity when he was the source of them. Conversely, Edward was relatively unscathed when he was either the target or the source of insults (Table 2-5). The attitude factor interacted significantly with candidate, $F(2,103) = 3.34$, $p < .05$, with subjects giving higher ratings to the candidate sharing their issue stance (Table 2-6). There were no other significant main or interaction effects.

Multiple Regressions

Affect, competence, and integrity ratings were analysed by multiple regression for their relative predictiveness of vote intent. Separate analyses for ratings of Charles and Edward were run to control for

multicollinearity. Both the model for Charles ($F(3,117) = 42.50, p < .0001$; adjusted $R^2 = .52$) and the model for Edward ($F(3,117) = 66.54, p < .0001$; adjusted $R^2 = .54$) were well specified, and residual analyses on both indicated an absence of significant outliers. As predicted, affect was by far the most significant predictor of voting in both regressions (Table 2-7).

Correlations

Correlations between these variables are presented in Tables 2-8 and 2-9. Clearly, affect correlated with voting to a much greater extent on average than either competence or integrity, and this pattern held through all combinations of partial correlations, closely replicating the findings of Experiment One.

Correlations between positive and negative elements of affect, competence, and integrity ratings were similar to those noted in the first experiment. For Charles, these correlations were $-.73, -.52$, and $-.68$, respectively, and for Edward, they were $-.77, -.63$, and $-.75$, respectively. The failure to demonstrate affective ambivalence, defined here as a nonsignificant correlation between positive and negative items, was thus replicated. In addition, subjects' attitudes did not moderate the correlations between positive and negative elements to any significant degree.

Table 2-4

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of Insult

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	6.57	5.46
CTI*	6.41	5.66
UTI**	5.63	5.46

* CTI: Controllable-trait insult.

** UTI: Uncontrollable-trait insult.

Table 2-5

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of Insult and Speaking Order

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	6.56	5.45
CTI (Edward is source)*	6.84	5.25
CTI (Charles is source)*	6.05	6.09
UTI (Edward is source)**	6.35	5.10
UTI (Charles is source)**	4.91	5.82

* CTI: Controllable-trait insult.

** UTI: Uncontrollable-trait insult.

Table 2-6

Summary Integrity Ratings of Candidates Within Levels of
Attitude Toward French Language Rights

	Candidate	
Attitude	Charles	Edward
For	6.51	4.98
Undecided	6.42	5.45
Against	5.70	6.15

Table 2-7

Multiple Regression Analyses of Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings as Predictors of Vote Intent.

Candidate: Charles			
Variable	Parameter Estimate	t	p
Intercept	.472	14.97	.0001
Affect	.195	8.16	.0001
Competence	.006	.17	.8680
Integrity	.028	.81	.4217
Candidate: Edward			
Intercept	.407	3.41	.0001
Affect	.138	5.80	.0001
Competence	.009	.40	.6932
Integrity	.090	3.02	.0031

Table 2-8

Correlations of Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings
With Vote Intent

Rating	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
Affect	.7199*	.7705*
Competence	.4612*	.5714*
Integrity	.4677*	.7143*

* $p < .001$

Table 2-9

Partial Correlations of Affect, Competence, and Integrity
Ratings With Vote Intent

Rating	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
Affect (with competence removed)	.5745***	.6592***
Affect (with integrity removed)	.5750***	.5275***
Competence (with affect removed)	.0348	.1135
Competence (with integrity removed)	.1978*	.1694*
Integrity (with affect removed)	.0779	.2896**
Integrity (with competence removed)	.2077*	.5420***
Affect (with competence/integrity removed)	.5508***	.5070***
Competence (with affect/integrity removed)	.0119	.0113
Integrity (with affect/competence removed)	.0708	.2684**

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .0001$

Calculation of Cronbach's alphas (Cronbach, 1984) indicated that affect ratings were more internally reliable than either competence or integrity ratings (Table 2-10).

Voting

An omnibus chi square test revealed that the insult factor had a significant overall effect on vote intentions, $\chi^2 (3) = 11.11, p < .05$ (Table 2-11). When vote proportions were assessed separately for the two candidates by log-linear analyses, the pattern noted in Experiment One was replicated and extended. There was no appreciable effect on Charles' vote share when he was the target of a CTI (63%) or a UTI (65%) relative to the no insult condition (60%), but his vote share decreased to the same extent as Experiment One when he was the source of a CTI (40%), although this effect only approached significance, $z (1) = 1.43, p < .09$. However, his vote share decreased to an even greater extent when he was the source of a UTI (25%), $z (1) = 2.45, p < .01$. Again, the reverse was true for Edward. Issuing an insult did not affect Edward's vote count (CTI, 37%; UTI, 35%) compared to the no insult condition (40%), but being the target of a CTI marginally increased the number of votes he received (60%), $z (1) = 1.43, p < .09$, an effect which was more extreme when he was the target of a UTI (75%), $z (1) = 2.45, p < .01$.

Attitude was also significantly related to voting, $\chi^2 (2) = 12.71, p < .002$, with subjects preferring to cast votes for the candidate sharing their stance on French language rights (see Table 2-10).

Table 2-10

Reliabilities of Positive and Negative Components of
Affect, Competence, and Integrity Ratings

Candidate: Charles			
Rating	Positive	Negative	Mean*
Affect	.826	.856	.851
Competence	.619	.685	.651
Integrity	.514	.620	.564

Candidate: Edward			
Rating	Positive	Negative	Mean*
Affect	.834	.863	.848
Competence	.676	.729	.702
Integrity	.562	.591	.576

* The geometric mean: the square root of the product of the two reliabilities.

**Coefficients are Cronbach's alphas.

Table 2-11

Number of Votes Received Within Levels of Insult and Speaking Order

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
No Insult	25 (60%)	17 (40%)
CTI (Edward is source)*	12 (63%)	7 (37%)
CTI (Charles is source)*	8 (40%)	12 (60%)
UTI (Edward is source)**	13 (65%)	7 (35%)
UTI (Charles is source)**	5 (25%)	15 (75%)

* CTI: Controllable-trait insult.

** UTI: Uncontrollable-trait insult.

Table 2-12

Number of Votes Received Within Levels of Attitude Toward
French Language Rights

Condition	Candidate	
	Charles	Edward
For	31 (74%)	11 (26%)
Undecided	17 (45%)	21 (55%)
Against	15 (37%)	26 (63%)

Discussion

The results of this study closely paralleled those of Experiment One. A strong preference for one candidate over the other again emerged, and the effects of insults embedded in debate transcripts depended on whether the preferred or not preferred candidate was the source or the target of insulting rhetoric. Such rhetoric influenced both affect and integrity ratings, but affect better predicted voting than either competence or integrity. Subjects' attitudes toward the debated issue influenced impressions and voting but did not interact with the insult manipulation.

The finding in Experiment One that the preferred candidate was evaluated more negatively when he was the source of controllable-trait insults was again noted. Such a backlash effect was not evident for the less preferred candidate; rather, there was some indication that being a target actually enhanced impressions of him. On both voting and integrity measures, uncontrollable-trait insults resulted in a similar but more extreme effect: the frontrunner as insult source was the focus of even greater backlash and the underdog improved even more when he was the target.

These findings are only partly consistent with the predictions made based on Weiner's (1986) attribution

theory. The core assumption of an inverse relation between perceived controllability and perceived fairness was supported. Based on this, insults referencing less controllable target traits were predicted to engender feelings that the insults were unfair, resulting in sympathy for the target and backlash against the source. These effects were noted, but with an important qualification. Increased backlash was felt only by the frontrunner, and increased support for the target was experienced only by the underdog. That the same backlash was not found for the underdog, and that the frontrunner's performance never improved when he was the target, cannot be accounted for by Weiner's (1986) theory. Clearly however, UTIs did not act as mirror entities of CTIs, creating reverse effects. Rather, they operated as more powerful versions of CTIs, with a greater capacity to unleash backlash in a differential manner.

Contrary to expectations, a significant main effect for insult was found for integrity ratings but not for affective ratings. A closer look at the cell means for affect indicated a pattern rather similar to that observed in Experiment One, however. CTIs did have the same damaging effect, but on impressions of the frontrunner only. Similarly, the main effect for insult in perceived integrity was due primarily to the influence of UTIs; when

these were ignored, the pattern of CTIs closely resembled that of Experiment One.

As predicted, attitudes had the effect of significantly influencing participants' impressions and voting, such that candidates sharing their issue position tended to be favoured. The manipulation check responses were again found to be strongly related to attitudes but independent of the insult manipulation, indicating that subjects' views on the debate issue overshadowed their perception of the manipulated presence of insults. There was some indication, however, that UTIs were more salient than CTIs. Perhaps because of this, these attitudes failed to interact significantly with the insult manipulation. Also as predicted, affect was again a better predictor of vote intention than either competence or integrity ratings.

Overall, the hypothetical position underpinning this experiment must be modified. There appears to be no functional difference between CTIs and UTIs that would make one more tactically effective than the other. Rather, UTIs produce the same effects as CTIs, but in a more extreme manner. In terms of tactics, it again appears that attacking an opponent, whether via UTIs or CTIs, carries few penalties for an underdog, but may be especially damaging to a frontrunner.

General Discussion

Both the popular media (e.g., "What Poison Politics," 1989) and political analysts (e.g., Sabato, 1981) agree that the raw emotions inherent in attack politics can substantially affect voters' impressions of candidates. The present experiments provide laboratory confirmation of this assertion, and also suggest that one tactic in particular, that of taking the high road when ahead but going on a negative attack when behind, may be effective. In two experiments, frontrunners tended to be evaluated more harshly after attacking an opponent, an effect which was stronger when that frontrunner attacked personal characteristics not under the volitional control of the target. At the same time, the less favoured candidate emerged unscathed after going on the attack, and actually improved in popularity when on the receiving end of an attack.

Caution is advised in generalizing these findings, however. The frontrunner/underdog distinction was not explicitly manipulated, thus the relation between it and the observed insult effects does not imply a causal connection. The effects may have resulted from some personality quirk of one of the candidates, or from some other unidentified variable. The generality of this finding would be bolstered considerably if it were

replicated by an experimental manipulation of frontrunner vs. underdog. In another vein, the fact that no rebuttal followed insulting attacks limits the generality of these studies to cases where only one candidate goes negative while the other ignores the attacks.

That affect predicts voting independently of and more powerfully than cognition was confirmed. In fact, the superiority of affect as a predictor of voting was far more apparent here than in previous studies. Abelson et al. (1982) as well as Granberg and Brown (1989) found cognition to be a significant predictor of voting, though less so than affect. By contrast, the present research indicated that many cognitive evaluations of candidates may be unrelated to voting.

In noting this difference, several points should be kept in mind. First, these experiments focused on political perceptions in cases where passions run hot. Two thirds of the subjects were preselected precisely because they felt strongly about a particularly thorny and provocative issue for Canadians. The predictiveness of affect for voting is probably attenuated in less passionate domains. Second, all dependent measures were collected over a rather brief time span, and were based on a discrete informational stimulus. Exaggerated correlations between measures are a possible result of such a methodology.

Even with these possible limitations on the strength of inferences drawn from the present findings, it appears to be clear that affect and cognition in politics are at least analytically distinct (cf. Zajonc, 1980). This effect has now been demonstrated in the laboratory as well as with surveys, and while offering no comment on the controversy regarding the temporal or phylogenetic primacy of either (e.g., Lazarus, 1984; Zajonc, 1984) these results further indicate that affect and cognition should be treated by researchers as distinct processes.

The insulting rhetoric characterizing recent regional and national election campaigns has been a point of some concern among politicians and voters alike. The present experiments indicate that this concern is well-founded; insulting rhetoric can produce meaningful shifts in both impressions of candidates and overt voting. Two outgrowths of work such this are immediately apparent. One rather dark possibility is that the campaign tactic supported by these studies could be seized by political strategists and applied to make future elections even more caustic and negative. But there is a brighter flipside, that well-documented empirical principles of attack politics and voting behaviour could constitute formidable evidence to be marshalled by legislators interested in limiting or banning negative campaigns. Senators John

Danforth and Ernest Hollings sponsored a rather tepid version of such a bill in the United States over the summer of 1989; research along the present lines could bring about tougher legislation and, in turn, a refreshing and much-needed shift toward campaigns based on more substantive political issues.

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Footnotes

¹ Subjects who scored 7 were included when it became apparent that not enough male participants scoring 8 or 9 were available to ensure sufficient power in assessing gender effects.

² It was thought that the greater reliability of affect could conceivably account for its stronger relation to voting. Even after correction for attenuation (McNemar, 1969), however, affect correlated with voting at a higher level ($r = .809$) than competence ($r = .687$) or integrity ratings ($r = .699$).

Appendix A

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

We are studying the influence of different forms of media (e.g., TV, newspaper, radio) on how people understand various political issues. Accordingly, some subjects will watch a videotape of a political debate, some will read a transcript of a debate, and others will listen to a tape recording of a debate.

The debate is between the two leading candidates in a provincial byelection held in 1987 in a central British Columbia riding. The candidate's names have been changed to protect their anonymity; they are referred to only as Edward K. and Charles T. (not their real names). The political parties that they belong to have also been deleted.

Please pay close attention to the debate. When it is over, the Experimenter will give you a short questionnaire to complete.

If you have any questions at this time, please feel free to ask the Experimenter.

Appendix B

Experimental Booklet

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: The Candidates

Charles T.

Charles T. is 41 years old. He was born and raised in the Okanagan valley in central B.C., and has worked in the forestry industry as a plant manager. For the past six years he has been city councillor for the town of Smithers. He is married and has three children. He is now running for MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) in the B.C. provincial government, in the riding of Smithers-Tulsa.

Edward K.

Edward K. is 44 years old. He was born in Victoria, B.C., and has worked mainly for his family's fruit orchard business. He has been a prominent member of his party, and has held two civic appointments over the last ten years. He is married and has two children. When the last MLA for Smithers-Tulsa abruptly retired and called an election, Edward K. was nominated by his party to run in the bylection.

DEBATE TRANSCRIPT

The following transcript was edited so that it includes only the portion of the debate dealing with the issue of French language rights. Certain portions of the debate are highlighted in orange and blue; these were "soundbites," that is, the parts of the debate used by the local TV news programs in their coverage of the campaign.

Charles T.:

I think it's time to take a more idealistic, global perspective on this issue. And that is the perspective of rational human beings as the highest form of evolutionary development. And federalism as the highest form of human government. Federalism is very simple: it is the idea that all ideological power, the "meat" of a nation, its goals and philosophies, reside at the top of the government, at the national level. Local and regional governments take care of the mechanics, the "nuts and bolts" of running the country. Federalism is known worldwide, specialists come here from all over the globe to study it, to see how we live so comfortably, without grabbing guns and killing one another, despite our varied and often intensely felt differences.

Bilingualism, and assurances of French language rights, is a manifestation of our Canadian brand of federalism. The idea is that the two founding peoples of the country should have equal access to government in their own languages in all regions. That hasn't quite happened, but we're working on it. Total bilinguality and total equality is not practical, but assuring just one simple and easily accomplished component -- bilingual government services -- is. And that is all that we are talking about. That a French-speaking Canadian can have

access to B.C. government laws and documents in French, one of the founding languages. It's so simple and easy to accomplish.

Why the impassioned resistance? Fear of change. Bigotry, perhaps. The oppressive weight of custom. Petty reasons clothed with weak arguments of fiscal restraint and impracticality. All of them small arguments when compared to the weighty idealism that distinguishes Canada from other nations.

Edward K.:

This issue gets much clearer when you just look around, look around at what's going on in the rest of the world. All over this planet, people are learning English, because it is becoming and will continue to become the universal language of trade and commerce. Regardless of their own culture and its value, people speak English when they're making deals and organizing finances. In the scientific community as well, foreign scientists automatically learn English because that is what the bulk of scientific works are published in.

That doesn't mean you have to forget your culture, your past, or even stop using your native tongue. It just means that you must learn English for practical reasons. From that perspective, it doesn't make any sense at all to force people who already know English, as they do here in Kelowna, to learn French, which is not and never will be a universal language. It's just an esoteric and cute cultural thing, but it's not necessary and it's not practical. It's a backward step, and it makes no sense in these times that we live in.

This is all related to a more basic notion, which I feel is important to bring up. And that is the question of whether having a second language is desirable for an individual in a highly advanced technological society. We

live in an era of specialization. There is so much information exploding all around us that no one person can be expected to stay on top of it all. So we have specialists. People who know one small area, and know it well. When you put all the specialists together, you have an efficient unit, like a corporation. You only need a few specialists in each area to make it work. Proponents of bilingualism are trying to make everyone a specialist in the same area -- French. We already have plenty of specialists to translate for us. We don't need everyone to be able to do it. The time spent learning a new language could be much better spent learning other skills, in areas that we are good at, areas that we have already chosen as our specialties.

Charles T.:

There is a large point that perhaps is pertinent now, after hearing my opponent's comments. And that is that bilingualism, and its guarantees of French language rights, is the law of the land. It has been law in Canada for twenty years now. We do not have in this small community the political muscle or moral mandate to challenge that law. That is for national politicians and all Canadians to decide.

So far, all across Canada and certainly here in B.C., people support the bilingual concept of Canada. Enrollment in French immersion classes continues to increase, and most people I've talked to find it desirable to be a bilingual person. So there is no danger to our constitution; the guarantee of a bilingual Canada will not be challenged in the near future.

In fact, Canadians enjoy the idea of a two-language nation. Certainly my children, and anyone else under the age of twenty-five, cannot remember a time when Canada was anything else. For them, it is simply the way things are. And they are comfortable with it.

It is a cultural boon for us, an intriguing facet of our nation that draws millions of tourists annually. Not just to Quebec, but to the entire country. And we in B.C. know the value of the tourist dollar; it is our number two

industry, second only to our forests. No one here would think of enacting a policy which would threaten our forest resources. But we are standing here today threatening the fabric of tourism by threatening the very fabric of Canada, threatening the bilingual image that makes us such an intriguing people in the eyes of foreigners. For me, my party, and anyone else who cares not just about the future of B.C., but about the future of Canada, there can be no other policy than continued assurance of French language rights all across the country. It is an indispensable part of our heritage and our identity.

Edward K.:

The main problem with this issue of bilingualism is that its very nature is so arbitrary. It just isn't fair, not in this part of the country. In the entire province of B.C., francophones account for less than 2% of the population. In other words, hardly anyone uses French on their own. Why on earth would you force it on people? The argument of bilingualism just doesn't make sense. I mean, I could understand it if French people made up half the population, or even if they were a moderate minority, as in New Brunswick. But in B.C., where Orientals, Italians, and east Indians are far larger minorities, it just doesn't make sense.

It is a fundamental mistake to believe that increased use of the French language will somehow increase national unity. I am certain that most Canadians want unity and will do whatever is necessary to achieve it. But let us not make the mistake of believing that what is needed to achieve unity is to encourage still greater use of a national language. This is a divisive policy that has already brought us to where we are. More of the same will only increase division, not create unity.

As Canadians, we respect the use of any minority language as a cultural language, and above all, as an individual language. We respect and welcome the French as

the largest minority language in Canada. But we do not believe that French is, or ever can be, an equal national language.

Charles T.:

A lot of concern with French language rights here in B.C. has to do with the continued squabbling over the Meech Lake accord, and also with the policy in Quebec of Bill 101, which strikes most of us as obviously unilingual in intent. From that, there have been feelings of backlash, of resentment toward Quebec because of their apparent paranoia. A lot of bad feelings start to rise, and they lead to something less than rational evaluation of the situation. Irrational solutions are prescribed, like "fighting fire with fire," promoting unilingual policies out here. This is, very simply, a poor way to do politics, and it will only lead to further divisiveness and unproductive bickering.

We must face political realities. Quebec's Bill 101 and its effects appear unconstitutional. That is reality. It is a reality we dislike. But countering it with the same sort of thing will only make matters worse. Two wrongs don't make a right; the end result will be the feeling among Quebecers that they were right all along, that they were justified in promoting Bill 101. No, my friends, the best way to counter the actions of those out east is to continue to support the Canadian constitution. Fight irrationality with rationality.

Perhaps we can turn things around in this country, perhaps not, but we can be certain that our goals of national unity will not be achieved through a series of petty affronts. The only way to maintain the fabric of Canada, the fabric that is dear to our hearts, as well as to our purses, is to continue to promote French language rights all across the country. That is political pragmatism. It is being realistic about the prospects, and facing them rationally.

Edward K.:

We have heard some interesting points from my opponent, but all this really boils down to an issue of practicality. It is just not practical to spend so many millions of dollars on the translation of laws and statutes, many of them old and obsolete. The bill could run as high as \$5 million and our current budget certainly has no room for such an expenditure. And you can add on an extra million or two for street signs, government brochures, and what-not. So we're talking about maybe seven million for something nobody needs and which the present government can't afford.

Even if we could get the money, it would probably take at least five years to implement the translation. Adding in business transactions, mortgages, marriages, university degrees, courts, and the like, the translation becomes a beaurocratic nightmare stretched into the next century, by which time Quebec probably won't even be a part of Canada anyway.

And because people around here use French so rarely, because they are so unfamiliar with it, the chances of some sort of bungling or misuse or misunderstanding begin to pop up. Everyone knows legal terms don't translate exactly. When we start getting into the finer points of statutes, there could be no end to the mistakes made, all

simply because we haven't had any practice with the language. Legal hassles and extended court cases prolonged by trivial language loopholes could result, and the nightmare would continue.

No, this is a bad policy and a bad idea for Kelowna. We have always used one language, whether officially or unofficially, and it should stay that way.

Appendix C

Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questions that follow are designed to measure your impressions of the candidates based on the debate you just saw, heard, or read. This questionnaire uses 9-point scales to measure your opinions.

For example, if the question asked, "How competent did Edward K. seem?", you would circle ONE of the numbers that best describes what you think. If you happen to think that Edward K. seemed very competent, then you would circle the 8 or the 9. If you think, however, that Edward K. was average in competence, you would circle the 5. If you think that Edward K. was not at all competent, then you would circle the 1 or the 2, and so on.

not very	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
competent										competent

Your responses are anonymous, so please feel free to answer them as honestly as possible. Please go on to the next page, and be sure to answer every question.

PART I

INSTRUCTIONS:

The following questions refer to your emotions and feelings. Answer them according to how you feel right now.

1. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
hopeful?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

1. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
hopeful?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

2. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
annoyed?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

2. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
annoyed?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

3. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
pleased?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

3. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
pleased?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

4. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
angry?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

4. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
angry?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

5. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
sympathetic toward him?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

5. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
sympathetic toward him?

not at 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very
all much

6. a) To what extent does Edward K. make you feel
uneasy?

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all										much

6. b) To what extent does Charles T. make you feel
uneasy?

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all										much

INSTRUCTIONS:

The following questions have to do with traits and personal characteristics. For each one, pick a number that corresponds to how true, or how untrue, you think each trait is of each candidate.

1. a) Edward K. has leadership ability.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

1. b) Charles T. has leadership ability.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

2. a) Edward K. is poorly-prepared.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

2. b) Charles T. is poorly-prepared.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

3. a) Edward K. has clear and concrete plans.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

3. b) Charles T. has clear and concrete plans.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

4. a) Edward K. is uninformed.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

4. b) Charles T. is uninformed.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

5. a) Edward K. is diplomatic.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

5. b) Charles T. is diplomatic.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

6. a) Edward K. is incompetent and unable to do the job.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

6. b) Charles T. is incompetent and unable to do the job.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

7. a) Edward K. is friendly and warm.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

7. b) Charles T. is friendly and warm.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

8. a) Edward K. is weak.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

8. b) Charles T. is weak.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

9. a) Edward K. is confident and self-assured.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

9. b) Charles T. is confident and self-assured.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

10. a) Edward K. is cold and distant.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

10. b) Charles T. is cold and distant.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

11. a) Edward K. is honest.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

11. b) Charles T. is honest.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

12. a) Edward K. is unfair.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

12. b) Charles T. is unfair.

not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very
all true										true

PART II

1. If you had to vote for one of these two candidates in an actual election, which one would you be more likely to vote for? (Circle one).

Charles T.

Edward K.

2. If you had to vote for or against the issue discussed in the debate (and not for the candidates), which way would you most likely vote? (Circle one).

For

Against

3. How politically conservative/liberal did Charles T. seem?

very conservative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very liberal
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4. How politically conservative/liberal did Edward K. seem?

very conservative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	very liberal
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PART III

1. What is your native country? _____

2. How long have you lived in Canada? _____

3. What is the first language you learned? _____

4. Rate your own political views on the scale below.

very conservative 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very liberal

5. What national political party would you most likely vote for in the next federal election? (Circle one).

Liberal

NDP

Progressive
Conservative

6. Are you _____female _____male
(Check one).

7. Did either of Charles T. or Edward K. strike you as more negative or insulting than the other?

_____yes

_____no

If yes, which? (Circle one).

Charles T.

Edward K.

PART IV

1. What did you think the main idea was behind this research?

2. What sorts of ideas do you think we were testing?

3. How do you think people in the different experimental groups (e.g., TV group, transcript group) should differ in how they answer the questionnaire?

4. What sorts of things influenced you most in your opinions of the politicians described in this study?

5. Do you think that there are any other ideas or independent variables that we are also looking at? If so, what?

Appendix D

Debriefing Form

Summary of Results: PINAWA

Thank you for your participation in the PINAWA study. The broad focus of Pinawa was on how people form impressions of political candidates.

Pinawa could be described as a tale of two passions. First, we were interested in how negative "attack" politics affect people's impressions, and second, we were interested in how passionately-held beliefs (in this case, French Language Rights) mediate such changes in impressions.

Participants in this study read typed transcripts of a debate. The debate itself never actually took place; rather, it was put together from a number of separate debates and campaign speeches. Inside half of the transcripts were several insulting comments made by one of the candidates. The other half contained no such insults. In the insult-transcripts, half of the time candidate Edward K. was insulting, and half of the time Charles T. was insulting.

Contrary to the "cover story," ALL participants read transcripts. The video equipment you saw in the lab was not used in this study at all. This cover story was needed to deflect participants' attention away from the "true" variable of interest: insults by politicians.

As well, participants were selected for their eligibility on the basis of their responses to the French Language Rights question in the TORONTO survey. Before each participant came into the lab, we knew whether they were for, against, or undecided about French Language Rights.

The results confirm an idea which has been popular among politicians but virtually ignored by psychologists: that people tend to vote based on how they "feel" about politicians, and not what they "think" of their competence or character. Specifically, questionnaire items dealing with personal feelings, (rather than judgments of character and competence) were dramatically affected by the presence of insults, and these feelings were in turn highly related to voting intentions. Not surprisingly, the prior attitudes of participants greatly affected the judgments they made.

These results will be presented at the Canadian Psychological Convention in Ottawa, May 1990. If you have any questions or comments about this study, please feel free to contact me, Neal Roesse, P207, Duff Roblin Bldg.