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States and Traits  
The Interactive Effect of Emotion and Personality on Political Behavior

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

Political Science

by

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2017



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2017

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## **ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION**

Several studies have examined the relationship between emotion and political behavior while others have studied the effect of personality on political behavior, but neither subfield has interacted much with the other. Personality and emotion have an interactive relationship wherein personality influences how people experience emotions and emotions influence how people express their personality traits. This project is an attempt to bridge the gap between these two subfields of study and to create a generalizable new theory explaining how emotion and personality interact in the realms of political learning, attitudes, and participation. Using a combination of unique survey data, experimental data, and the 2012 American National Election Survey, this study concludes that emotion and personality both influence political learning, attitudes, and participation, but the interaction between the two is more inconsistent and highly dependent on the context and type of behavior in question.

## Chapter 1

### Emotion and Politics

Recent years have seen a significant increase in the emotional nature of politics, in general, and in political campaigns in particular. In the summer of 2016, a group of 3,000 therapists produced a manifesto arguing that the Trump campaign, with its vitriol and combative rhetoric, was seriously damaging to the emotional health and wellbeing of Americans (Sheehy 2016). Politics, and specifically election campaigns, have historically been a space of high emotion, and the emotional intensity increases every year (Yates 2016). While there are several potential reasons for this phenomenon, including the nature of the candidates, the election process, polarized parties, voter frustration, and the advent of social media (Abramowitz and Saunders 2005, Abramowitz 2015, Lelkes, Sood, and Iyengar 2015), the fact remains that politics today and in the future, "...will involve voters more emotionally than other periods in history," (Yates 2016). This increase in the emotionality of citizens and politicians gives rise to a very basic question of political behavior, namely: how do emotions affect political behavior?

Traditionally, in political science, emotion has been either overlooked or regarded as a destructive and tangential force that must be corrected for. Plato's original work on politics, which has influenced many in the western world, argued that politics is no place for emotion but, instead, must be the realm of the reasoned and logical argument (Ferrari and Griffith 2000, Solomon 1973). This tradition continued with the rational choice model that became a cornerstone of political behavior, as seen in the works of Downs (1957), Gerber and Green (1998), Achen (2002), and Aldrich (1993). Rational choice models assume that citizens are rational actors who logically and coherently make political decisions based on key metrics of performance. Individuals are, in this model, assumed to be rational utility maximizers, consuming information and basing their political decisions on that knowledge. This perspective emphasizes the role of information and conscious choices, but this argument has been refuted by research, which indicates that individuals are simply incapable of separating their emotions from their politics. In fact, many scholars have turned away from the idea of voters as purely 'rational' actors (Redlawsk and Lau 2013, Lau and Redlawsk 2006, Green and Shapiro 1994, Redlawsk and Pierce 2017). This model is also directly contradicted by evidence suggesting the primacy of affect (Zajonc 1984). Research has shown that emotional response occurs *before* logical or rational thought, indicating that, regardless of rationalization and justification, affect plays a primary role in setting the context for all stages of cognition and decision making (Damasio et al. 2000).

A competing interpretation of political behavior is provided by the "Michigan Model", which envisions the individual less as an objective, rational entity and more as a complex and multi-layered person. The Michigan model, derived primarily from the line of reasoning established by Campbell et al. (1960), envisions the voter as more *irrational* and more emotional. Campbell et al. (1960) demonstrate that citizens make political decisions based on a host of different factors, including socioeconomic factors and the emotional connections they have toward their political party. Furthering this line of

inquiry, several scholars have found that emotions play a significant role in influencing political cognition, behavior, and even vote choice. This conceptualization of political behavior rests upon the tenet of the primacy of affect and indicates that different emotions can lead to different behavioral outcomes in individuals. Everything from how individuals perceive the world around them to how they act in the world is shaped and influenced by their specific emotional contexts. Research has further shown that these outcomes are predicated on the strength and the valence of the emotion being experienced.

The natural emotional state of any human being is a sort of homeostasis or, in other words, a lack of explicit emotional response. As such, negative emotions indicate a departure from the desired norm, and individuals seek to correct this imbalance in various ways. In the political world, this manifests as thought, opinions, or actions designed to return the individual to their desired state of balance. Research has shown that in the face of negative emotion, such as fear or anxiety, individuals are spurred to take action to alleviate those negative feelings. This usually either takes the more passive form of information-seeking behavior or the more active form of vote choice (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau 2007, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Emmerson 2010, Redlawsk 2002, Marcus and MacKuen 1993). Huddy et al. (2005) show that increased levels of anxiety can make individuals more risk-averse, which can manifest in stated preferences for increased desire for retaliation, increased animosity toward groups, decreased approval of political leaders, and increased desire for isolationist policies. These findings are echoed by other authors, particularly in field of immigration politics (Brader 2006, 2005, Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008). Similarly, according to Affective Intelligence Theory, positive emotions produce lower levels of information-seeking and cause people to feel good about their choices and judgments, a sort of homeostasis state where all is right with one's world. Positive emotions can translate into action, however, in vote choice and political participation for their candidate or issue (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau 2007, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Emmerson 2010, Redlawsk 2002, Marcus and MacKuen 1993).

It is apparent that emotions play a significant role in an individual's thoughts and actions in the political world; consequently, emotions have a real impact on political outcomes. But emotions are not alone in their influence, nor are they *a priori*. Emotions, a result of both internal and external factors, operates within a larger context of inputs that influence and guide thought and behavior.

Emotions do not operate in a vacuum and their effects cannot be understood as such. Individuals who are angry or scared or hopeful about candidates are more than one-dimensional emotions – they are operating within a larger context of internal and external stimuli. As Yates (2016) states, "...feelings are dependent on environmental cues", which is simply another way of saying that emotions cannot be studied without also studying the interrelated contexts that surround them. One factor that heavily influences emotional reaction is, of course, the environment. In fact, some scholars argue that emotion is almost entirely a reaction to the surrounding environment (Zajonc 1984, 1980). This conception of emotion is problematic, however, because it assumes a homogeneity of experience and reaction.

If emotion is almost entirely a reaction to external environmental cues, almost all individuals should experience the environment identically and react to the environment in broadly the same manner. But this is clearly not the case. Two individuals, exposed to the same environmental conditions, might not react identically, and some scholars demonstrate that experiencing the same emotional context can cause individuals to act in opposite ways (Valentino and Neuner 2016, Valentino et al. 2011). Simply put, two individuals, faced with the same set of circumstances and environmental cues, might react in very different, or even opposite ways. There is individual variation in emotional experience, no two people will feel or react in the exact same way to any given set of stimuli (Wheeler, Davidson, and Tomarken 1993). However, studies in political science have, by and large, ignored the issue of individual variance in emotional reaction in favor of the larger trends of roughly similar reactions (MacKuen et al. 2010). This is not an inherently problematic strategy, as it has yielded considerable insight into the effects of broad emotional responses. However, it must be said that this strategy has obfuscated the individual-level variance in emotional reaction and the effect this might have on cognitive and behavioral outcomes. The research above indicates that emotional response is not homogenous, and thus implies that understanding the emotional context of a situation is not enough; there must also be a push to discover the internal factors that cause variance amongst individuals' reactions. One of the most influential sources of this individual variance in emotional response is likely personality.

Personality is a stable system of traits that that are, "... relatively enduring dispositions that reflect characteristic patterns of emotionality, self-regulation, and general orientations to the social and physical environment. Traits are basically what people think, feel, and do... what people *automatically* think, feel and do" (John, Robins, and Pervin 2008). Personality traits are, thus, highly habituated patterns of action and feeling that are largely unconscious. These traits are also fairly stable, changing only in times of extreme psychic pressure or traumatic environmental upheaval (John, Robins, and Pervin 2008, Mondak et al. 2010, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Ulbig and Funk 1999, Richey 2012, Mutz and Reeves 2005, Denny and Doyle 2008, Bizer et al. 2004, Pratto et al. 1994, Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013b). As Gerber et al. (2011) explain, "...personality traits can be likely be viewed as predating, rather than being caused by, social and political influences, offering an opportunity to examine how fundamental, enduring personality differences affect an array of social outcomes, including political attitudes and behaviors" (p. 111).

In other words, personality is like a scaffold upon which other external factors act to result in behavioral outcomes. In fact, personality and emotion both operate so closely together that MacKuen et al. (2010) argued that, "...both transitory emotional states and permanent personality traits shape political life...and individuals' and the polity's inclination to either seek common ground or to polarize into warring armies depends on the personalities of those involved and the emotions stirred by contemporary events." This conclusion is simply further evidence of the necessity of studying both emotion and personality, and, more specifically, studying both emotion and personality together. Studying either emotion or personality isolated from the other gives us only half the picture, as MacKuen et al. (2010) demonstrate when they find, "...that personality traits

regulate, enhance or inhibit, the sorts of connections on which affective intelligence depends.” This interconnectedness of emotion and personality, and the clear effect these factors have on our political behavior, mandates further study into the precise mechanisms and processes by which this interaction occurs.

The ultimate goal of this study is to understand the interrelatedness of emotion and personality and how these factors, together and individually, influence individuals in the political realm. It is clear, based on the literature above, that personality is very influential in political decision making, as is emotion. However, both of these forces have only ever been studied independently of each other. This leaves a clear gap in our understanding of *how* and *when* internal factors influence us. This study, in an attempt to bridge this gap, proceeds as follows. I first clarify what emotion is, then how it is thought to influence political outcomes, and lastly what role personality would play in this relationship. Once I have laid out our current understanding of emotion and personality, I outline a detailed theory of how emotion and personality interact generally and in a political context. I will then test this broad theory in the contexts of specific political outcomes such as political learning, political ideology, and political participation.

### **What is emotion and how does it influence us?**

Damasio et al. (2000) outline the common neuro-physiological understanding of emotion as, “...a part of a multi-tiered and evolutionarily set neural mechanism aimed at maintaining organism homeostasis,” (pg. 1049). In the strictest interpretation of this understanding, emotion is an evolutionary adaptation an organism makes, and any affective response is an attempt by the organism to return to homeostasis. In other words, emotion is an evolutionarily refined reaction to the external world. In the absence of some sort of external stimulation, the body and mind at rest evince no emotion or reaction. Emotion is a reaction to the external world, an individual’s unconscious and conscious reaction to external stimuli, which can be categorized into two basic systems: approach and withdrawal (Davidson and Irwin 1999). The approach system is associated with appetitive behavior, or positive affect, and the withdrawal system is associated with withdrawal from aversive stimulation, or negative affect (Davidson and Irwin 1999). Many scholars in the field of behavioral neuroscience have adopted this view of emotion (Davidson et al. 1999, Davidson and Irwin 1999).

LeDoux (2000) argued in his review of the literature that looking at emotion from a neuroscientific perspective gives research into the field a more solid objective basis for theory building. The very obvious benefit of conceiving of emotion in the brain as the basis for theorizing is that it provides an objective, evidence based foundation upon which to build the subjective experiences of individuals. In this vein, several scholars have found that the areas of the brain most associated with emotion are the pre-frontal cortex (PFC) in general and the amygdala in particular (Davidson and Irwin 1999, Damasio et al. 2000, Panksepp 1998, 2003, Gilligan and Bower 1985, LaBar and Cabeza 2006).

Studies done on humans and animals with lesions on the amygdala region of the brain show that this area is responsible for perception of and production of both negative and positive affect (LeDoux 2003, Cahill et al. 1999, Cahill and McGaugh 1998, LeDoux 2000). The amygdala is so central to our processing of negative affect that lesions or

tumors on the amygdala not only hinder a person's ability to experience these emotions, but also hinder one's ability to perceive them. Several studies have demonstrated, through the use skin conductance tests, startle response tests, and PET and fMRI scans, that any abnormality in the functioning of the amygdala can severely reduce a person's ability to recognize negative affect in others and experience negative affect themselves (Adolphs, Tranel, and Damasio 1998, Adolphs et al. 1999, Adolphs, Russell, and Tranel 1999, Bechara et al. 1999, Furmark et al. 1997). These studies further demonstrate that some part of the emotional experience, indeed a large part of it, is a physical response, trained or evolved, in response to external stimuli. Furthermore, these studies also show that emotional activation in the brain tend to cluster around two large poles: appetitive responses and withdrawal responses.

What is apparent here is that there are essentially two large categories of emotion: positive and negative. Each emotional category is filled with more specific types of emotions that fill out a person's human experience, but for the sake of neuro-behavioral study, neuroscientists have found that grouping emotion into these two larger categories is sufficient to understanding how and why individuals act the way they do (Lang 1995, Davidson et al. 1999, Davidson and Irwin 1999). This conception of emotion separates emotion into positive and negative categories, distinct and independent from each other in source and effect on individuals. As Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) argue, emotion cannot be understood as singular continuum; positive and negative emotional states are too dissimilar to each other in both experience and outward response manifestation to simply be two anchor points on a sliding scale. In particular, where emotion and behavior are studied, scholars have found that negative and positive emotion have noticeably different effect in three particular areas of human experience: cognition, behavior, and attitudes (LeDoux 2000).

Emotion influences individuals at all stages of the cognitive and behavioral process. Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) outline findings in this area and argue that emotion is, indeed, foundational to how people process the world around them. There are two aspects of emotion that are important to note. First, emotion precedes cognition and, as such, affects it and, second, most emotional processing generally occurs below the level of consciousness, making individuals largely unaware of the effect of emotion on cognition (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000, Zajonc 1984). These findings point to the primacy of affect in all cognition, attitudes, and behaviors, even if this process occurs below the level of conscious awareness. Wright and Bower (1992) summarize the general findings of the effect of emotion on cognition and argue that there are essentially three ways in which emotion affects cognition.

First, emotion acts as a filter for incoming stimuli such that they influence when, how, and what individuals pay attention to. Second, emotion influences memory retrieval in that more emotionally charged memories are more easily accessible than neutral ones. And third, emotion can influence how individuals process the information they take in in terms of reaching conclusions.

As mentioned above, Davidson and Irwin (1999) show that the anterior cingulate cortex (ACC) is involved in attentional processing. Lane et al. (1997) studied the ACC in relation to emotion by asking subjects to view emotionally charged pictures and describe how the pictures made them feel. During the task, the researchers found that the ACC,

the area of the brain associated with attention and evaluation, was activated. The control condition, which asked subjects to view the same pictures but tasked them with answering questions about the physical location of the pictures, did not show the same results. When subjects were asked to focus on where the pictures might have been taken, the area of the brain most associated with spatial relationships was activated, but not the ACC at all. This result indicates that emotion can act as an attentional filter, and that when emotion is involved, the brain pays more attention to the subject matter at hand than otherwise. The ACC becomes activated when individuals are paying close attention to something, a necessary precursor for learning, which indicates that emotion acts as a sort of gatekeeper, enhancing learning capability and directing the attentional processing parts of the brain toward its targeted task.

Additionally, studies have shown that positive affect increases cognitive flexibility, but at the cost of higher rates of distractibility (Dreisbach and Goschke 2004). Ashby and Isen (1999) also pursue this line of inquiry and find that positive affect increases creative and flexible thinking. Positive affect also causes individuals to overestimate the likelihood of positive events and underestimate the probability of negative events occurring (Wright and Bower 1992). Relatedly, positive affect also causes individuals to be less risk-averse and more likely to risk more (Isen and Patrick 1983). Fedorikhin and Cole (2004) show that the effect of positive affect is moderated by cognitive resources, indicating that when individuals have less cognitive resources, including time and information, the effect of positive affect is more pronounced. This result indicates that, in some instances, emotion is taking the place of cognition in decision making. Moreover, this implies that *how* individuals pay attention to information changes in the presence of emotional contexts. In the case of positive emotion, individuals will widen their focus, pay attention to more information, learning more, but at the cost of distraction. In other words, individuals will learn and remember more details, but this is an unfocused learning, which also implies that this effect will fade in time. Conversely, negative emotion will create a more narrowed and targeted focus, which discounts extraneous information and creates a scenario less likely prone to distraction. This translates into a more focused learning process, targeted and specific searches for information that is relevant to the task at hand.

This conception of the roles of positive and negative emotion is similar to how Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) argue emotion works in their Affective Intelligence Theory. Positive emotion promotes complacency whereas negative emotion spurs information gathering. Here as well, positive emotions spur creativity, widen an individual's focus, and create a drive to learn for the sake of learning. There might be an element of complacency as well, as there is no direct threat and, therefore, no impetus to change behavior. Positive emotions, in general, spur more pleasure-seeking behavior and, as such, will necessarily vary by individual. Negative emotion, similar to its presentation in AIT, is a reaction to some external threat. This implies that individual should seek out the source of the threat (or cognitive dissonance) and seek to withdraw from the source of the negativity, which translates into increased information gathering. However, this is a focused search motivated by the need to eliminate the threat and reach cognitive homeostasis.

Emotion also plays an integral role in the development of and retrieval of information from memory. Bower (1992) argues that emotion affects learning through memory by providing cues the mind might use in the future. For instance, fear allows the mind to shortcut to action scripts that have been successful in the past in similar situations. Any organism's goal of survival is met only through successful learning, learning to adapt to and interact with its environment. In this regard, positive affect becomes a cue to approach and interact with something or someone whereas negative affect becomes a cue to withdraw (Bower and Cohen 2014, Bower 1992, Bower, Gilligan, and Monteiro 1981). This affective system allows organisms to efficiently store and retrieve information from memory, allowing for more advantageous interactions with their environment. In addition to the valence of the emotion, the strength of the emotion also plays a role in memory. Studies have shown that memories associated with strong emotions can be more quickly identified by the brain and are used more often in decision making processes (Dunsmoor et al. 2015, Richter-Levin, Kehat, and Anunu 2015, Christianson 2014). One study has even shown that affect can influence how, what, and how much people learn. This concept, called selective learning, occurred when people in distinct affective states were asked to read and learn new subject matter. Subjects selectively learned whatever was more congruent with their affective states and even went so far as to identify with the characters portrayed in a congruent state that incongruent (Bower, Gilligan, and Monteiro 1981). Memory and learning, therefore, are highly susceptible to affect and affective states, implying a strong cognitive role for emotion.

It is clear, therefore, that emotion plays a significant role in how individuals perceive, interpret, and act upon the world around them. While the neuroscientific explanation suffices for a general overview of how emotion might influence individuals, it is important to more clearly lay out the mechanisms behind how emotion influences political behavior more specifically. Next I will survey the major theories in the political science literature that outline how and why emotion effects political outcomes at the individual level.

### **How does emotion affect political behaviors?**

In psychology, neuroscience, and political science, “emotion” and “affect” are often used interchangeably. In both cases, the meaning of the word is the same – an emotional response to some stimuli characterized by changes in cognition and behavior. There are many theoretical accounts of the mechanisms by which emotion influences individuals, four of which are the clear front-runners in the psychology and political science literature, namely the Affect Infusion Model (AIM), the Evaluative Space Model (ESM), the John Q. Public Model (JQPM), and the Affective Intelligence Theory. AIM and ESM are psychological theories that have been applied to political questions whereas JQPM and AIT are political science theories. Each of the four has slightly different understandings of emotion and how it might manifest in cognition and behavior.

The Affect Infusion Model (AIM) argues that, “affectively loaded information exerts an influence on, and becomes incorporated into, cognitive and judgmental processes, entering into a person's deliberation and eventually coloring the outcome,” (Martin and Clore 2013). AIM assumes that there are four different types of information

processing, each more cognitively demanding than the last. These processing strategies, called direct access strategy, motivated processing strategy, heuristic processing strategy, and substantive processing strategy, are increasingly taxing to the cognitive systems. Affectively laden information, either packaged as such or interpreted as such by the individual, will influence the type of processing strategy a person chooses. In essence, affect will influence social judgments to varying degrees based upon target complexity, affective information available, and processing strategy (Forgas 2008, 2001, Forgas and George 2001, Forgas 1995, 1994).

While this theory incorporates emotion into the explanation of political outcomes, it falls short in its conception of emotion as quality of the information being processed rather than an independent factor exerting its own influence. While AIM acknowledges the role of emotion in cognitive processing, which echoes some of the neuro-psychological literature, it sidelines the role of emotion in active decision making while simultaneously placing the onus of emotional context on the source or the information itself. However, this mischaracterizes the way emotion is conveyed. Emotions, as discussed above, are responses to stimuli, but these stimuli are not limited to the information being processed. This limitation restricts the range of contexts and emotions to consider when understanding the relationship between emotion and cognition or behavior. Moreover, AIM does not distinguish between *types* of emotions, but only stresses the *presence* of emotion. This emphasis does not allow for fine grained analysis on the level of valence or intensity, which allows a surface level understanding at best.

The Evaluative Space Model (ESM), based on the Elaboration Likelihood Model developed by Petty and Cacioppo in the 1980's, comes closer to uncovering a more nuanced explanation of the effect of emotion on political outcomes. The ESM is an information processing theory of persuasion that allows for emotions to play a role in cognitive process. Like the AIM, ESM assumes that there are different types of information processing strategies that people can employ. The context of the message, including emotional responses to the message or messenger, can influence the level of thinking a person employs. ESM is a spatial grid, a two-dimensional representation of emotions that allows researchers to analyze not only how positive and negative affect works in cognition, but how any combination of these affective states operate together. This model uncouples positive and negative emotion, treating them as distinct emotions rather than anchors on a unidimensional scale, and examines the processes and consequences of each separately (Ito, Cacioppo, and Lang 1998, Larsen et al. 2009). In short, ESM argues that positive emotion, in addition to thoughtfulness and motivation, increases the likelihood of persuasion in individuals whereas negative emotion decreases the likelihood of persuasion (Petty and Brinol 2010, Petty, Wegener, and Fabrigar 1997, Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983, Petty and Briñol 2011, Petty and Cacioppo 1986). This change of mind and heart is also more persistent when the persuasion is done in the context of positive emotion rather than negative emotion.

This theory brings us closer to a fuller understanding of how emotion relates to political outcomes, specifically in that it takes into account the valence of emotion, but it still falls a bit short of reality. First, ESM focuses primarily on persuasion, but emotion influences much more than that. Emotional contexts influence how individuals perceive, retain, think about, and retrieve information, which goes beyond mere position or policy

persuasion. Second, ESM does not elaborate on “thoughtfulness and motivation”, which are outlined as key factors in determining whether emotion even has an effect on individuals. This fuzziness in conceptualization and operationalization leaves the individual variance between people on how and whether they react to emotions in the way ESM outlines as a black box. Black box theories are, by definition, poor theories as they cannot explain the mechanisms or processes they allege occur.

In both AIM and ESM, there is a lack of complete theorizing about the relationship between information, emotion, and cognitive and behavioral outcomes. For instance, individuals can evince emotional responses to information that is not inherently emotion-laden, either in the information itself or by the source. A person might read a dry, straightforward news piece about a particular Supreme Court ruling or a technical policy issue, something devoid of intentional emotional context or persuasion, and still feel an emotional response. Moreover, different individuals reading the same information might feel significantly differently. Neither AIM nor ESM offer explanations for emotional responses to these types of information, nor do they elaborate on individual variance in emotional reactions.

A more refined and nuanced theory of emotion and political outcomes is the John Q. Public Model as described by Lodge and Taber (2013, 2007). John Q. Public (JQP) is an updated and revised version of the On-Line Tally Model. The OL model argues that individuals keep a running tally of their political preferences, which is constantly updated whenever they come into contact with new or relevant information (Lodge, McGraw, and Stroh 1989). In this model, any type of information can prompt an updating, including emotional contexts. The JQP model considers affect as primary, rather than secondary, to the cognitive process, and argues that emotion is a primary motivator to what, when, and how individuals assimilate the information they receive into their running tally. Emotion becomes the *motivation* behind which pieces of information people perceive, how they interpret this information, and how they either include or discount that information into their tallies (Kim, Taber, and Lodge 2010, Lodge and Taber 2013, 2007, Taber, Cann, and Kucsova 2009, Taber and Lodge 2006). This motivation is based largely on the theory of cognitive dissonance. JQP makes two basic assumptions about how individuals store and retrieve information. First, information and attitudes about politics are stored in the mind as affect and second, individuals prefer congruence to dissonance in their beliefs and attitudes. Studies demonstrate that there is a disconnect between the amount of information individuals can recall about political positions and candidates and how individuals feel about them. Survey data indicates that individuals tend to not recall a large amount of actual information, but instead recall their emotional response to the candidate or position in question (Lodge and Taber 2013, Zaller 1992). This indicates that people make decisions based on their updated feelings tally, which leads to the second assumption, that of congruence. When faced with information congruent to how they feel about a position or candidate, they tend to assimilate that information, but if faced with contrary information, they tend to discount it. Taber, Lodge, and Glathar (2001) explain in a hypothetical that if an individual is for a position, when confronted with information against it, regardless of whether that individual recalls why they feel that way, they will discount this new information. This is motivated reasoning, wherein

the affectively laden attitude will motivate individuals to either pursue or disregard information to further their previously held beliefs.

This model is a clearer picture of the role emotion plays in forming and maintaining political judgements. JQP touches on the role affect plays in gaining and recalling information in the political context, and makes some mention of the valence of the emotion portrayed, but it is still an incomplete picture. First, the model does not explain how these initial attitudes are formed. If emotion is a motivator for all information selection and retention, what role does it play in the initial stages when a new candidate or position is presented to an individual? Second, while the theory argues that affect is primary when encountering *new* information, this affect is still assumed to be the *product* of old information, belying the primacy of affect postulate the theory itself espouses. In this conceptualization, affect is still secondary to the original piece of information, which contradicts the neuro-scientific understanding of affect as a reaction to external stimuli which precedes cognition. In this theory, individuals are not reacting to the environment through the mechanism of emotion, nor is emotion preceding cognition; individuals have first taken in information, which they have presumably thought about and internalized, and then *replaced* that initial cognitive process with affect as a *placeholder*. Affect, in this theory, is simply the shorthand conclusion individuals have reached after cognition, which guides them in future interactions with information.

Closest to clarity in terms of how emotion and political behavior interact is the Affective Intelligence Theory (AIT), conceptualized in Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000). AIT is similar to the theories mentioned above in that it separates emotion into positive and negative affective states and argues that they each have different cognitive consequences. As with AIM, AIT uncouples positive and negative emotions and treats these affective states as unique reactions rather than opposite anchors on a unidimensional scale. Per AIT, there are two types of monitoring systems in brain that process information: the dispositional system and the surveillance system. Both are ongoing monitoring systems that continually scan a person and the environment and have separate cognitive consequences. The dispositional system monitors the basic environment and checks for congruence between previously held beliefs and ideas and the external environment. Similarly, the surveillance system is constantly monitoring the external environment for novel or threatening information. When there is dissonance between the two, basically a case of the inner world coming into conflict with reality, a person becomes distressed and experiences negative emotions. These negative emotions cause us to go out and seek information and knowledge that will reduce this negative affect. When there is congruence, the individual experience positive affect, which reinforces prior cognitive decisions and causes these decisions and the processes used to reach them to become more habituated. Essentially, negative affect will spur higher levels of cognitive effort to reduce the negative emotion felt and positive affect will cause higher levels of habituation of routine processes. AIT, therefore, conceptualizes emotion as a motivator for cognition (Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000).

AIT is closer to the neuroscientific conceptualization of emotion and its influence, because it is based on these theories. There is a clear distinction between positive and negative affect and the effects these have on individuals in terms of political information gathering, but it still finds itself short of an all-encompassing theory for three reasons.

First, while AIT is very specific about the effect of anxiety (negative emotion) on individuals, it is less clear about the role of enthusiasm (positive emotion). Theoretically, Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) argue that anxiety and enthusiasm are distinct emotional states which are predicted to produce distinct responses, there is little to no elaboration on the expectations in cases of high enthusiasm aside from complacency. And while anxiety and enthusiasm are measured separately, in analysis of the data and theorizing, they are treated as interchangeable; anxiety is the focus and, in cases of high enthusiasm, individuals default to habit, which is the absence of anxiety. Operationally speaking, the measurement of enthusiasm becomes the lack of anxiety, and all the movement in terms of responses and behavior were seen through the lens of anxiety. In other words, enthusiasm becomes a default in the data, contributing little, if any, independent activity on the part of individuals (D'Ambrosio 2002). This lack of clear expectations and outcomes minimizes any effect positive emotion may have on individual behavior and learning and obfuscates the role of positive emotion in political thought and action.

Second, the measurement of emotion in this theory is very imprecise. AIT is a general theory about the role of emotion in political thought and decision making, but the questions used to measure these emotions are very specific to candidates and to the political process. This measurement conflates feelings towards politics, candidates, political identity, and political engagement. For instance, if an individual reports that they feel hopeful about a candidate, this may not reflect the respondents' emotions, but instead may be a signal of party loyalty. There is no way to disentangle these factors as emotion is measure and dealt with in AIT. Moreover, this theory again tells us nothing about how emotion affects individuals receiving *new* information, nor does it predict anything particular for positive emotions other habituated behavior.

Third, and perhaps most obviously, as with all the previously cited theories, AIT shows us an incomplete picture of how emotions influence individuals because it does not consider the effect of personality, or stable traits, on how individuals experience those emotions or how they act on them. All the above-mentioned theories assume a uniform effect of emotions, but as the personality research has shown, individuals have pre-dispositions that cause them to act and react to the world in substantively different ways. For instance, one of the most relevant examples for AIT is the personality trait Neuroticism. Neuroticism as a personality trait is all about anxiety and stress and an individual's ability to deal with and respond to these states. Haas et al. (2007) demonstrate that individuals high in Neuroticism tend to focus on negative information more than others and that their ability to deal with conflicting information and the stress it causes is lower than in those low in the Neuroticism trait. This is clearly relevant to AIT in that these results demonstrate that anxiety, the primary mover in the theory, is not experienced equally amongst individuals and that some, particularly those high in Neuroticism, will react to it in substantively different ways than those low in the trait. As of yet this variance is not only unaccounted for, but entirely unacknowledged in the larger theoretical framework. This very gap was tested by MacKuen et al. (2010), who found that, in the case of theories of citizenship, emotion and personality play an interactive role in influencing how individuals view and act in the political world. In fact, MacKuen et al. (2010) state that, "...at the end of the day, we find that both

transitory emotional states and permanent personality traits shape political life,” which indicates that AIT, while thorough and well-tested as a theory, is not entirely complete without the added dimension of personality. This study is the only one of its kind, due mainly to the daunting task of incorporating emotion and personality into one theoretical framework. As MacKuen et al. (2010) state, their results, “...encourage[s] further development. However, we remain cautious about making strong inferences until that theoretical work stands in place.”

In order to fully examine the role of emotion in political thought and behavior, it is important to bring together a working theory that combines the best of the four theories laid out above while avoiding the pitfalls of each. JQPM and AIT together come closest to explaining the phenomenon of emotion and therefore are the foundation of this study. Bringing together the strands of these theories, I can clearly lay out a theory of how and when emotion influences individuals in the political realm. First and foremost, emotion is understood as occurring prior to all cognition. Emotion occurs as a reaction to stimuli and precedes cognition and behavior. Second, emotion has two distinct categories: positive and negative. All emotions that can be named, such as fear or hope, are subsumed in these categories. This is not only for ease of analysis, but also a clarifying principle since, as some studies have shown, lower order emotions or secondary emotions all stem from the same areas of the brain, making distinctions between these unnecessary and tangential (LeDoux 2003, LeDoux 2000, Wheeler, Davidson, and Tomarken 1993). This is a shift in focus from AIT, which is primarily concerned with anxiety and enthusiasm.

The primary task of this study is to do just this: provide a theoretical framework to bring together the disparate yet clearly connected literatures of emotion and personality. The next steps toward that are to establish how emotion and personality interact in general, how personality effects political behavior independently, and finally, how personality and emotion interact in the areas of political cognition, attitudes, and behaviors.

### **How do emotion and personality interact in general?**

In political science, there are few studies aimed primarily at emotion, and, of those that are, there is little to no mention of the moderating or intervening effects of personality. However, as a basic read of the literature above shows, no internal process, be it affect or personality, occurs within a vacuum. Moreover, the real effects of either are seen through the interaction of individuals with the world around them, and in this world, both personality and emotion occur concurrently. To separate one from the other, as has been done so far, shows us, at best, an incomplete picture of how individuals engage with the world around them. Most clearly, this lack of complete picture shows itself in the fractured body of work on emotion and political behavior and in the inconsistent results seen in the personality and political behavior work.

In the broadest sense, possible, the relationship between personality and emotion is an interactive one, wherein both factors influence and shape individuals’ political attitudes and behaviors. Personality, understood as the basic, stable traits and tendencies individuals possess, are a priori. These personality traits set the stage, so to speak, for any other contextual factor to influence outcomes. Personality traits are, “... relatively

enduring dispositions that reflect characteristic patterns of emotionality, self-regulation, and general orientations to the social and physical environment. Traits are basically what people think, feel, and do... what people *automatically* think, feel and do” (John, Robins, and Pervin 2008). Personality traits are, thus, highly habituated patterns of action and feeling that are largely unconscious.

These traits are also fairly stable, changing only in times of extreme psychic pressure or traumatic environmental upheaval (John, Robins, and Pervin 2008, Mondak et al. 2010, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Ulbig and Funk 1999, Richey 2012, Mutz and Reeves 2005, Denny and Doyle 2008, Bizer et al. 2004, Pratto et al. 1994, Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013b). As Gerber et al. (2011) explain, “...personality traits can be likely be viewed as predating, rather than being caused by, social and political influences, offering an opportunity to examine how fundamental, enduring personality differences affect an array of social outcomes, including political attitudes and behaviors” (p. 111). Studies have shown that personality traits are highly heritable (Mondak and Hibbing 2012, Borkenau et al. 2001, Jang et al. 2002, Jang et al. 1998, McRae et al. 2001, Riemann, Angleitner, and Strelau 1997, Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013b, Loehlin et al. 1998, Bergeman et al. 1993) and have also been shown to be quite stable over time (Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013a, b, McCrae et al. 2000, Cobb-Clark and Schurer 2012, Judge et al. 1999, Soldz and Vaillant 1999, Ozer and Benet-Martinez 2006, McAdams and Olson 2010, Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005).

The effect of personality traits is, to some degree, moderated by emotional context. An individual’s tendency toward Extraversion might be exacerbated by heightened arousal of some emotion, but one cannot say the reverse. It cannot be true that an emotion, any emotion, no matter how strongly felt, could alter one’s basic personality structure and make one more or less Extraverted, for example. Research has shown that personality traits are highly stable over an individual’s lifetime, changing very little through time (Costa and McCrae 1988). Research has also revealed that personality is genetically heritable, implying that individuals are essentially born with their core personality traits and tendencies (Bouchard Jr. and Loehlin 2001, Bergeman et al. 1993, Borkenau et al. 2001, Jang et al. 2002, McRae et al. 2001, Riemann, Angleitner, and Strelau 1997, Vernon et al. 2008). This heritability indicates that, in time order, emotional experience must necessarily be antecedent to personality, as individuals’ basic personality traits are inherent within them *a priori* to any given situation or circumstance, including emotional context.

The basic relationship between personality and emotion is then in an interactive one, wherein personality traits are the base upon which emotions act, leading to outcome attitudes and behaviors. Certain personality traits may also influence how individuals experience emotion, making one more or less prone to an emotional state or a reaction. In simplest terms, personality influences how individuals experience emotions, but emotions moderate the relationship between personality and outcomes, exacerbating or diminishing the effects of personality traits. There are essentially two dimensions to this relationship between personality and emotion. The first dimension is the effect of personality on how individuals experience emotions and the second is the moderating effect of emotional contexts on individual expression of personality traits. For instance, a very outgoing and extraverted individual is more likely to gravitate toward and

experience positive emotions, because of their personality. At the same time, this same individual, when they are in a positive emotional context, are also likely to become more outgoing and extraverted *because* they are experiencing positive emotions. In this case, personality first influenced *whether* the individual experienced the emotion at all, a self-selection into the emotional state. Further, once in this emotional state, personality influenced *how* the individual experienced and then reacted to the emotional context they found themselves in.

Some personality traits directly influence how people experience emotions. In fact, studies have shown that certain personality traits are more or less inclined to experience either positive or negative emotions. These tendencies have strong behavioral implications as individuals with these personality traits will go out of their way to experience certain emotional states. For instance, studies have shown that extraverts tend to be more attracted to and more capable of experiencing positive affect (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1992), are more subjectively happy than others (Watson and Clark 1997, Canli et al. 2002, Pavot, Diener, and Fujita 1990), and also tend to experience more objectively positive life events (Magnus et al. 1993). This tendency toward positive affect indicates that individuals high on the Extraversion scale will be more predisposed to gravitate toward positive emotional experiences and, conversely, to shy away from negative emotional experiences. In this way, personality has a direct effect on how one experiences emotions and the amount of influence these emotions might have on behavioral outcomes. Relatedly, Komarraju, Dollinger, and Lovell (2012) show that agreeable individuals will go to great extents to avoid and mitigate negative affect because they are more sensitive to it. This indicates a strong behavioral tendency to avoid negative emotional experiences, which can influence how and when one engages with the world around them. In contrast to Extraversion, Neuroticism is most commonly associated with negative affect. Studies have consistently shown that high levels of Neuroticism are positively related to higher experiences of, and attraction to, negative emotions (Rusting and Larsen 1997, Magnus et al. 1993, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1980). Individuals high in Neuroticism, therefore, will be more attracted to negative emotional contexts.

This relationship between personality traits and emotional experiences indicates that the effect of emotion is not the same for all individuals. In essence there is a selection effect, whereby individuals will self-select into experiencing emotional states at different levels of intensity. This fact adds a complication to the relationship between personality and affect, but it is not an insurmountable one. There is still some consistency in how and when individuals self-select into these emotional states. Observationally, this tendency should simply translate into stronger moderating effects of emotional states. For example, an individual high in Extraversion exposed to a positive emotional state should evince heightened reactions or behaviors in this state as compared to an individual high in Extraversion who is not in a positive emotional state. The influence of personality on how individuals experience emotions is directly observable in the moderating effect emotion has in the relationship between personality and behavioral outcomes.

The second dimension of the relationship between personality and emotion is the moderating effect emotions have on an individual's expression of certain personality traits through cognition and behavior. Emotion as a concept is difficult to define clearly; Kleinginna Jr. and Kleinginna (1981), in their review of the literature, identify over 90 different definitions of emotion, both operational and conceptual. One thing this definitional confusion makes clear is that emotion is neither a fully internal process nor a fully external one. One cannot experience emotion in a vacuum without some sort of external stimuli, and yet the experience of emotion is also dispositional in that internal factors such as personality and biological processes will determine how and what people feel.

Clearly, emotion is a hybrid of both internal and external forces. However, the fact is that while individual predispositions might influence how people experience or recognize emotion, emotion itself is, inherently, a reaction (Davidson and Irwin 1999). In the absence of some sort of external stimulation, the body and mind at rest evince no emotion or reaction. Emotion is a reaction to the external world, an individual's unconscious and conscious reaction to external stimuli, which can be categorized into two basic systems: approach and withdrawal (Davidson and Irwin 1999). The approach system is associated with appetitive behavior, or positive affect, and the withdrawal system is associated with withdrawal from aversive stimulation, or negative affect. This conception of emotion is, of course, not the only way to understand it, but for the sake of clarity and of drawing clear analytical distinctions between personality and emotion, it is practical to define emotion as a contextual factor that is both influenced by personality and influential in one's expression of personality.

### **How does personality effect political outcomes?**

The Big 5 or five factor approach to personality is an empirically derived understanding of personality types and traits (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011). Beginning in the 1980's, Costa and McCrae have systematically derived, developed, and expanded the Big 5 personality construct (McCrae and Costa Jr 1989, Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013a, b, 1995, 1996, 2008, Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye 1991, Costa Jr. et al. 1987, Loehlin et al. 1998, Goldberg 1990, 1993). Studies have shown that personality traits, especially within the context of the Big 5 personality model, are highly heritable (Mondak and Hibbing 2012, Borkenau et al. 2001, Jang et al. 2002, Jang et al. 1998, McCrae et al. 2001, Riemann, Angleitner, and Strelau 1997, Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013b, Loehlin et al. 1998, Bergeman et al. 1993). The Big 5 model has also been shown to be fairly stable over time, indicating that the predictive power of the Big 5 is not dependent on where an individual is in their life-cycle during the time of measurement (Costa Jr. and McCrae 2013a, b, McCrae et al. 2000, Cobb-Clark and Schurer 2012, Judge et al. 1999, Soldz and Vaillant 1999, Ozer and Benet-Martinez 2006, McAdams and Olson 2010, Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005). This stability grants the Big 5 model greater validity as a predictor of behavior and attitudes and increases its usefulness as a generalizable construct. Each trait is unique in its relationship to political cognition, attitudes, and behaviors. Below is an explanation of how each personality trait is related to political outcomes.

Openness to Experience is a personality trait that is defined as the tendency toward curiosity, learning, information-seeking, and flexibility of thought (McCrae and Costa Jr 1985). In the realm of political attitudes, Openness to Experience has been most often studied in the context of ideology. As Dollinger (2012) points out, Openness to Experience is most often associated with liberalism in individuals. Conceptually, Openness to Experience is associated with high levels of divergent thinking, sensation seeking, and the tendency to have eclectic and varied tastes and preferences. All of this combined results in more positive responses to novel stimuli and the tendency to push the boundaries of conventional thought and actions. Studies have shown that this is the case; individuals high on the Openness to Experience scale are more likely to have liberal ideologies (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Carney et al. 2008, Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013, Osborne and Sibley 2012, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt 2012, Vecchione et al. 2011). Similarly, studies have shown that Openness to Experience is also positively related to higher rates of political participation.

As Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling (2011) point out, while the connection between Openness to Experience and political participation has been amply demonstrated, there is still some debate about the particular mechanism of this relationship. Scholars have argued that individuals high in Openness to Experience like to engage in politics because Openness to Experience is about curiosity, sensation seeking, and positive responses to novel situations, which the political arena can provide. Studies in this vein have shown that highly open individuals tend to participate in politics more (Mondak and Halperin 2008, Mondak et al. 2010, Mondak and Canache 2014). Some scholars have argued that the mechanism by which Openness to Experience affects an individual's level of participation is their feeling of efficacy (Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013, Mondak and Halperin 2008). Moreover, among those who are politicians, Openness to Experience is related to higher levels of participation in the legislative process, such as writing and introducing legislation and higher levels of participation in the committee process (Dietrich et al. 2012).

In terms of political attitudes, Conscientiousness has been linked to high levels of conservatism (Carney et al. 2008, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013, Lewis and Bates 2011, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt 2012, Vecchione et al. 2011). Carney et al. (2008) explain the relationship between conservatism and Conscientiousness by arguing that, "...the conservative preference for social stability and hierarchy both reflects and reinforces the... motivational pull toward order, structure, obedience, and duty." Conscientiousness has shown mixed results in terms of political behavior. While some scholars have shown that higher levels of Conscientiousness increases rates of political participation (Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013), others have found that Conscientiousness is either insignificant as a predictor or actually decreases the probability of political participation (Mondak et al. 2010, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011). Scholars such as Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. (2011) and Mondak et al. (2010) explain this discrepancy by arguing that personality alone cannot perfectly predict behavior. Instead, behavior is a product of a combination of dispositional and environmental factors that can lead to unique, idiosyncratic results.

One possible explanation they offer is that the relationship between Conscientiousness and political participation is moderated by one's understanding of participation itself. If one views voting and participating as a duty, higher levels of Conscientiousness should push people to participate more. However, if one views political participation as something unimportant or maybe as a social activity rather than a duty, Conscientiousness should not predict this at all. This relationship is similar to how emotion conditions the connection between Conscientiousness and political participation. While Conscientiousness has a direct effect on participation, emotion conditions the magnitude of this effect.

Extraverts are outgoing, gregarious people, and it naturally follows that these people, who like to be around people and need high levels of social interaction, would be likely to participate in the political process. Scholars have shown that extraverts are more likely to participate in politics by voting at higher rates and by participating in politics in other ways (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Mondak 2010, Mondak et al. 2010). Studies into the specific mechanisms that operate between the predisposition of Extraversion and participation have shown that one potential link between the two might be efficacy (Mondak and Halperin 2008, Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013).

Ideologically speaking, there has been no consistent evidence that links Agreeableness to any political orientation. Carney et al. (2008) show that, while there is little evidence of causality, liberals tend to score higher on some facets of Agreeableness, such as tender-mindedness, than conservatives. Colémont, Van Hiel, and Cornelis (2011) show that Agreeableness is positively related social dominance orientation, which is a personality construct related to the conservatism. Pratto et al. (1994) define social dominance orientation as a facet of conservatism; "...a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal versus hierarchical" (pg. 742). Those high on social dominance orientation will tend to favor hierarchy-enhancing ideologies, which is typical of the ideology of conservatism. This is indirect evidence that Agreeableness and conservatism correlate. However, other studies have shown evidence of a relationship between Agreeableness and liberalism (Vecchione et al. 2011, Gerber et al. 2010, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt 2012). This relationship is based on the idea that agreeable people tend to like community based policies and ideologies, basing their worldview on what is best for the group and others rather than a more individualistic approach.

In terms of behavior, Agreeableness has been linked to the propensity to vote. Some scholars have found mixed results for this relationship (Mondak and Halperin 2008), however other scholars feel that these mixed results are because of the moderating effect of one's view of voting. If agreeable people view voting as a duty, and view the duty of voting as a part of upholding the structure of society, Agreeableness makes people more likely to turn out to vote. Blais and St. Vincent (2011) show this relationship by examining the link between altruism, a facet of Agreeableness, and the propensity to vote. However, other studies of this relationship have found that individuals scoring high on other facets of Agreeableness, such as conflict avoidance, correspond to lower levels of participation (Blais and St. Vincent 2011, Ulbig and Funk 1999, Mutz 2002). To further complicate matters, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et

al. (2011) show that Agreeableness has inconsistent effects on participation across samples. In some samples, it seems that Agreeableness has a negative effect on participation whereas in others, it seems to have a positive effect. Still other studies have shown null results, indicating no relationship between Agreeableness and participation (Mondak et al. 2010). Studies have also linked Agreeableness with higher levels of interpersonal and political trust (Mondak and Halperin 2008).

The political science literature is a little confusing in the area of Neuroticism as some studies use Neuroticism as a measure and others use its inverse, emotional stability, however, the concepts are equivalent, which makes studies using either measurement comparable. Carney et al. (2008) discuss previous theorizing about the connection between Neuroticism and political orientation and discover that there is very little evidence of a connection. Theoretically speaking, it makes sense to think that Neuroticism should influence political ideology. Anxiety in particular has been shown to be linked to conservatism (Jost et al. 2003). Some scholars show that there is a weak relationship between conservatism and Neuroticism (Carney et al. 2008, Gerber et al. 2010, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt 2012). However, other scholars have no found evidence of the relationship between Neuroticism and conservatism (Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013, Vecchione et al. 2011). High levels of Neuroticism has also been shown to either decrease levels of participation in politics (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Mondak and Canache 2014, Mondak et al. 2010) or show no relationship at all (Mondak and Halperin 2008).

### **How do emotion and personality interact?**

The Big 5 personality traits have each been individually linked, directly and indirectly, with emotional states, giving a basic guideline for how these traits interact with either positive or negative emotional contexts. In order to fully understand the relationship between personality and emotion, it is useful to examine this relationship in the context of each personality trait individually.

#### Openness to Experience

McCrae (1993) describes Openness to Experience as a measure of how open or closed individuals are to the following distinct areas: fantasy, aesthetics, feelings, actions, ideas, and values. These areas that, combined, create the Openness to Experience domain, are known as lower-order traits, or facets. Dollinger (2012) describes each lower level facet and how it relates to the Openness to Experience domain. Fantasy measures the enjoyment of imagination and a person's propensity to think in terms of possibilities. Aesthetics measures one's enjoyment of and participation in the world of the arts. The feelings facet refers to one's interest in and connection to the inner world of emotionality. The action facet is all about one's preference for new and various forms of excitement, sometimes also called sensation seeking, which is also related to Extraversion. The ideas facet refers to one's attitude toward learning and intelligence, which is highly similar to the construct of need for cognition.

Finally, values refers to one's normative predisposition toward the world. Openness generally shows up as a preference for more liberal values and positions. These are the individual facets that, combined, create the domain of Openness to Experience.

Openness, as a domain, has two parts: structure and motivation. McCrae and Costa Jr (1997) define the structural aspect of openness when they argue that, "openness is seen in the breadth, depth, and permeability of consciousness, and in the recurrent need to enlarge and examine experience" (p. 826). This definition implies that open people are interested in many different things, like to explore and learn more about things, and are more fluid in their thinking about the world. The motivational part of the definition is defined as an, "insatiable curiosity about the world,"(McCrae and Greenberg 2014). In practice, Openness to Experience is characterized in individuals by high levels of divergent thinking and creativity (McCrae 1987, George and Zhou 2001), high rates of getting deeply absorbed into one's interests (McCrae and Greenberg 2014, Glisky et al. 1991), and even wider ranging tastes in music than their more closed off counterparts (Dollinger 1993).

Openness to Experience is a personality trait that is defined as the tendency toward curiosity, learning, information-seeking, and flexibility of thought (McCrae and Costa Jr 1985). In the realm of political attitudes, Openness to Experience has been most often studied in the context of ideology. As Dollinger (2012) points out, Openness to Experience is most often associated with liberalism in individuals. Conceptually, Openness to Experience is associated with high levels of divergent thinking, sensation seeking, and the tendency to have eclectic and varied tastes and preferences. These characteristics lead open individuals to provide more positive responses to novel stimuli and to push the boundaries of conventional thought and actions.

Emotional contexts influence the attentional process, and positive affect directs people to pay less attention whereas negative emotion signals a sharpens attention. Openness to Experience as a personality trait is defined by a tendency toward wanting to learn more and experience more in the world. Individuals high in this trait tend to stretch themselves and pay attention to many different subjects and issues, but also get deeply absorbed into something once it has caught their attention and curiosity. In a positive emotional context, these traits should be magnified, signaling but also less focus and attention to information. A positive emotional context should make these individuals more likely to want to experience more of whatever event triggers this emotion. This, in effect, becomes a wide net which, while catching some attention, spreads that attention across many different issues and pieces of information. Negative emotion, which generally signals a withdrawal from stimuli, should sharpen this attentional process to discover the nature and consequences of the threat presented. The tendency to want to explore and pay attention to things is central to this tendency, and not easily overridden.

Positive emotional contexts should also spur higher levels of memory retrieval in individuals high on Openness to Experience, and spur these individuals toward making more connections and intuitive leaps in logic. Openness to Experience has also, in some contexts, been known as intellect and individuals high on this trait tend to be more open-minded, thoughtful, adaptive, flexible in thought, creative, and driven to learn new things. Positive affect has the effect of increasing these tendencies, highlighting these traits and making them more pronounced. In this case, it is possible that individuals high on

Openness to Experience who experience positive affect will be able to think about things more creatively, more flexibly, and make learning and retrieval from memory of those things learned, easier. However, as mentioned before, the attention to information is wide and scattered, implying that recall of specific information might be less likely. The correlate to this is the inverse, that negative emotion to should sharpen attention, focus the individual more deeply on what is being learned, and thus boost the memory retrieval process. This effect is compounded by the strength of the emotional context in which learning is done. As several scholars have shown, the strength of the emotional context in which learning is done can affect the retrieval of memory process; things learned during times of stronger emotional arousal are learned more deeply and more easily accessible in memory later.

Positive emotions should also increase the effect of the attitudinal and behavioral tendencies of those high on the Openness to Experience scale. As scholars have discovered, positive affect increases an individual's level of cognitive flexibility, creative thinking, and risk-taking behavior (Dreisbach and Goschke 2004, Ashby and Isen 1999, Wright and Bower 1992, Isen and Patrick 1983). These are all traits heightened in those who are high on Openness to Experience. In a positive emotional context, which has been shown to trigger these reactions in people across the personality spectrum, individuals high on Openness to Experience should show higher rates of these behaviors, which manifest as open-mindedness toward other groups, tolerance and general approach behaviors which indicate curiosity and a willingness and need to interact with the world around them.

Figure 1 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and emotional contexts. As mentioned above, individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to experience positive emotions, and thus there is direct link toward the positive emotion box whereas they are less likely to experience negative emotions, hence the dotted line to negative emotion. Figure 1 demonstrates how individuals high in Openness

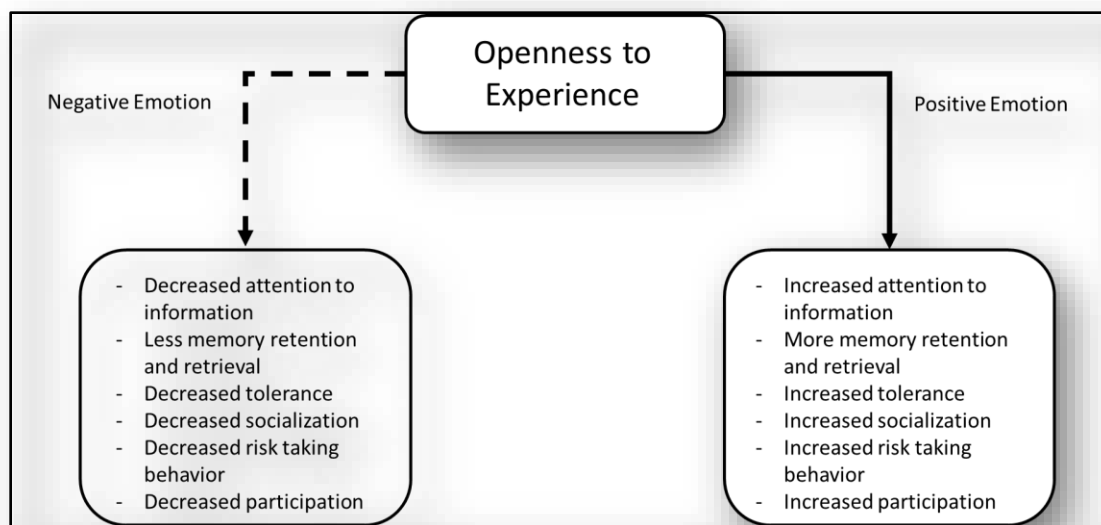


Figure 1 – The relationship between Openness to Experience and Emotion

to Experience are expected to react to different emotional contexts as compared to individuals low in this personality trait.

### Conscientiousness

The Big 5 personality model conceptualizes Conscientiousness as a product of six lower level facets: competence, order, dutifulness, achievement striving, self-discipline, and deliberation (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1998). Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye (1991) explain the different facets of Conscientiousness. Competence is one's sense of their ability to get things accomplished. This facet is also closely related to self-reported intelligence and self-esteem. Order is the tendency to keep one's environment tidy and the need to have everything around oneself well-organized. Dutifulness refers to a strong belief in and need to adhere to a strict code of conduct. This facet is related issues of social interaction and hierarchical thinking and is mostly about the extent to which principles and standards of behavior are observed and expected from others. Achievement striving is simply the need to strive for excellence. Self-discipline is primarily a facet of persistence; the ability to continue with a task despite distractions or boredom. This is separate from self-control, in that self-control is more about inhibition from acting on impulse, which is more closely related to emotional stability, whereas self-discipline is a more proactive doggedness that gets the job done. Deliberation is a facet that is all about thinking things through, careful planning, thoughtfulness, and general caution.

Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye (1991) explain that Conscientiousness is a domain comprised of both proactive and inhibitive facets that, working together, form a single personality domain. "The proactive side of Conscientiousness is seen most clearly in the need for achievement and commitment to work; the inhibitive side is seen in moral scrupulousness and cautiousness," (Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye 1991). The clearest relationship between Conscientiousness and behavior is seen in the area of personal achievement. Higher levels of Conscientiousness have been a robust predictor of academic success, both at the high school and collegiate level (Nofle and Robins 2007, Komarraju, Karau, and Schmeck 2009, Lounsbury et al. 2003). Conscientiousness has also been linked to high levels of career success and satisfaction (Judge et al. 1999). These relationships are not surprising as Conscientiousness is a personality domain that encompasses proactive achievement striving and organized and dutiful behavior, which can translate into academic or career success. Conscientiousness has also been shown to predict individual values, such as achievement and conformity (Roccas et al. 2002), higher levels of dogmatic thinking (Mondak and Halperin 2008), higher levels of religiosity (McCullough, Tsang, and Brion 2003), and higher levels of social dominance orientation, a personality construct that measures the tendency to think rigidly, hierarchically, and express higher levels of social intolerance (Altemeyer 1996).

As a personality trait, Conscientiousness is marked by a tendency toward persistence, self-discipline, and diligence, which implies that distracting contexts would have less of an effect on individuals high on this trait than on those lower. However, at stronger levels of affect, negative emotional contexts should increase memory retrieval and learning processes among individuals with high rates of Conscientiousness. Conscientious individuals are much more likely to interpret positive emotions as

confirmation of their values and beliefs and incorporate those emotions into reasons their beliefs are justified. However, negative emotional contexts are seen as dissonance, something to be overcome, and can also be interpreted as negative feedback, indicating some sort of challenge to their beliefs or values.

In this vein, negative emotional contexts should spur stronger adherence to their previously held beliefs, a sort of reinforcing mechanism. For this process to work, conscientious people must first recognize the trigger for the negative emotional context and recognize that this trigger is a source of conflict for their beliefs. Because of these extra steps, this process is more cognitively taxing, requiring higher levels of attention. However, this attention is transitory, causing conscientious people to pay attention in order to reinforce their own ideas, and then swiftly discarding the trigger of the negative emotion. Thus, one would expect any learning effect to quickly dissipate, quite a different response than the one by individuals high on the Openness to Experience scale.

This personality trait is very closely related to high levels of dogmatism, achievement striving, and cautiousness. Highly conscientious individuals tend to have attitudes that are more cautious in action and more traditional in nature. For this type of person, any dissonance between their belief and value structures and the world around them is a great source of stress. Alleviating this stress becomes paramount, and all actions and attitudes are bent toward this goal; this is the same process that conscientious people utilize when dealing with negative emotional contexts. Any source of negativity or stress is relieved through adherence to and reinforcement of existing worldviews and values. Negative emotional contexts, therefore, trigger strengthening of internal worldviews and previously held beliefs. Positive emotional contexts signal approach behaviors, but Conscientiousness does not allow for much deviation from previously held attitudes and beliefs. Therefore, neither positive nor negative emotional contexts would move attitudes or beliefs in conscientious individuals, but if the emotional context were sufficiently strong, negative affect is more likely to cause movement. Positive affect could be interpreted as positive feedback, validating one's beliefs and attitudes, but negativity can cause dissonance. In order to address this dissonance, conscientious

individuals are likely to increase the strength and direction of their convictions, making them more cautious and traditional than before.

Figure 2 shows the relationship between Conscientiousness and emotional contexts. Individuals high on Conscientiousness are more likely to experience negative emotions, and as such as more likely to be moved by these emotions, hence the solid line to negative emotion. Figure 2 demonstrates the effects of emotion on individuals high in Conscientiousness as compared to those low in this trait.

### Extraversion

As with the other domains, Extraversion is also a combination of lower-order

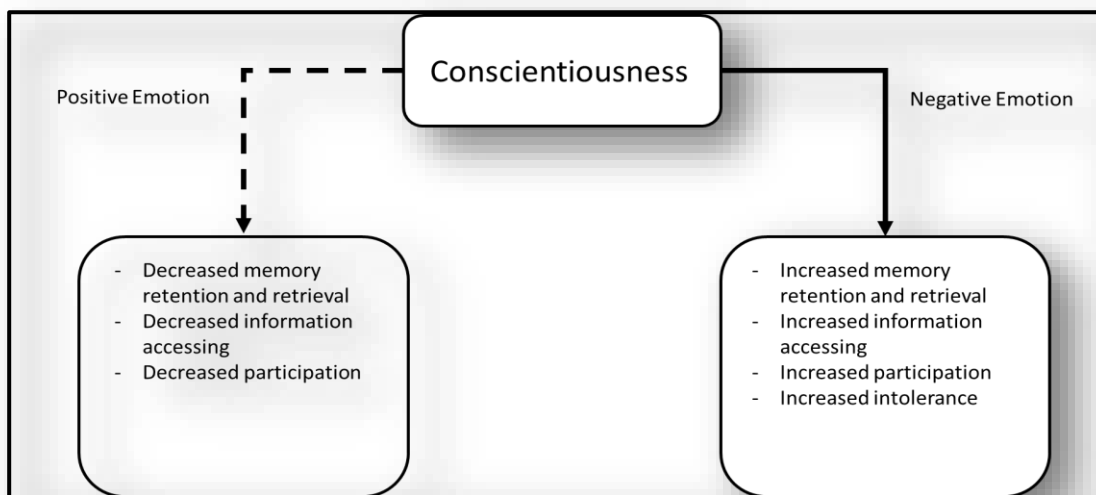


Figure 2 – The relationship between Conscientiousness and Emotion

facets, which are: warmth, gregariousness, assertiveness, activity, excitement seeking, and positive emotions (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1995, Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005). There is some debate, however, over the facet of warmth. John and Srivastava (1999) and Goldberg (1993) show that warmth is actually a facet of Agreeableness, and not Extraversion. The argument is that firstly, as a concept, warmth is more in line with the idea of an agreeable person, someone who is careful of others and wants people to like them. Secondly, John and Srivastava (1999) show that, empirically, warmth loads onto the factor of Agreeableness more than Extraversion. Despite the controversy about the facet of warmth, there is consensus in the literature about the general definition of Extraversion as a personality domain.

Extraversion is primarily a personality trait related to sociability, which is defined as a cognitive or affective preference for the company of other people (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, McCrae and Costa Jr. 1987). Extraversion is also related to surgency, a behavioral concept that refers to a person's tendency toward dominant behavior and achievement seeking (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Goldberg 1993). Extraverts also tend to be more attracted to and more capable of positive affect (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1992). In general, extraverts are known for their, "...energetic approach toward the social and

material world,” (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011). Studies have shown that extraverts tend to be subjectively happier than others (Watson and Clark 1997, Canli et al. 2002, Pavot, Diener, and Fujita 1990) and also tend to experience more objectively positive life events (Magnus et al. 1993).

Extraversion, as a personality trait, is very closely related to affect, more so than the previously discussed domains. Primarily, being an extravert predisposes one toward experiencing positive affect more than negative affect. In practice, this implies that positive affect is more easily recognized and enjoyed by extraverts than negative affect is; one might go so far as to speculate that extraverts have a strong attentional filter against negative affect. Because of this, extraverts are more likely to pay attention to and be influenced by positive affect, indicating that positivity is a stronger influence in their life. It can be expected that, in the realms of attention, learning, and memory retrieval, extraverts are more likely to experience and be influenced by positive affect than negative.

Behaviorally and attitudinally speaking, extraverts are more likely to remember and incorporate stimuli that is presented in a positive emotional context. However, it is also true that positive emotional contexts would spur the basic tendencies of Extraverts to higher degrees. This includes traits such as being outgoing, spontaneous, gregarious, and sociable. All of which combined might lessen the effects of serious memory or contemplation in favor of spur of the moment and spontaneous actions. Spinning things in a positive way and presenting information in a way that makes extraverts feel more positively will influence their thinking and behavior. Discounting negatively valenced experiences and information may have the effect of skewing their attitudes and behaviors, making movement along those dimensions more difficult. Moreover, their tendency of gravitating toward more positively emotional experiences implies that they will self-select out of negative or stressful ones. This trait will inevitably skew their experiences in the world, leading them to be less adaptable in the face negativity and more resistant to it.

Figure 3 shows the relationship between Extraversion and emotional contexts. Extraverts are particularly attracted to positive emotions, so the positive emotional context outcomes are much more likely than the negative emotional context outcomes, hence the dotted line for negative emotion. Figure 3 demonstrates the expected effects of emotion on individuals high in Extraversion as compared to those low in this trait.

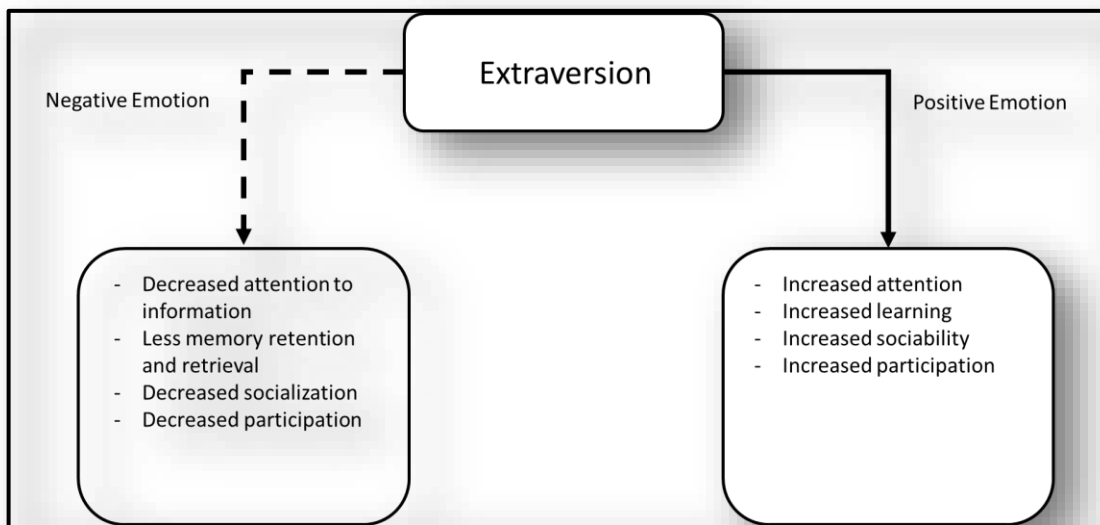


Figure 3 – The relationship between Extraversion and Emotion

### Agreeableness

Agreeableness is most often understood in relation to its contrast, disagreeableness. Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner (2005) explain that, “agreeable individuals are cooperative, considerate, empathic, generous, polite, and kind. Disagreeable individuals are aggressive, rude, spiteful, stubborn, cynical, and manipulative,” (pg. 459). There are six main lower-order facets that define Agreeableness: trust, straightforwardness, altruism, compliance, modesty, and tender-mindedness (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1995). Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye (1991) explain the different facets as, combined, defining a domain that influences both one’s self-image and one’s social attitudes and philosophy of life. Trust is understood as the tendency to ascribe benign or benevolent intentions toward others. Before the ascension of the Big 5, researchers commonly thought of the personality trait of trust as foundational to understanding individuals (Erikson 1950). Straightforwardness refers to the tendency to be direct and frank with others. Altruism is defined as selflessness and concern for others. Whereas in other contexts, altruism is often associated with self-sacrifice, here it is intended to convey a tendency toward courtesy, consideration, and smooth social interactions. Compliance indicates the tendency toward conflict avoidance. Compliant individuals defer to others when conflict arises and they are more likely to cooperate with others. Modesty is contrasted with arrogance and narcissism. Modesty is a facet that refers to one’s self-concept; modest people are not preoccupied with themselves and tend to put others before themselves. Tender-mindedness is the tendency to be guided by one’s feelings of sympathy toward others when making judgments or forming opinions.

Research has found that the most consistent link between Agreeableness and behavior is in conflict management styles. Komarraju, Dollinger, and Lovell (2012) review the literature on Agreeableness and show that Agreeableness is most often associated with conflict avoidance. Highly agreeable individuals will attempt to avoid

conflict at all costs but, when they cannot avoid it, they tend to respond with less aggression and hostility than those who score lower in this domain. In fact, highly agreeable individuals tend to be more capable of defusing tense conflict situations. Agreeableness is also correlated positively with values of benevolence, tradition, and conformity (Roccas et al. 2002). This implies that highly agreeable individuals are most concerned with being kind and compassionate toward others and maintaining tradition and social conformity. Agreeableness is also characterized by high individualizing, which is a high concern for fairness and ensuring that individuals are protected from harm (Lewis and Bates 2011). Agreeableness has also been linked to higher rates of religiosity. McCullough, Tsang, and Brion (2003) show that higher levels of Agreeableness are correlated with higher levels of religiosity. One explanation of this relationship is that highly agreeable people are more inclined to go along with others and maintain social structures, which can express itself as higher levels of religiosity.

Agreeable individuals are typically more externally focused than their disagreeable counterparts. Central to this personality domain is the idea that agreeable people like agreeable things; in other words, agreeable people have a distinct preference for positive emotional contexts. They feel more comfortable in neutral to positive emotional contexts and want to mitigate negativity whenever they encounter it. One would expect, then, that positive emotional contexts make agreeable people more complacent and negative emotional contexts raise their anxiety levels. Because of this tendency, agreeable people are more likely to pay attention in negative emotional contexts. Through this attention, they can find ways to mitigate or reduce the effect of these emotions; paying attention is a way to reduce the anxiety these emotions create.

Along these lines, negative emotional contexts should affect memory retrieval and learning as well. Negativity is antithetical to this personality type, and while heightened attention in negative emotional contexts can be a mechanism for reducing this tension, retaining and accessing these memories does not serve this same function. In fact, agreeable people feel pleasure from positive emotional contexts, whether it is through direct experience or the memory of them. Therefore, agreeable individuals are more likely to store and access positive emotionally valenced memories than negative. This has important implications for their behaviors and attitudes, which are more likely to be influenced by positive emotional contexts. Experiencing positive emotions either in the information processing stage, the memory retrieval stage, or the behavioral stage, should heighten the effect of the latent predispositions within a person.

Figure 4 shows the relationship between Agreeableness and emotional contexts. As Agreeableness is so closely related to positive affect, individuals high in this trait react to positive and negative emotions in a distinct pattern. Positive emotion makes individuals high in Agreeableness happy, content, and to a degree, complacent whereas negative emotion, which they tend to avoid and eschew, may spur anxiety reducing behaviors. It is also more likely that these individuals are more likely to experience the

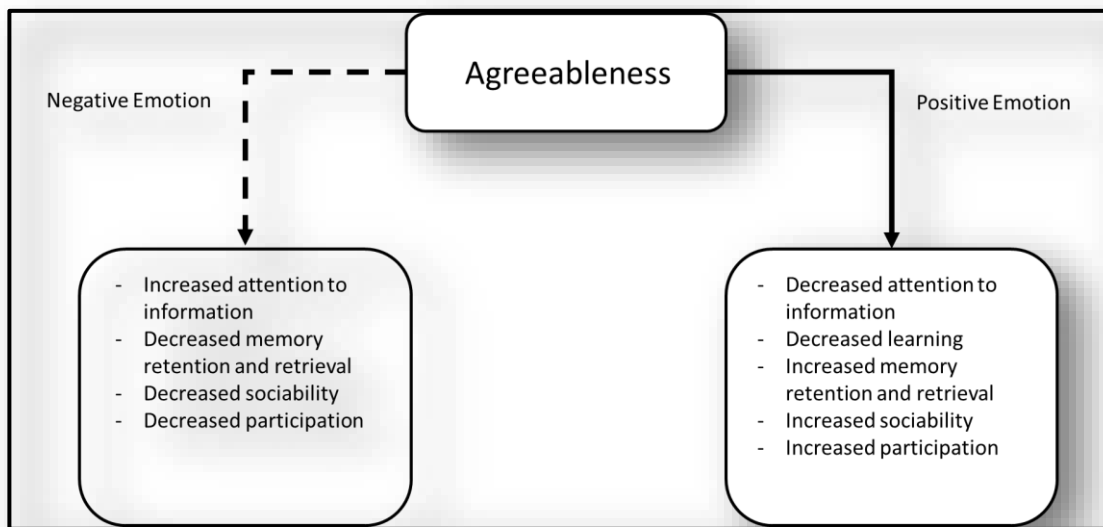


Figure 4 – The relationship between Agreeableness and Emotion

positive emotional context, hence the dotted line to the negative emotion box. Figure 4 demonstrates the expected effects of emotion on individuals high in Agreeableness as compared to those low in this trait.

### Neuroticism

Neuroticism, which is also sometimes referred to as its inverse, emotional stability, is known as, “one of the most widely studied personality domains in the entire field of psychology,” (Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005). Neuroticism is the personality domain that refers to an individual’s level of negative emotionality. Individuals high on the Neuroticism scale are, “anxious, vulnerable to stress, guilt-prone, lacking in confidence, moody, angry, easily frustrated, and insecure in relationships; individuals low on this trait are emotional stable and adaptable,” (Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005). Some scholars have argued that Neuroticism is part of underlying larger personality structure that includes self-esteem, locus of control, and generalized self-efficacy (Judge et al. 2002). Scholars have also found links between particular gene polymorphisms and Neuroticism, specifically in genes known to be involved in regulating stress management and anxiety control (Lesch et al. 1996). In the context of the Big 5 model, Neuroticism as a domain is characterized by the following lower-order facets: anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, and vulnerability (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1995, Johnson et al. 2012). There are two distinct dimensions to these facets that define Neuroticism: internal and external distress. Internal distress is characterized by the inner-directed facets such as anxiety, depression, and self-consciousness. External distress refers to the outer-directed facets of anger, hostility, and impulsiveness. Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner (2005) explain this distinction as being, “...similar to the distinction between internalizing and externalizing psychiatric disorders,” (pg. 457).

Most clearly, Neuroticism is negatively related to the ability to feel and enjoy positive affect (Roccas et al. 2002). Neuroticism is not just about negative emotionality, but it also has behavioral and cognitive implications. For instance, Haas et al. (2007) find that higher levels of Neuroticism increases an individual's level of attentional bias and their executive attention abilities. What this means is that individuals high on Neuroticism tend to focus more on negative information and their ability to monitor and resolve conflicting information, emotions, and instructions is lowered. The most common association between Neuroticism and behavior is that of emotion. Studies have consistently shown that high levels of Neuroticism are positively related higher experiences of negative emotions (Rusting and Larsen 1997, Magnus et al. 1993, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1980). High levels of Neuroticism are also positively related to lowered ability to deal with stress and higher instances of hypochondria (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1987, 1985, Bolger and Schilling 1991).

Neuroticism is the personality trait most closely associated with negative affect. Neuroticism not only makes one more predisposed toward negative emotions, but it also heightens the experience of these emotions. Individuals high on Neuroticism are drawn to negative emotions, therefore they are more likely to pay attention to negative emotional contexts than positive ones. This implies that they also store and access negative emotions in memory more than positive ones, which then influences their attitudes and behaviors. Specifically, in the area of political cognition and learning, individuals high in Neuroticism are uniquely unable to deal with negative emotions. This translates into more narrowly focused learning, memory retention and retrieval. Overall, the predispositions and tendencies of individuals high on Neuroticism are exacerbated when they are exposed to negative emotional contexts, which should translate into decreased participation and increased conservatism.

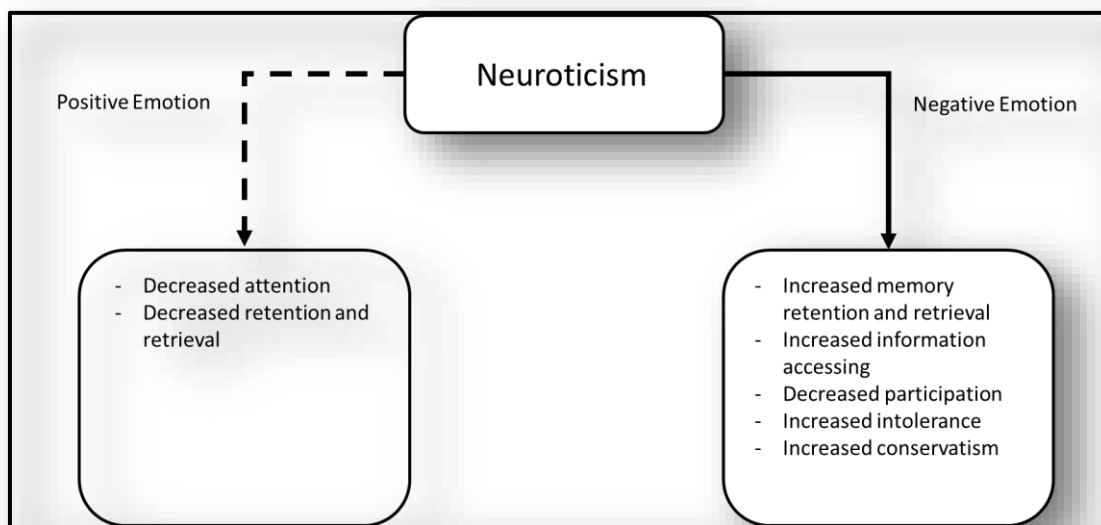


Figure 5 – The relationship between Neuroticism and Emotion

Figure 5 shows the relationship between Neuroticism and emotional contexts. Since this personality trait is so closely related to negative affect, it is more likely that individuals high in trait will be more likely to evince outcomes for negative emotions

rather than positive emotions, hence the dotted line to positive emotion. Figure 5 demonstrates the expected effects of emotion on individuals high in Neuroticism as compared to those low in this trait.

### **Plan for the Study**

Chapter 1 has outlined the relationships between the Big 5 personality domains and emotion, particularly in the areas of cognition, memory, learning, and behavior. This general theoretical explanation will become the foundation upon which I build specific theories of how personality and emotion interact in the areas of political cognition, attitudes, and behavior. To this end, the following chapters will lay out specific theoretical predictions and tests analyzing these relationships in the specific areas of attentional processing, political attitudes, and political participation.

Chapter 2 delves deeper into the interactive nature of the relationship between personality traits and emotional contexts. This chapter aims to understand and corroborate the general theory outlined above by examining the evidence for a link between personality and emotion. Using 2012 American National Election Survey data, I analyze the relationship between the Big 5 personality traits and political emotion – i.e. reported emotional responses targeted toward political candidates.

Chapter 3 analyzes the relationship between personality domains and emotion in the context of attentional processing. Political learning is key to any kind of political activity, since what people know and how they know it forms the basis of their attitudes and actions in the political world. This chapter will discover the roles of emotion and personality when individuals encounter new information and their recall of said information in different emotional contexts. Through an experimental setup, this study examines the interactive effect of Big 5 personality traits and emotion and their effects on attention to new information, attention to relevant information, and recall of information.

Chapter 4 examines the relationship between personality domains and emotion in the context of political attitudes. While studies have shown that political attitudes, which includes political ideology and attitudes toward issue positions, is relatively stable in the face of external stimuli, the theory laid out above indicates that emotional context can be an important variable in how people respond to questions about these issues.

Chapter 5 analyzes the relationship between personality domains and emotion in the context of political participation. Since political participation is heavily influenced by many factors, such as time, interest, engagement, income, etc., it is reasonable to assume that it may also be influenced by personality and emotion. Personality, as a stable and foundational set of predispositions, shapes the way people understand the world and their place in it. Some individuals feel more motivated to participate in politics whereas others would shy away from it based on their personality. Similarly, emotions can influence how likely individuals are to participate based on how they feel in general or toward politics in particular. Chapter 5 attempts to understand how and when these forces interact to influence behavior in the realm of political participation.

Chapter 6, the final chapter, draws together all the data chapters and offers some concluding remarks about the nature of the relationship between personality and emotion in political contexts. Based on the results of the data chapters, I will draw some conclusions about the nature of the effects of personality and emotion, individually and interactively, on political behavior and cognition.

## Chapter 2

### The Emotional Connection

The general theory above rests on the interactive effect personality and emotion have on influencing political behavior, thus it is important to discover the foundations of that relationship before I proceed to any actual behavioral outcomes. First, then, I will try to discover the nature of the relationship between personality and affect by testing whether some personality traits pre-dispose individuals to experience positive or negative affect in different ways.

Research mentioned above shows that personality and emotion are interlinked in the way people experience the world and engage with it. Several studies have shown that certain personality domains are more closely linked to affect than others. Specifically, the personality domain of Extraversion has been linked to positive affect (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002) and the personality domain of Neuroticism has been linked to negative affect (Roccas et al. 2002). Agreeableness has been linked to the avoidance of negative affect (Komarraju, Dollinger, and Lovell 2012) while Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness have not been directly linked to affect in any significant way. However, based on the above understanding of personality, it is reasonable to predict that these personality domains should have some effect on how individuals experience emotions.

Openness to Experience is a personality domain that, as the name suggests, increases an individual's tendency toward all experiences, positive or negative. Individuals high in this trait tend to be more open-minded and risk-taking, indicating that they should also be more likely to go out and seek all manner of experiences, including more extreme experiences. Nicholson et al. (2005) show that individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to take risks as compared to all other personality traits, including high stakes risks such as rock climbing, gambling, etc. Individuals who are higher in this trait should also be more extreme in their preferences for emotion, in that they seek out and experience more extreme emotions, such as euphoria over simple happiness.

Conscientiousness is a trait that is defined as strict, rigid thinking, and firmly hierarchical. Individuals high in this domain tend to believe in the social structure and show strict adherence to the rules and norms of the society they find themselves in. These individuals tend to be more risk-averse and prefer routine and dogmatic thinking rather than novelty. It follows, then, that anything that breaks the routine or disturbs the general order of things would be something to correct or avoid. This being the case, it is a logical extension to predict that individuals high in this personality domain would be more likely to react to life events and stimuli in a negative way, indicating that they are more likely to experience negative emotions than positive ones.

## ANES Study

I analyzed the relationships between personality domains and emotion in the 2012 American National Election Survey. The ANES is unique in that it is a representative sample of Americans and asks several questions that cover a broad range of topics of interest. Among those topics are personality and emotion.

The ANES measures personality through the Ten Item Personality Index (TIPI) which, as the name suggests, is comprised of 10 questions that scores individuals on the Big 5 personality domains. 2012 was the first year that the ANES included the Big 5 personality questions, making this survey a unique measurement of personality on a large scale. The inclusion of these personality questions in a large representative survey such as the ANES provides data not only more in line with current trends in the psychology and political science literature, it also allows research in the field to move beyond small scale local samples and creates a basis for comparison and verification across multiple studies.

For the personality measures, I combined and standardized the indicators such that every individual has 5 scores, one for each personality domain, ranging from 0-1, 1 being the highest in any given personality domain. A complete list of the TIPI questions in the ANES is provided in the appendix.

For emotion, there is no clear question asking individuals how they feel or whether they are more or less prone to any emotion. However, individuals were asked how they feel toward specific candidates running for office, which can serve as a close approximation of respondents' tendency toward positive or negative emotional states. Respondents were asked whether they felt anger, fear, hope, or pride when considering each candidate. They were then asked a follow up indicating how often they had felt that emotion. Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) have argued that these specific questions are not a good proxy for general emotional states since the questions are specifically directed at candidates, which adds a layer of complexity to any interpretation of the answers. For instance, it could be the case that more politically engaged respondents, or those more or less closely aligned with a political party, might be answering differently than those who are not politically engaged or aligned. The ideal measurement here would, of course, be some sort of emotional induction or, failing that, a simple question asking respondents how they feel in general. Lacking these questions, the best approximation to be made in the ANES is this emotional response battery. It is true that, as Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) have argued, these questions are inherently political in nature. However, my construction of the emotion measurement minimizes the political weight from the answers by separating positive and negative responses and then combining the "amount of times" an individual felt the emotion in the past.

Respondents were asked whether they felt anger, fear, hope, or pride about a candidate and then were asked how intensely they felt this emotion and how often they had felt this emotion. To strip out the political component of the questions, I created four count variables for each individual measuring how intensely and often they had felt each of the four emotions. By focusing on the emotion felt, the indicators do not focus on the candidates themselves. For instance, someone feeling strongly hopeful about a

republican candidate will have the same score as someone feeling strongly hopeful about a democratic candidate. This creates an even score across political alignment and eliminates differences based on political party or ideology. Additionally, the question of political engagement and interest remains. It is possible that, in this conception of emotion, someone not politically aware could answer as having no emotional response to a candidate simply because of lack of interest. This is certainly a problem, but not an insurmountable one. To account for this issue, I have included political interest in the model itself as an independent variable, which should account for this issue.

I created a negative emotion scale by combining fear and anger, and a positive emotion scale by combining hope and pride. Respondents were initially asked whether they had felt these emotions toward the candidates and, if they answered in the affirmative, they were asked a follow up question of how intensely they had felt this emotion. These questions created an intensity scale for each emotion ranging from 0 (did not feel this emotion) to 4 (felt this emotion intensely). Each emotion scale, positive and negative, was created by adding both similar emotions together and standardizing the resultant scale to range from 0 to 1. I have also included party ID, which ranges from 1-7 with 1 indicating strong Democrat and 7 indicating strong Republican, which, combined with political interest, should minimize the political content of the emotional responses.

Table 1 shows the relevant results for the two OLS regressions. A table of the full results is available in the appendix.

Table 1 – The effect of personality on the experience of positive and negative emotion

	Positive Emotion	Negative Emotion
Openness to Experience	0.07** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Conscientiousness	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Extraversion	0.12*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Agreeableness	0.13*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)
Neuroticism	-0.02 (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Party ID	-0.03*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Political Interest	0.30*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.02)
Constant	0.21*** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
N	5343	5347
Adjusted R-squared	0.15	0.09

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 1 demonstrates support for several key hypotheses regarding the relationship between personality and emotion. First and foremost, as expected, both political party identification and political interest influence individuals' experience of emotions for these questions. By far, political interest seems to exert the most influence of all factors in both the positive emotion category (0.30) and the negative emotion category (0.28). These findings support the argument that these emotional questions are highly political in nature. However, despite the inclusion of political party identification and political interest, personality still influences emotional responses. This implies that, regardless of the imprecise nature of the questions, personality still exerted significant influence in how respondents experienced emotions.

As expected, Openness to Experience, Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Agreeableness all influence how individuals experience emotions, however Agreeableness seems to defy expectations. Openness to Experience is shown to be positively related to both positive (0.07) and negative (0.09) emotion, which is as expected, since this personality domain is attracted to extremes of both emotions. Neuroticism, as expected, is positively related to the experience of negative emotion (0.13). Extraversion is positively related to positive emotion (0.12), as expected, and Agreeableness, contrary to expectations, is positively related to both positive (0.13) and negative (0.07) emotion. While the coefficient for Agreeableness in the negative emotion context is significant, it is not as influential as the effect of Neuroticism, which is much more impactful. It could also be the case that these results are an artefact of the way these emotions were measured by researchers. Individuals high in Agreeableness tend to seek out positive interactions with everyone they meet, which includes researchers. It is possible that, in an effort to be more agreeable toward the researcher, individuals high in Agreeableness might be likely to agree with questions they are asked. The ANES questions are posed as acquiescence style questions, asking respondents, “have you felt this emotion, yes or no?”. Highly Agreeable individuals might be generally more likely to answer in the affirmative, regardless of the question asked, because they seek to please the researcher. Another possible, and more probable explanation is that because individuals high in Agreeableness tend to be very sensitive to negative emotions, they are more likely to report feeling those emotions. Due to the antipathy toward any negativity and withdrawal from it that individuals high in this personality trait tend to exhibit, individuals high in Agreeableness tend to be more sensitive to negative emotions, recognizing and identifying them at higher rates. In this sense, individuals high in Agreeableness, while preferring to withdraw from negative emotion, are also more sensitive toward it.

While political interest is the largest influencer across both emotional states, among the personality traits, Agreeableness is strongest predictor of positive emotion and Neuroticism is the strongest predictor of negative emotion. These relationships are as expected, but these results do not allow for comparisons between positive and negative emotions due to the nature of the dependent variables. Positive and negative emotions here are separate variables, which necessitates separate models for both.

While the above analysis describes the relationship between positive and negative emotions separately, because they are two different regression models, I cannot make comparisons between the two. In order to make a comparison between positive and negative emotions, I created a variable measuring the difference between a respondent’s tendency to experience positive emotion vs. negative emotion. Essentially, I combined the count/intensity variables which measured the strength and how often one felt an emotion into a single variable. The resulting variable ranges from -8 to 8, creating a spread wherein negative numbers indicate a tendency toward negative emotions and positive numbers indicate a tendency toward positive emotions. Table 2 shows the relevant OLS results, a full table of the results is available in the appendix.

Table 2 – The effect of personality on the tendency toward positive vs. negative emotions

	Positive : Negative Emotion
Openness to Experience	-0.20 (0.22)
Conscientiousness	0.37 (0.22)
Extraversion	0.66*** (0.18)
Agreeableness	0.49** (0.22)
Neuroticism	-1.17*** (0.21)
Party ID	-0.36*** (0.02)
Political Interest	0.20 (0.14)
Constant	2.09*** (0.14)
N	5340
Adjusted R-squared	0.09

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 2 shows a more nuanced picture of the relationship between personality and emotion. Here the data show that, while political interest was important in simply answering how individuals felt about candidates independently, when those variables are transformed into a ratio, the larger picture changes somewhat. In this model, political interest is no longer influential, but political party identification is. The coefficient (-0.36) indicates that as individuals identify as more Republican, they are less likely to experience positive emotions, at least where politics is concerned. This is somewhat

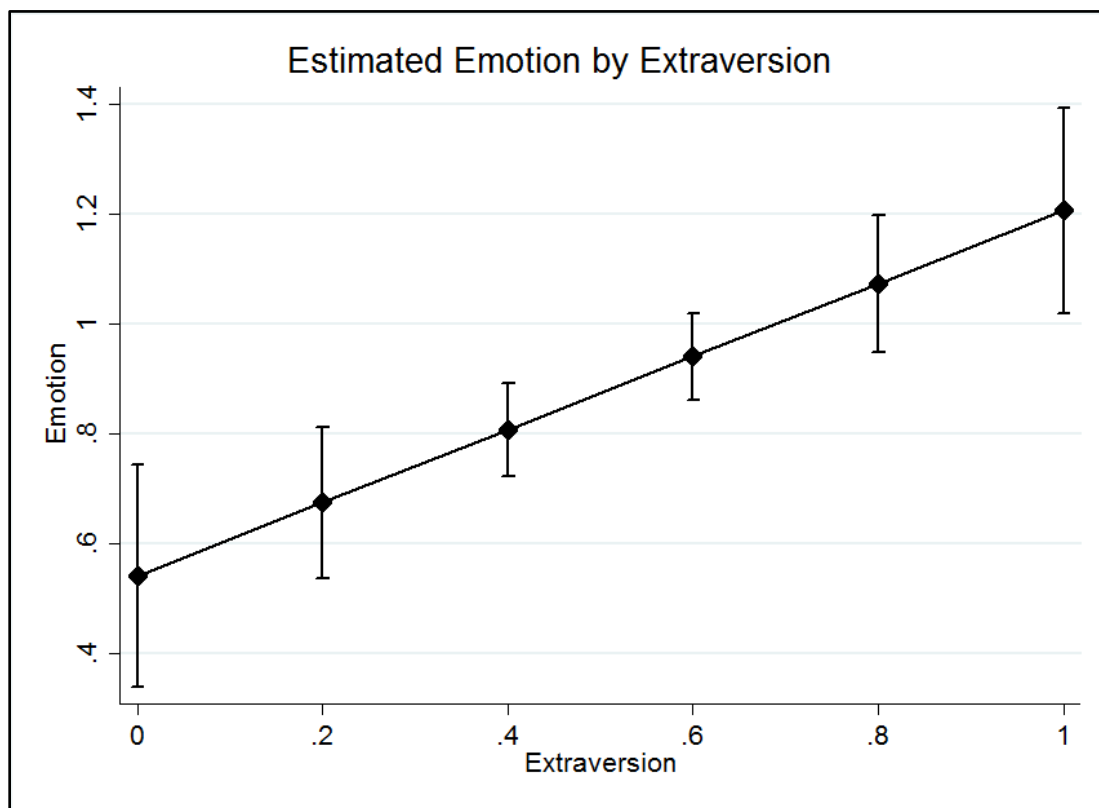


Figure 6 – The direct effect of Extraversion on emotion

interesting as it further demonstrates that political emotion is a complicated confluence of internal and external factors. 2012 was the year that President Barak Obama was reelected, which might have influenced those opposed to him to react to all political news and prompts in a more negative manner, explaining this result.

Despite the inclusion of political party identification and political interest, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism appear to strongly influence emotional experience. Indeed, all three personality traits seem to exert larger influences on emotional experience than political party identification or political interest. Figure 6 shows the effect of Extraversion on the tendency toward feeling emotion. As this figure demonstrates, as Extraversion increases, so too does the tendency to feel more positive emotion as compared to negative emotion. Figure 7 further demonstrates the relationship between Agreeableness and emotion.

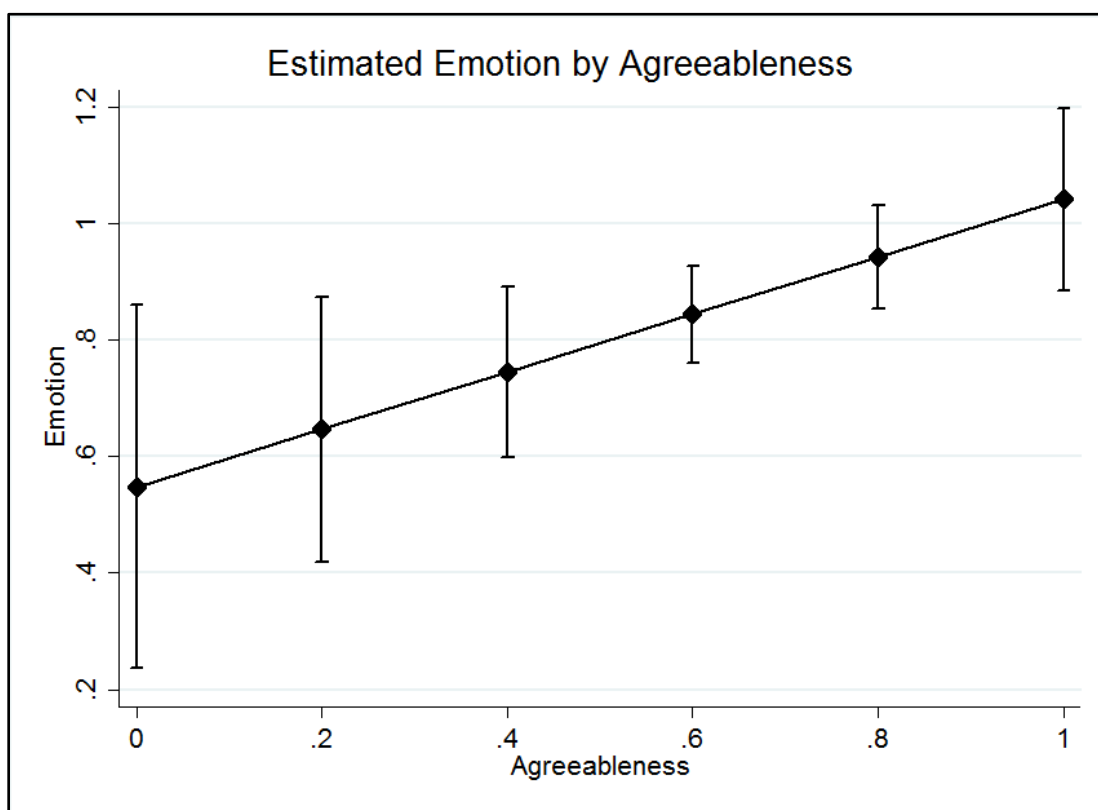


Figure 7 – The direct effect of Agreeableness on emotion

Here as well the data indicate a positive upward trend, indicating that as Agreeableness increases, so too does the tendency toward feeling more positive emotions as compared to negative emotion. Figure 8 shows the relationship between Neuroticism and emotion.

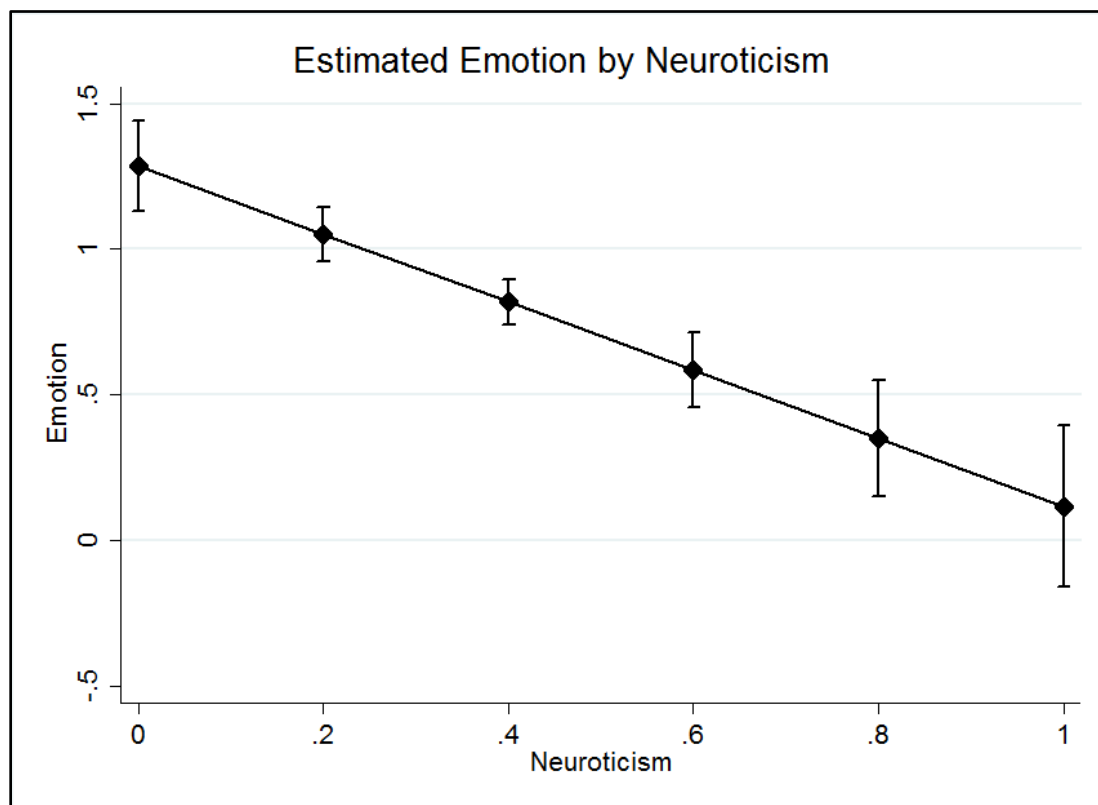


Figure 8 – The direct effect of Neuroticism on emotion

Figure 8 shows a strong negative trend, indicating that as Neuroticism increases, there is a tendency to feel progressively more negative emotions. This relationship is by far the strongest of the personality traits with the effect of Neuroticism (-1.17) being larger in magnitude than either Extraversion (0.66) or Agreeableness (0.49). These coefficients indicate that, by far, Neuroticism is the strongest personality influence on how individuals experience emotion.

## Conclusion

Analysis of the data demonstrates several key findings in the relationship between personality and political emotion. The results are a mixed bag showing some support of the expectations while showing no support for others.

There were mixed results for the personality domain of Openness to Experience. This personality domain is most characterized by a willingness to be open to new experiences and a tendency to seek out these experiences and emotions. The literature does indicate that this personality domain should be a factor in experiencing emotions, most specifically positive emotion. But, as Table 1 shows, Openness to Experience is positively related to increased experience of both positive and negative emotion, and in Table 2, the data show that Openness to Experience has no influence on the tendency to feel one emotion over another either positive or negative. The results show that, in general, individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to chase and

experience both positive and negative emotions; they are simply more likely than individuals low in this trait to seek out and experience sensations. However, there seems to be no preference among these individuals for the valence of the emotions they seek.

Individuals high in Conscientiousness evinced no preference for either positive or negative emotions; in fact, the data indicate that this personality trait has no influence on emotional experience at all. Extraversion and Neuroticism both demonstrated the expected results. Individuals high in Extraversion are more likely to experience positive emotions and individuals high in Neuroticism are more likely to experience negative emotions. This is true not only compared to individuals low in these personality traits, but also compared to the other personality domains. Essentially, individuals high in Extraversion are the people most likely to gravitate toward and experience positive emotions and individuals high in Neuroticism are the ones most likely to gravitate toward and experience negative emotions.

Agreeableness seems to show contradictory and somewhat puzzling results. In Table 2, the data show that Agreeableness seems to follow expectations. Individuals high in this trait are more likely to experience positive emotions as compared to those low in this trait, but this result is not as strong as that of Extraversion. However, in Table 1, the data show that individuals high in Agreeableness are, compared to those low in this trait, more likely to experience *both* positive and negative emotions. These results most probably reflect this personality trait's sensitivity toward negative emotional contexts.

Overall, the results indicate that there is strong support for a majority of the expectations laid out above. Personality and emotion are intertwined and there are a few key conclusions that can be drawn from these data. First, several personality traits influence how individuals experience political emotions, foremost among them is Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism. Second, different personality traits influence us to feel and experience emotions differently. This is directly related to the idea that personality is a key driver of individual level variance in how people experience emotions. Even accounting for politics, personality still accounted for much of the result, indicating that regardless of context, and specifically true for political situations that were tested here, personality clearly influences our emotional reactions and experiences.

These conclusions inform the next chapters, which explore the relationship between emotion and personality in different political behavioral contexts. As demonstrated, personality influences the strength and valence of emotional experience, which is the basis of how these emotions can, in turn, influence political behavior. This relationship is explored in the areas of attentional processing, political ideology, and political participation.

## Chapter 3

### Attentional Processing

How much attention individuals pay to politics, what they pay attention to, and what they retain are significant factors in determining a whole host of attitudinal and behavioral outcomes, such as ideology and participation. Understanding how and why individuals pay attention to political information, then, sheds light on subsequent outcomes of interest. Information acquisition, attention, and retention all are fundamental to the democratic process. For instance, Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) demonstrate that advertising, which is a key form of information gathering for constituents, is highly influential for political behavior and attitudes. Information in the political world becomes the foundation upon which individuals make decisions and act, therefore it is vital to understand how and why there is variance in attention to and retention of political information.

Attentional processing refers generally to the collection of cognitive processes that individuals undergo when learning. This includes information selection, gathering, retention, and recall. Wright and Bower (1992) show that emotion can influence attentional processing at two critical stages: attentional selection (attentional filtering) and memory retrieval.

The relationship between personality and emotion in the realm of attentional processing is an interesting and important question in politics simply because it asks the fundamental question of how individuals make their decisions. In the chaotic and ever-changing political world, information comes and goes at incredible speeds, and how individuals experience and recall that information is informative to how they make their ultimate political decisions. This scenario is most often seen in political campaigns where, as Redlawsk and Lau (2009) argue, individuals can encounter “information overload”, which forces them to make decisions about what to pay attention to and how much information to retain. Increasingly, as evidenced most recently by the early months of 2017, keeping up with all the information about politics has become a tremendously difficult task due to the sheer volume and contradictory nature of the information individuals have access to. In this information rich environment, people will make decisions about what to pursue and what to ignore, which heavily influences their attitudes and decisions. Understanding how individuals respond to this information environment, within the context of emotion and personality, which both influence attentional processing, will invariably lead to a deeper understanding of how and why people make the political decisions they do.

The concept of attentional processing in the world of political science is relevant mostly in the context of attitudes and candidate choice. Scholars studying attentional processing tend to focus on issues of how individuals process political information and how they then use that information to inform their political beliefs, attitudes, and vote choices. Scholars in the areas of motivated reasoning and hot cognition have found that affect is important when individuals process political information (Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau 2007, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Emmerson 2010, Redlawsk 2002, Lau and Redlawsk 2006, Redlawsk 2004, Druckman 2012).

Strong emotion can act as an attentional filter, focusing an individual's mind to pay attention to the information it receives. This process manifests itself where an individual pays attention, how much attention one pays, how well information is stored in memory, and how well one can retrieve that information later. Generally speaking, positive emotion is a part of the appetitive emotional system, which signals approach in an individual's mind whereas negative emotions signal withdrawal (Davidson and Irwin 1999). Positive emotional contexts should increase one's attentional processing, causing people to pay more attention to their surroundings and any information they are given and, conversely, negative emotional contexts should decrease this process (Fedorikhin and Cole 2004). Negative emotion causes one to hone in on relevant information more, in an attempt to understand and counter the cause of it. In this situation, individuals enter a sort of tunnel vision state, wherein necessary and relevant information becomes the focus while extraneous details along the periphery are ignored. Therefore, the expectation is that in positive emotional states, people should take in and retain more information, whereas those in negative emotional states should take in and retain less, in terms of quantity. Similarly, people in positive emotional states should take in more relevant and irrelevant information, whereas those in negative emotional states should take in more relevant information and less peripheral or irrelevant information. This relationship between emotion and attentional processing is further influenced by different personality traits.

When in positive affective states, individuals tend to see and take in all relevant and irrelevant information, making no critical decisions about which pieces of information to use. Similarly, Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) argue that when individuals feel comfortable with the world around them, feel that events in the world reflect their previously held beliefs and opinions, they make decisions congruent with those beliefs without ever going out and evaluating the information they are receiving. However, when in the presence of new information, something they have no experience with or prior knowledge of, positive emotions should spur higher levels of interest and information gathering.

When in negative affective states, individuals tend to hone in on more relevant information at the cost of 'irrelevant' or contextual information. This reflects an increase in the quality of information they use to make decisions while decreasing the quantity of information acquired. This is also similar to the Affective Intelligence Model in that when individuals feel anxiety or other negative emotions, they tend to go out and gain more information about the world. However, individuals do so in a way that confirms their bias and tend to discard information they do not deem relevant, unless the incongruity between known information and new information is extremely apparent, enough to override the inherent confirmation bias, or conservatism bias as Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau (2007) name it. This result is most clearly seen in the work of Zaller (1992) into how individuals form their opinions and represent them in their engagement with the world.

Personality exerts its own influence on attentional processing. As mentioned before, highly Open individuals are more creative and flexible in their thinking and more likely to go out and gain information and knowledge about a subject (McCrae and Costa Jr 1985). Individuals high in Conscientiousness are very diligent and task oriented,

which indicates they should be more likely to go out and gain more information, but specifically, information relevant to the topic or question at hand (Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye 1991). Individuals high in Extraversion are outgoing, gregarious, lively, social, and spontaneous (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002), which implies that they should not be likely to go out and get information, but will rather rely on social networks and others for their information instead of going out and gathering it themselves. Individuals high in Agreeableness tend to distance themselves from contentious situations such as politics (Komarraju, Dollinger, and Lovell 2012), which would imply that they would be less inclined to participate in politics at all, even in acquiring political information. Highly Neurotic individuals are ill-equipped to deal with stress or contentious situations, but are also highly attracted to these scenarios and emotions (Caspi, Roberts, and Shiner 2005). Individuals high in this personality trait should be more inclined to go out and immerse themselves in politics, which could translate into higher levels of information acquisition.

Individually, emotion and personality seem to exert particular influences on attentional processing, but combined, a more nuanced picture of outcomes should emerge. Positive emotional contexts make individuals either complacent or take in more information, but with less stress placed on the relevance of that information. This difference is rooted in the context of the information gathering environment. When individuals have some sort of basis of information and knowledge, they are simply monitoring and updating their attitudes and positions. In this scenario, it makes sense that positive emotions would spur complacency. However, when individuals are asked to evaluate something new, something they have no prior experience with or opinion on, positive emotion should spur higher levels of information gathering.

Openness to Experience and Agreeableness are the personality traits most closely related to positive emotions, and thus it should follow that individuals high in these traits should show this effect most strongly. Consequently, I expect that those high in these personality traits, in the presence of positive emotions, would be more likely to gather more information and not exclusively focus on the relevant information as compared to those low on these traits. Additionally, individuals high in Extraversion tend to rely more on social networks and other people to gain information. Extraverts are unique in their reliance on and need for others, and I would expect this trait to carry on into the realm of information acquisition. As positive emotion tends to spur complacency in general, this trait should be apparent even in the case of new information, especially when this information is not presented by other people.

Conversely, negative emotional contexts should spur informational gathering with a specific focus on relevant information. Conscientiousness and Neuroticism, those traits most closely related to negative emotions, should be more influenced by them, which would translate into more information gathering with a specific focus on relevance, as compared to those low in these traits.

These relationships also should be evident in the case of recall of information. Recall of information relies, first, on the intake of information and second, on how much attention and priority an individual placed on this information. The first hurdle, then, is when and how individuals pay attention to information. As outlined before, emotional context matters here. Individuals in positive emotional contexts pay attention to more

pieces of information and make less critical decisions about them whereas individuals in negative emotional contexts pay attention to less pieces of information overall. Information acquired under negative emotional contexts has also been shown to be recalled at higher levels than information acquired under positive emotional contexts (Kensinger 2007). Moreover, personality should influence how strongly these emotional conditions affect recall. Individuals high in Openness to Experience, Extraversion, and Agreeableness, all personality traits highly associated with positive emotions, should be less likely to recall information under positive emotional contexts as compared those low in those traits and those individuals higher in Conscientiousness and Neuroticism. Conversely, individuals high in Conscientiousness and Neuroticism, personality traits most closely associated with negative emotions, should be more likely to recall information gained under negative emotional conditions as compared to those low in those traits and those high in Openness to Experience, Extraversion, and Agreeableness.

Figure 9 shows the expected relationships between emotion and personality in attentional processing. The relationships posited here are for individuals high in these traits as compared to those low in these traits.

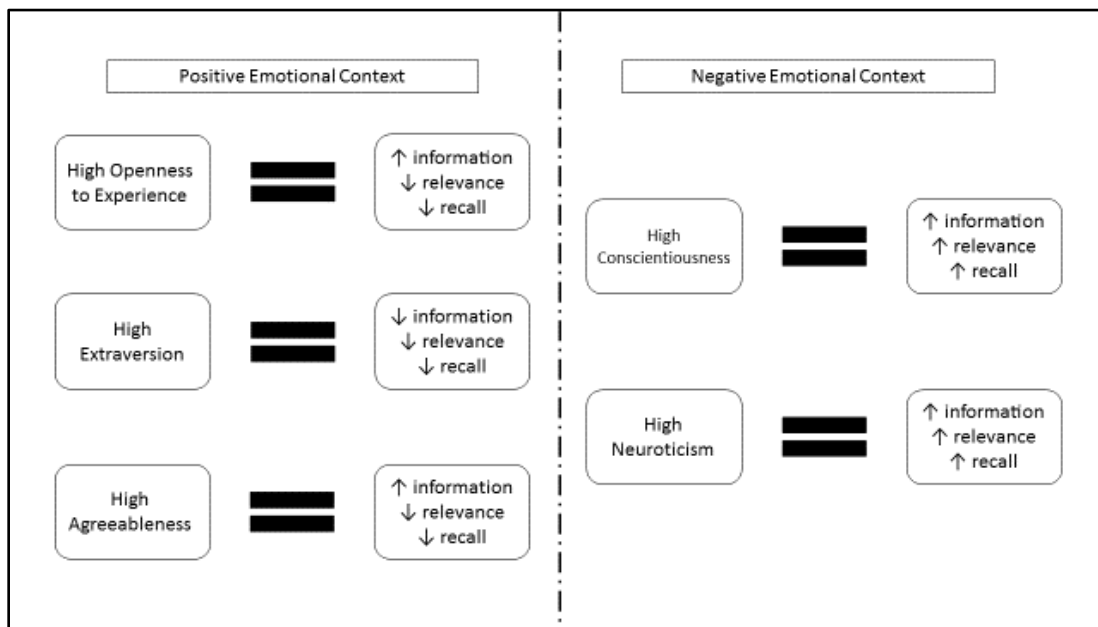


Figure 9 – The expected relationships between personality, information acquisition, information relevance, and information recall

In order to study these relationships, it is not only important to test recall of information, or political knowledge, but the *process* of information acquisition, selection, and retention as a whole. The most efficacious method of testing all levels and steps of political learning is through the Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) method created and pioneered by Lau and Redlawsk (1997).

## Method

The differentiation between the personality types and their tendencies toward feeling certain emotions and the resulting effect on attentional processing can most clearly be measured and demonstrated by replicating the dynamic information processing method first developed by Lau and Redlawsk (1997). Dynamic process tracing, as the method is called, is when individuals are shown a dynamic information environment, a computer screen with information constantly scrolling and changing, as it would in a real world political situation, such as a campaign. During the process, information about an individual's likes and dislikes, where they pay attention and how much they pay attention to which pieces of information is measured. After the process, individuals are asked to recall the information by reporting their memories about what they just experienced. As Redlawsk (2002) states, "...as a means of testing the effects of both information and affect, the dynamic information board provides the best available insight into what voters are actually doing during a campaign," (p. 1026).

The participants of this study were drawn from a convenience sample of undergraduate students at the University of California at Merced. They were invited into the Political Science laboratory and told they were participating in a study meant to understand how individuals make political decisions in a hectic campaign scenario. Subjects were then asked to participate in a mock election campaign that was created via the Dynamic Process Tracing software which showed subjects an election campaign between two fictional candidates. Before encountering the campaign, subjects were asked basic demographic questions, political ideology and affiliation, political knowledge and interest, political efficacy questions, and then randomly separated into three experimental conditions: positive emotion, negative emotion, and control conditions. The emotional conditions were induced by asking respondents to remember and write down a moment in their lives when they were either extremely happy (positive emotion) or extremely upset/angry (negative emotion). The process of remembering and writing down an answer to this type of question is referred to as an Imagination Mood Induction Procedure (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994). Several studies have shown that when asked to remember and write down an emotional experience, an individual enters the emotional state being described such that they will experience the emotions associated with the memory *as if* they were in that moment again (Wright and Bower 1992). In essence, this procedure elicits an organic emotion of the same intensity and valence as the prompt they are given, effectively putting respondents into the emotional state they are asked to describe (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994, Larsen and Ketelaar 1989).

Once through the emotional induction question, subjects were asked to participate in the fictional campaign with the mandate that they would have to vote for one of the two candidates shown at the end of election and a reminder that they would be asked questions about the candidates at the end of the experiment. Subjects were briefed on how to proceed with the experiment by clicking on headlines to expand on information and retreating to the main scrolling page when finished.

The campaign experiment is a simple gray screen which has small text boxes scrolling down from the top of the screen. These text boxes show a clickable headline of

an ‘article’ written about the candidates in the election. These ‘articles’ were randomized for each respondent and no two respondents saw the articles in the same order. The DPTE setup is very similar to social media interfaces which have scrolling headlines and pieces of information that users can click on to expand and learn more about. This experiment had an array of articles, both relevant and irrelevant, about the candidates scrolling down the screen. Subjects were tasked with voting for a candidate at the end of the experiment, which implies learning about the candidates, but they were never specifically prompted on how to approach that learning in terms of how many pieces of information they should click on or how long they should spend on each one. They were cautioned that as they read through an article, the scrolling screen would not pause, which introduced an element of costly learning in that if a subject is reading something for too long, they may miss other articles that scrolled by.

As the election campaign began, participants were shown pieces of information, both information relevant to a candidacy (issue positions, political history, etc.) and information irrelevant to a candidacy (background information, hobbies, minor scandals, social media pages, etc.). These pieces of information were presented as headlines and only for a limited time. Subjects could then click on the headlines to expand the information and read more about the candidates. It was impossible to click on everything presented and read fully about all the information provided, so participants were forced to make choices about how deeply they read the information, what to click on, and what to ignore. Information was not marked directly ‘relevant’ or ‘irrelevant’, but it was heavily implied by the headline itself.

At the end of the ‘campaign’, participants were asked to vote for their candidate of choice and were asked a series of informational questions about the candidates based on the information provided in the experiment. They were also presented with a free response question asking them to recall *any* information they remembered about the candidates. Participants were also asked a personality battery, which is provided in the appendix.

## **Results**

The first test models the effect of personality and emotional context on the amount of information individuals accessed. The actual amount of information offered was the same for each participant, but they had the option of either clicking on the headline or not. Similar to politics in reality, where individuals are bombarded with snippets of information and headlines, especially on social media, individuals were given the choice of actually accessing the information in the article by reading it or ignoring it entirely. I have operationalized the amount of information an individual gained as the number of articles they clicked on to read in more depth. Information access, then, is a count variable. Table 3 shows the relevant results of the negative binomial regression. I used a negative binomial model since a simple test of the data revealed the data were over-dispersed with significantly different mean and variance statistics. A complete table of results is available in the appendix.

Table 3 – The effect of personality and emotion on information acquisition

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	1.79* (0.87)		4.03** (1.44)
Conscientiousness	0.32 (0.73)		1.52 (1.29)
Extraversion	-0.99 (0.64)		-2.35* (1.12)
Agreeableness	-0.02 (0.80)		-3.15** (1.34)
Neuroticism	-0.65 (0.61)		-0.70 (1.11)
Positive Emotion		-0.02 (0.28)	-3.06 (2.22)
Negative Emotion		0.02 (0.31)	-0.07 (0.98)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-3.51 (2.17)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-3.12 (1.97)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-0.44 (1.64)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-2.12 (2.34)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			2.79 (1.52)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			0.32 (1.68)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			5.20** (1.86)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			4.06* (2.00)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.97 (1.47)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.43 (1.60)
Constant	2.92 (1.59)	2.36 (1.34)	4.49* (2.19)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.02	0.01	0.05

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 3 shows the results of three models: model 1 explores the effect of personality alone, model 2 explored the effect of emotion alone, and model 3 is the fully interactive model including both personality and emotion. In all 3 models, the unexpressed category is the control condition.

The first striking result is the fact that emotional condition alone seems to exert no influence on information acquisition. The results indicate that there is no statistically significant relationship between emotion and information gathering. This result is puzzling, as several scholars have found that emotion plays a strong role in information processing (Redlawsk 2006, Redlawsk, Civettini, and Lau 2007, Valentino et al. 2008, Marcus and MacKuen 1993, Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000). The one striking difference between these scholars' research and the analysis herein is the dependent variable. In all previous research, the dependent variable has been recall of information or even political knowledge in the case of AIT. The dependent variable here is substantively different – it is a measure of actual information gathering, which is a matter of *process* rather than recall or knowledge, which is a matter of *outcome*. Here we see that emotion does not independently influence the *amount* of information one consumes. Later in the chapter I test the outcome variable by measuring and testing information recall. This is theoretically interesting as it seems to imply that, regardless of mood or emotion, one's propensity to go out and collect information or read more deeply into information is not changed.

Alternatively, this result could be tapping into the fact that, habitually, many people today do not tend to read deeply into issues at all. In fact, according to Gabielkov et al. (2016), a majority of social media users will only read the headline and ‘share’ information without ever opening the article itself. This trend might have influenced this experiment because, in a large part, the DPTE setup mimics the way social media posts look and function. As in social media, there is a scrolling screen with headlines meant to give enough information to tell people what the article is about without giving everything away. This setup would be comfortable and familiar to younger users, the demographic that was used in this experiment, and habits in one arena may have slipped into the other. In either case, it appears that emotion alone does not drive information acquisition in any significant way.

The second important result of this analysis is the independent effect of personality on information acquisition. In model 1, which includes only personality, Openness to Experience is positively related to the number of articles individuals clicked on to open, which is line with expectations. Individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to go out and collect information as compared to those low in this trait and as compared to other personality traits.

As model 1 indicates, no other personality trait exerts a direct effect on information acquisition, however, this changes in the fully interactive model, model 3. Model 3 shows that, with the introduction of emotion and personality together, a host of new relationships emerge.

The third important result of this analysis is seen in the fully interactive model, model 3. With the introduction of emotion into the model, it is important to note that the Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> statistic (0.05) increases as compared to model 1 (0.02) and model 2 (0.01), signifying that model 3 is accounting for more of the variance in information acquisition. In other words, including personality and emotion together gives us a better picture of information acquisition than either emotion or personality alone. Moreover, there are more statistically significant relationships between personality and information gathering in this model.

Openness to Experience shows an increased coefficient of (4.03) in model 3 over (1.79) in model 1, and an overall larger coefficient than any other personality trait. This indicates that, first, Openness to Experience exerts more of an influence on information acquisition than previously thought, as captured in models that exclude emotion and, second, that this personality trait exerts a stronger influence than other personality traits. Figure 10, based on model 3, shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and information acquisition.

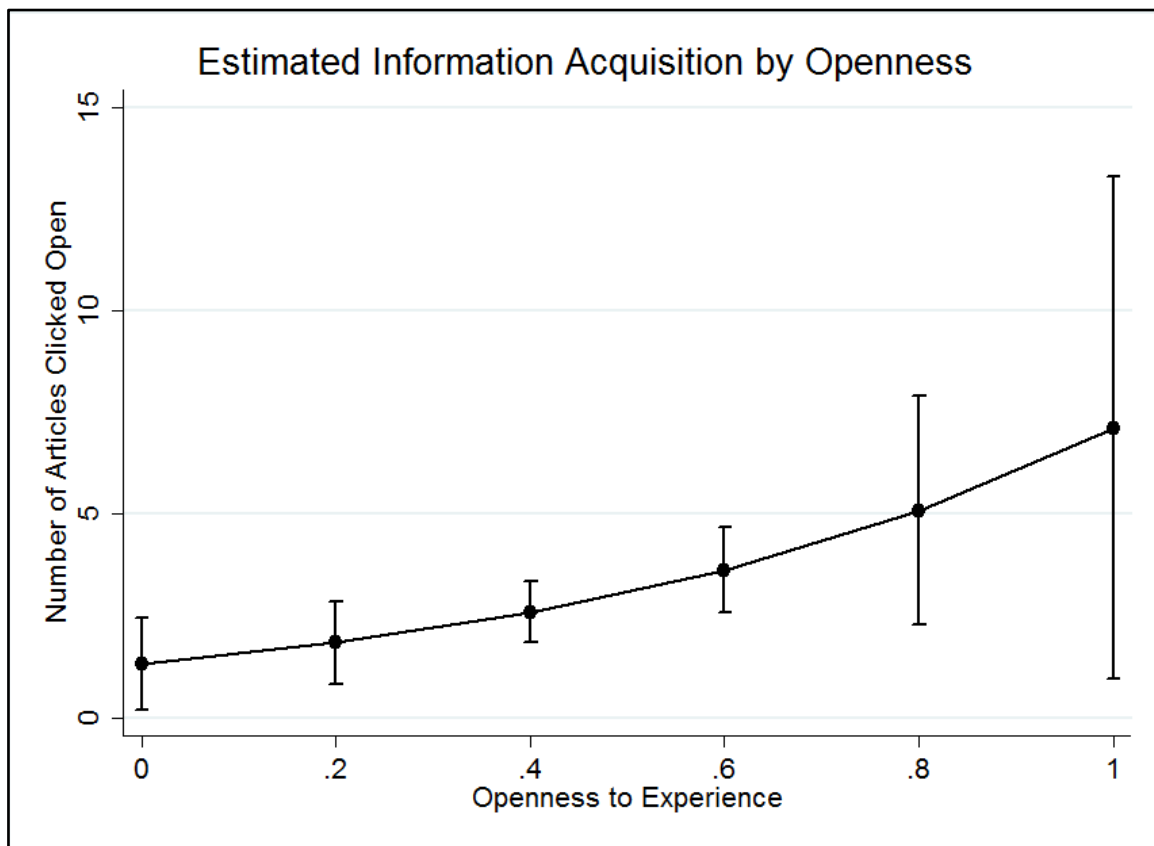


Figure 10 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on information acquisition

The positive upward trend shown here indicates that as individuals score higher on the Openness to Experience scale, they also tend to go out and collect more information. The results indicate that, on average, an individual at the lowest end of the Openness to Experience scale is likely to click on 1.61 articles whereas an individual at the highest end of the scale is likely to click on 11.67 pieces of information.

Similarly, whereas no personality trait other than Openness to Experience is significant in model 1, when emotion is included in the model, Extraversion (-2.35) and Agreeableness (-3.15) become statistically significant. Both of these personality traits show negative coefficients, indicating that as individuals score higher on the Extraversion and Agreeableness scale, their tendency to go out and gather information decreases. In other words, individuals high in Extraversion and Agreeableness are less likely to go out and acquire information. The coefficients also show that this is a stronger relationship among those high Agreeableness than those high in Extraversion.

In the emotional interactions, the only relationship that emerges as statistically significant is that of Agreeableness, emotion, and information acquisition. Figure 11 shows a graphical representation of this relationship. It further demonstrates that in positive emotional conditions, individuals higher in Agreeableness tend to acquire more pieces of information as expected. Moreover, the figure shows that, in the positive emotional

context, individuals higher in Agreeableness do tend to acquire more pieces of information, but the relationships between negative vs. control and positive vs. negative emotional conditions are not significant. This indicates that the only statistically significant relationship, positive vs. control emotional conditions, shows that as

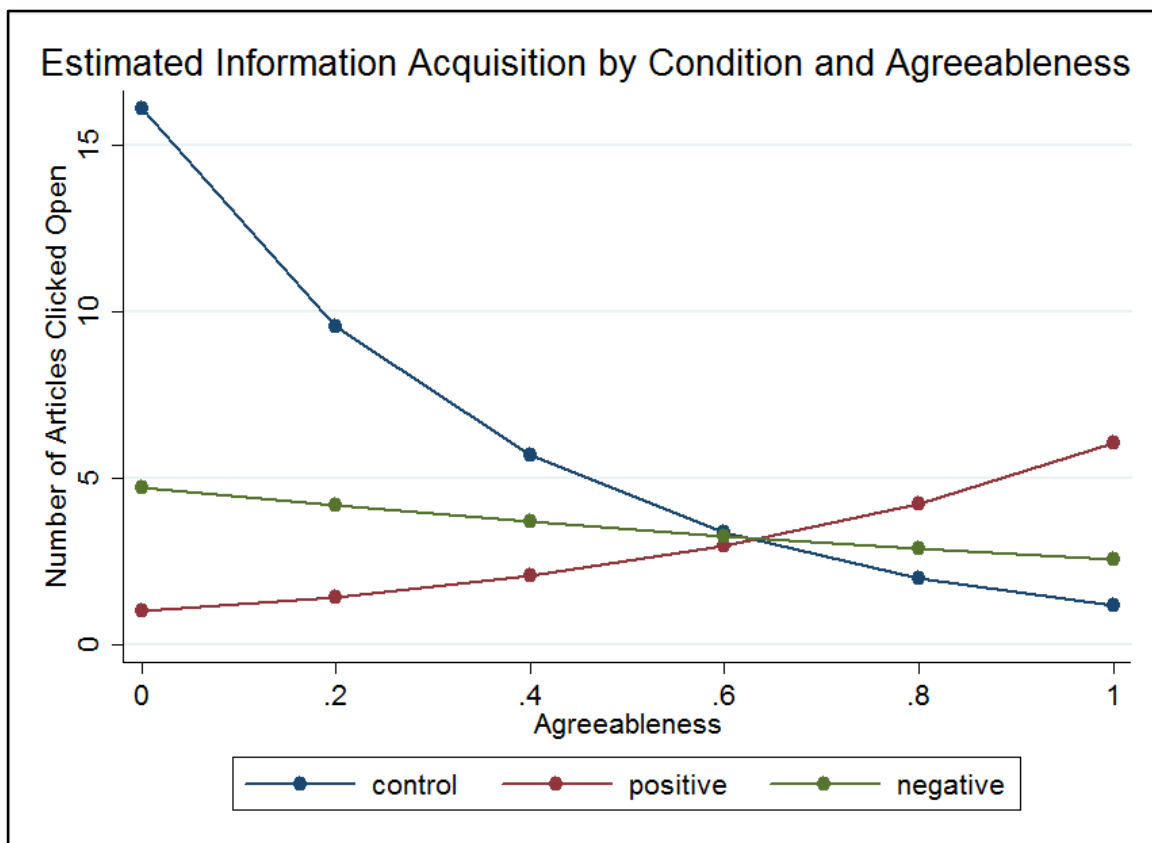


Figure 11 – The relationship between Agreeableness and information acquisition in different emotional contexts

Agreeableness increases, the number of pieces of information acquired increases. This figure demonstrates that emotion conditions the relationship between Agreeableness and information acquisition such that positive emotion spurs more Agreeable individuals toward higher levels of information acquisition.

The second test models the effect of personality and emotional context on the quality or policy relevance of information accessed. Information about the candidates was separated into policy relevance and character relevance. Each subject was exposed to a screen with scrolling headlines which they could click on to read more. Policy relevance was not clearly labeled, but was strongly implied by the nature of the headlines. For instance, a policy relevant headline would read: “Oliver’s position on taxes” whereas a character relevant headline would read: “Oliver went fishing this weekend”. The content of both is clearly implied as either relevant to the candidate’s character or their policy positions. A sample of the information headlines and their content is in the appendix. Policy relevance was measured as the amount of policy relevant information

respondents clicked on divided by the total number of policy relevant pieces of information offered, and then standardized to range from 0-1. Table 4 shows the results of the OLS regression modeling this relationship. A full table to results can be found in the appendix.

Table 4 – The effect of personality and emotion on the acquisition of policy relevant information

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.28* (0.14)		0.52* (0.22)
Conscientiousness	0.08 (0.12)		0.16 (0.21)
Extraversion	-0.14 (0.11)		-0.25 (0.17)
Agreeableness	-0.04 (0.13)		-0.49* (0.22)
Neuroticism	-0.14 (0.11)		-0.14 (0.19)
Positive Emotion		-0.01 (0.05)	-0.83* (0.37)
Negative Emotion		-0.02 (0.05)	0.17 (0.39)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.45 (0.34)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-0.39 (0.34)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.15 (0.28)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.26 (0.39)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.48 (0.27)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.06 (0.28)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			0.89** (0.29)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.31 (0.36)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.31 (0.27)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.08 (0.29)
Constant	0.46* (0.23)	0.37* (0.18)	0.72* (0.31)
N	109	109	109
Adjusted R2	0.08	0.05	0.13

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 4 above shows the results of three regression models: model 1 includes only personality, model 2 includes only emotion, and model 3 is a fully interactive model including both personality and emotion.

When personality traits alone are included as predictors, the results of model 1 indicate that Openness to Experience (0.28) is the only personality trait that influences acquisition of policy relevant information. However, contradictory to expectations, this relationship is positive, indicating that individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to click on policy relevant information. As Table 4 above shows, individuals high in this trait are simply more likely to click on *any* information, which then may translate to, as matter of sheer number, policy relevant information. Model 2 demonstrates that, alone, emotional condition seems to have no effect on acquisition of policy relevant information. However, model 3 tells a more complete picture.

Model 3 indicates that two personality traits, Openness to Experience (0.52) and Agreeableness (-0.49) have a direct effect on acquisition of policy relevant information. Individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to click on policy relevant information, and the effect is larger with the inclusion of emotion in the model. This

indicates that the direct effect of Openness to Experience is stronger in models that include emotion. This result is contrary to expectations in that Openness to Experience, while prompting individuals to gather more information in general, should also influence individuals to uncritically gather this information without regard to the relevance. However, it is possible that, since Openness to Experience is positively related to information acquisition in general, the sheer number of articles clicked on means that, as a percentage, the number of policy relevant information articles acquired would also be higher. This result could be simply a reflection of the fact the accessing more information in general also means accessing more policy relevant information as a part of the whole.

Conversely, the direct effect of Agreeableness is negative, indicating that individuals high in this trait are less likely to click on policy relevant information, which conforms to expectations. Additionally, the direct effect of positive emotion is negative, which indicates that those in positive emotional contexts are less likely to click on policy relevant information, which is also in line with expectations.

Only one relationship is statistically significant in the interactive terms: Agreeableness and positive emotion (0.89). This relationship is positive, which indicates that when highly Agreeable individuals are in a positive emotional context, they are more likely to click on more policy relevant information. This relationship echoes the results of Table 3 and is also contradictory to both expectations and the direct effects of this personality trait. It is possible that, when highly Agreeable individuals are in a positive frame of mind, their tendency toward pleasing others and obeying authority figures is heightened, which lends itself to greater task diligence. Figure 12 shows a comparison between emotional conditions, Agreeableness, and policy relevant information acquired.

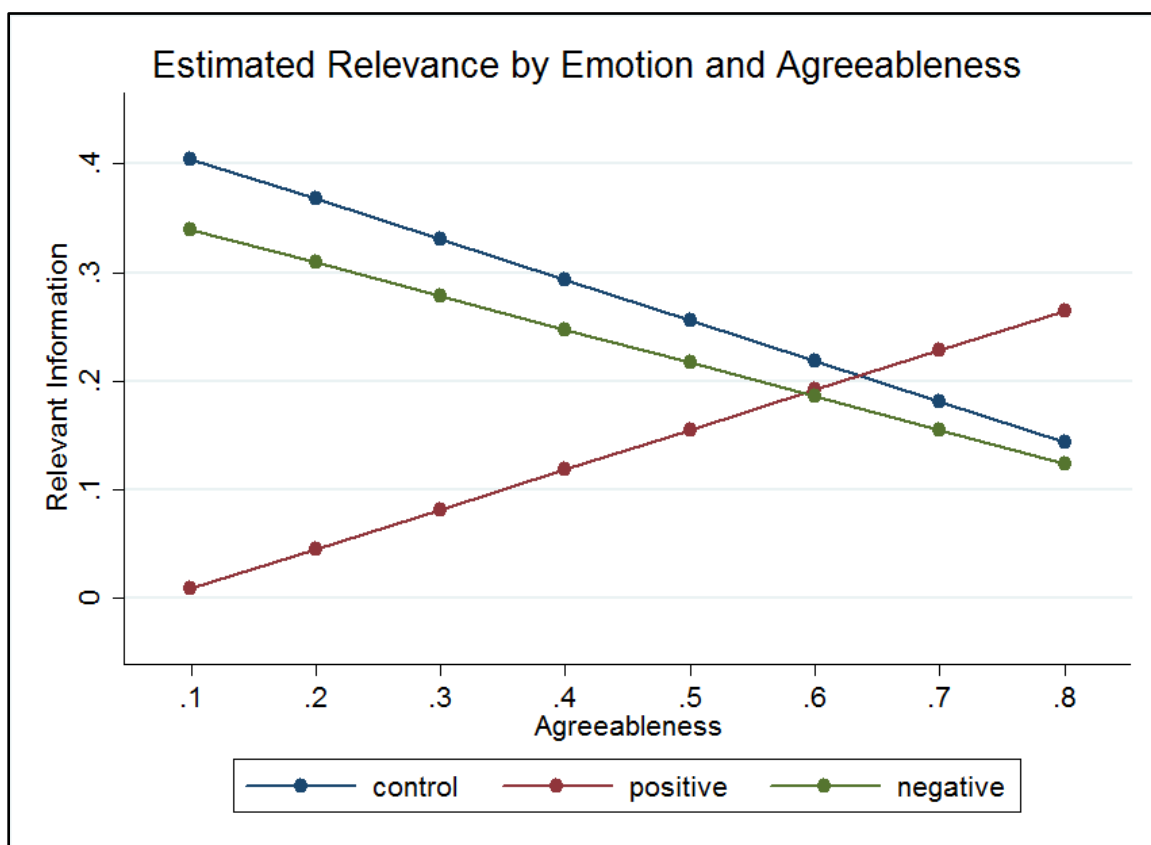


Figure 12 – The relationship between Agreeableness and relevant information acquisition in different emotional contexts

Figure 12 clearly shows that in both negative and control conditions, individuals higher in Agreeableness are less likely to acquire policy relevant information, and in the positive emotional condition, individuals high in this personality trait are more likely to acquire policy relevant information. It is possible that when Agreeable individuals are put into a positive emotional context, a situation they are most comfortable in and attracted to, their natural personality tendency toward task diligence and pleasing others will lead them to look more closely at the information they are acquiring and make critical decisions about what is relevant and what is not. In this analysis, the data indicate that in the interaction between Agreeableness and positive emotion, the emotion enhances the effect of Agreeableness rather than exerting its own influence toward acquiring information uncritically with no regard for relevance.

A third test of attentional processing gauges how well individuals retain and recall the information they acquire. At the end of the experiment, subjects were asked simple recall questions about the information contained in the articles they were exposed to. These questions were factual questions with a single correct answer. Table 5 shows the relevant results of the negative binomial regression. A table with the complete results is available in the appendix.

Table 5 – The effect of personality and emotion on information recall

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.24 (0.43)		0.22 (0.69)
Conscientiousness	-0.63 (0.38)		-0.81 (0.63)
Extraversion	0.14 (0.33)		0.23 (0.49)
Agreeableness	-0.05 (0.38)		0.55 (0.66)
Neuroticism	-0.28 (0.32)		-0.28 (0.59)
Positive Emotion		-0.05 (0.14)	0.47 (1.10)
Negative Emotion		-0.11 (0.16)	0.38 (1.21)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.26 (1.04)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.42 (1.14)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.04 (0.88)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.38 (1.19)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.14 (0.84)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.17 (0.85)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.83 (0.86)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-1.32 (1.11)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.00 (0.59)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.07 (0.91)
Efficacy	0.68* (0.31)	0.63* (0.29)	0.74* (0.36)
Constant	0.86 (0.66)	0.62 (0.51)	0.51 (0.92)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.03	0.02	0.04

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 5 shows the results of three models: model 1 only includes personality, model 2 only includes emotion, and model 3 is the fully interactive model including both personality and emotion. The results above are slightly puzzling and disappointing. It appears that neither personality nor emotion influenced information recall. The only predictor that has a statistically significant result is efficacy (0.74), which makes sense. Efficacy is a measure of much an individual feels they matter to and can influence politics. It follows, then, that those who have high efficacy would be more engaged in anything political and would consequently pay more attention to political matters, which can manifest as heightened recall.

The non-significant results across the board might indicate that the test used here was too rigorous. Information recall was measured by counting all the correct answers a respondent provided to a series of informational questions about the information provided in the experiment. However, this measure is deeply bound by what the researcher considers to be important, which might not reflect how the information was perceived. For example, respondents were asked which candidate was more liberal, a piece of information that was provided in the articles. But, it is also possible that participants did not consider ideology to be important, and thus glossed over this information when they were reading. In order to break out of the researcher imposed model of recall, I used the last question in the experiment, a free response question asking respondents to list *everything* they remember about the candidates, as an additional measure of recall. This

is an additive measure wherein every correct piece of information about the candidates added +1 to their score. This created a count variable measuring how accurately respondents were able to remember *anything* about both of the candidates in the experiment. Table 6 shows the relevant results of the Negative Binomial Regression models. A complete table of results is available in the appendix.

Table 6 – The effect of personality and emotion on free response recall of information

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.94* (0.47)		0.85 (0.68)
Conscientiousness	-0.48 (0.39)		-0.95 (0.61)
Extraversion	-0.41 (0.35)		0.39 (0.49)
Agreeableness	-0.05 (0.42)		0.59 (0.64)
Neuroticism	-0.39 (0.34)		-0.57 (0.64)
Positive Emotion		-0.15 (0.15)	0.60 (1.10)
Negative Emotion		-0.17 (0.17)	0.60 (1.20)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.13 (1.06)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.97 (1.11)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			1.78* (0.84)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.84 (1.11)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			-1.81* (0.80)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.98 (0.87)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-1.00 (0.88)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-1.12 (1.10)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.30 (0.82)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.59 (0.87)
Political Interest	0.19* (0.08)	0.21** (0.08)	0.27*** (0.08)
Constant	0.52 (0.68)	0.17 (0.50)	0.09 (0.91)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.04	0.09

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 6 shows the results of three models: model 1 includes only personality, model 2 includes only emotion, and model 3 is a fully interactive model including both personality and emotion. As compared to Table 5, there are some statistically significant results in this analysis, which indicate that free response recall is a substantively different measure as compared to researcher defined recall.

Across all three models, political interest is both significant and positive. This implies that individuals who are more interested in politics in general were, as a whole, more likely to recall more pieces of information. This conforms to traditional theories of information gathering that suggest that political interest and motivation are necessary prerequisites for gathering and recalling political information. What is interesting in these results is that political interest is statistically significant in all three models, and the coefficients show that political interest has a large effect in all three, but this effect is not as large as the other significant results in each of the models, indicating that while interest is significant, it is by no means the largest mover of free response information recall.

Of the personality traits, the only significant direct effect is that of Openness to Experience (0.94), and that too only when emotion is not included in the model. This implies that when emotional context is accounted for, Openness to Experience no longer plays a statistically significant role in free response information recall. Emotion itself does not seem to play a role either. Model 2 demonstrates that emotion alone does not seem to move information recall and model 3 suggests that this is the case even when personality is included in the model.

There are two significant relationships in model 3 in the interaction terms: Extraversion and positive emotion (-1.81) and Conscientiousness and positive emotion (1.78). Table 6 demonstrates that in positive emotional contexts, individuals high in Extraversion seem to recall less information as compared to those low in this personality trait. Figure 13 demonstrates this result graphically.

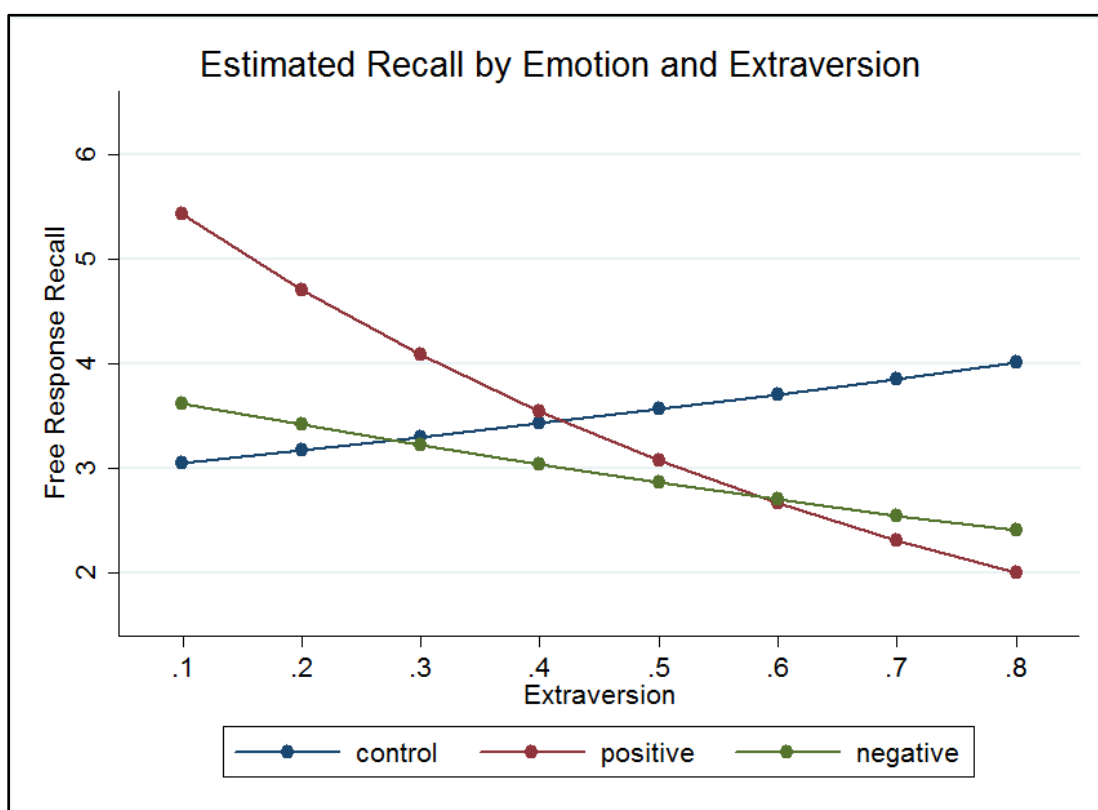


Figure 13 – The relationship between Extraversion and information recall in different emotional contexts

This relationship conforms to our expectations that Extraverts are outgoing, social, not as diligent with tasks, and thus are less likely to recall specific political information. This relationship is heightened in the presence of positive emotions. The second relationship, that of Conscientiousness and positive emotion, is not as expected.

Table 6 shows that when highly Conscientious individuals are in positive emotional contexts, they seem to recall more information. Figure 14 shows this result graphically.

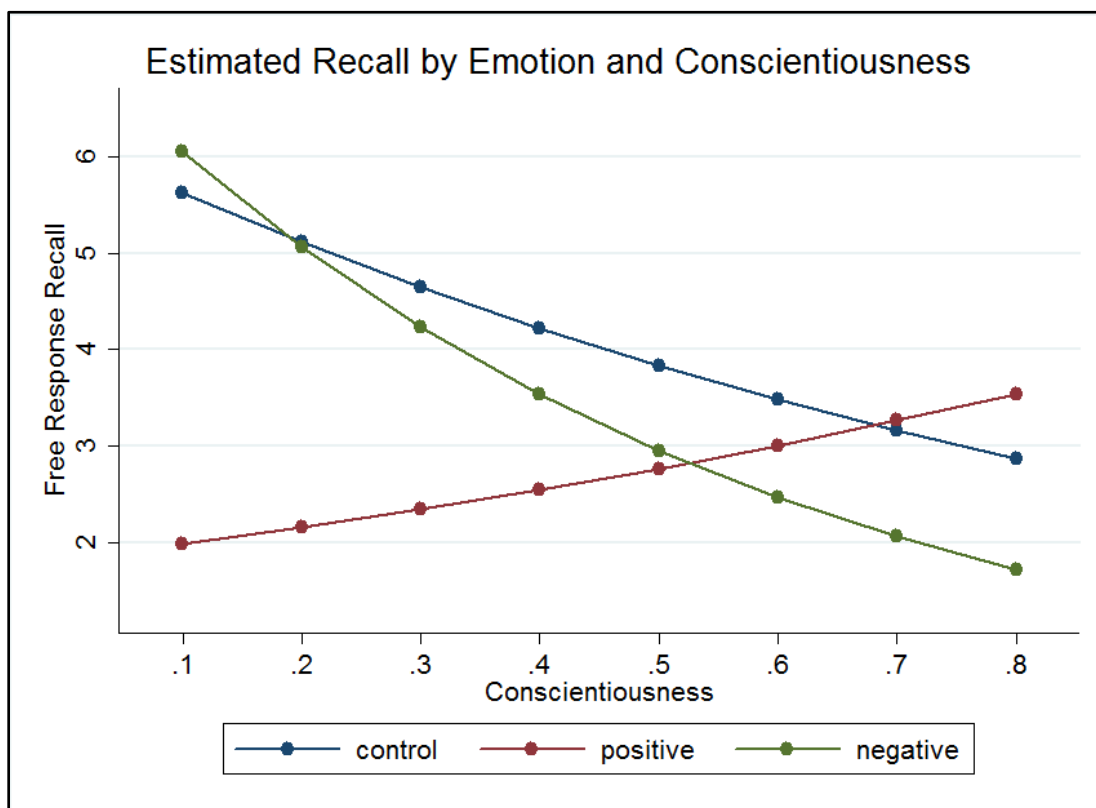


Figure 14 – The relationship between Conscientiousness and information recall in different emotional contexts

This result is most obviously seen in comparison to those low in this trait, but is also apparent as compared to the other personality traits included in the model. This relationship conforms to expectations in that highly Conscientious individuals, who are more likely to be diligent, task-driven, and diligent, are more likely to recall more information in general. What is striking is that this result is seen in the positive emotional condition, which contradicts the theoretical understanding of how positive emotion influences information recall. If it were the case that Conscientiousness itself were driving this result, there would have been a direct effect as well, but the only significant result appears in the interaction between Conscientiousness and positive emotion, implying that there is something unique in this confluence of factors that produces a higher rate of information recall. It is possible that this result is the product of the experimental setup itself. The experiment presents respondents with information about novel candidates and their positions, something that no one in the experiment would have experience with or knowledge of. As theorized above, in novel situations, positive emotion should have the effect of increasing one's intake of information. Combined with the high task diligence and dutifulness inherent in highly Conscientious

individuals, the data shows that these individuals seem to recall more information as compared to those lower in this personality trait. This confluence of positive emotion and Conscientiousness results in higher information recall.

### **Conclusion**

The first and most important result demonstrated here is that both personality and emotion, directly and interactively, influence attentional processing at various stages. In all tests of attentional processing, which included gathering any and all information, selecting and tuning in to relevant information, and recalling information, including both personality and emotion into the model offered significantly more comprehensive results. While the results above are a mixed bag of confirmation and contradiction for specific personality and emotional interaction expectations, some key findings emerge.

In the case of general information gathering, it seems that Openness to Experience, Extraversion, and Agreeableness are the most influential personality traits. Individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to just go out and gather information while individuals high in Extraversion and Agreeableness are less likely to do so. However, when put into emotional contexts, either positive or negative, highly Agreeable individuals are more likely to go out gather information, though they are slightly more likely to do so in positive emotional contexts. Taking a deeper look at the *kind* of information people gather, the results here indicate that individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to gather more relevant information whereas individuals high in Agreeableness are less likely to gather more relevant information. However, when put into a positive emotional context, highly Agreeable individuals become more likely to gather relevant information. When asked to recall the information they had gained, highly Extraverted individuals, in the presence of positive emotions, are less likely to recall more information while individuals high in Conscientiousness are more likely to recall more information.

The results indicate that there are distinct differences between general information gathering, relevant information gathering, and information recall that manifest in the ways in which personality and emotion influence individuals. Individuals who are more likely to gather lots of information are not necessarily going to gather relevant information, nor are they more likely to recall that information. These results then present a nuanced picture attentional processing that is unique in the field. The results also indicate that personality and emotion, together, play a role attentional processing. It seems that personality independently plays a large role in gathering information, but less of a role in recalling that information.

Emotion, independently, seems to play a role only in the selection of relevant information. However, the interaction of personality and emotion are significant in all three stages of attentional processing – information gathering, selecting relevant information, and information recall.

Together personality and emotion explain attentional processing more fully than either alone. Including both into models of information acquisition and recall gives us a more nuanced picture of the underpinnings of this process which is so fundamental to our political process.

## Chapter 4

### Political Attitudes

Political attitudes and ideology are thought of as fundamental in explaining political behavior. Ideology has become an explanation of who people vote for, whether they vote at all, participation in other political acts, and individual policy positions. For instance, ‘strongly conservative’ has certain policy and participation implications. Scholars who study political attitudes are able to project onto an ideology a cluster of attitudinal and behavioral consequences. This area of study stretches back as far as the early as the work of Converse (1964). While early scholars lamented the findings that demonstrated that the average citizen does not generally hold sophisticated or coherent ideologies, since then studies have found that political attitudes tend to be relatively stable and informative to outcomes such as self-reported ideology, attitudes, and behavior (Achen 1975, Alwin, Cohen, and Newcomb 1991, Hess and Torney-Purta 2005, Hooghe and Wilkenfeld 2008, Zuckerman, Kotler-Berkowitz, and Swaine 1998).

Studies into the origins of attitudes and ideology have found that both external factors, such as environment, and internal factors, such as personality, play a role in determining what individuals believe and how they act upon those beliefs (Adomo et al. 1950, Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013, Roccas et al. 2002, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Weinschenk 2013, Hirsh et al. 2010, Osborne and Sibley 2012, Lewis and Bates 2011, Bizer et al. 2004, Bekkers 2005, Dietrich et al. 2012, Gerber et al. 2010, Mondak and Canache 2014, Sibley, Osborne, and Duckitt 2012, Gallego and Oberski 2012, Mondak and Hibbing 2012, Mondak 2010, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Blais and St. Vincent 2011, Denny and Doyle 2008, Carney et al. 2008, Morris et al. 2003, Smith et al. 2011, Gruszczynski et al. 2013, Oxley et al. 2008).

While scholars generally show that political attitudes are relatively stable, some studies have shown that there can be movement in these attitudes. Specifically, some scholars have shown that emotion can play a role in how individuals answer survey questions, which can change the tenor of their responses. For instance, Maestas and Pope (2016) found that framing a political issue in either negative or positive emotional terms influenced how people reported their opinion about the issue. Moreover, studies have shown that emotion can either weaken the influence of pre-dispositions or strengthen it (Arceneaux 2012, Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000, Brader 2006, Brader, Valentino, and Suhay 2008). Based on these findings, it is clear to see that while political attitudes are relatively stable for individuals, the emotional context in which one is either presented information or asked a question can influence the response. This indicates that emotion plays a large role in how individuals report and act on their political attitudes and opinions. Any self-report of ideology or attitudes, or action based in them, is subject to the interactive effect of an individual’s predispositions (personality) and emotional context (affective state). It is imperative, therefore, to unpack this relationship in order to fully understand one’s political beliefs.

Emotion can also exert its own direct influence on political attitudes and ideology. Jost et al. (2003) argue that conservatism is most closely related to negative emotions such as anger and anxiety. They further demonstrate that these emotions are directly

related to the levels of conservatism individuals exhibit, which implies that the more negative emotion one experiences, the more likely they are to self-report as more conservative (Banks 2016). Conversely, positive emotions have been shown to be related to increasingly liberal attitudes and ideology (Maestas and Pope 2016). This relationship hinges on the lack of negative emotions and a general feeling of goodwill and happiness that is a consequence of positive emotions. However, the relationship between personality and ideology has been more closely examined.

The Big 5 personality domains that are most closely related to ideology and political attitudes are Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness. The relationship between Openness to Experience and liberal ideology is based on the mechanism of being open-minded. Liberalism is characterized by tolerance and celebration of differences and it has become known as the progressive ideology. It is natural that individuals high on Openness to Experience would tend to be more liberal as they are so similar in nature. This relationship should become stronger in the presence of positive emotional contexts, as positive affect causes individuals to be more cognitively flexible and open-minded (Dreisbach and Goschke 2004, Ashby and Isen 1999). The relationship between Conscientiousness and conservatism is based upon the desire to maintain traditional, hierarchical order structures. Conscientiousness is marked by the tendency toward rigidity in thought, self-control, discipline, and a tendency toward traditional values and social structures (Costa Jr. and McCrae 1998, Costa Jr., McCrae, and Dye 1991). Conservatism is an ideology marked by adherence to traditional values and structures and an aversion to change (Jost et al. 2003). This relationship is primarily based on negative emotions, whereby a negative emotional context should spur individuals high on Conscientiousness to become more rigid, more hierarchical, and more traditional in reaction.

There is no clear relationship between Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism and ideology and political attitudes, but this could be due to the lack of measurement of emotional context in previous studies. As mentioned before, extraverts tend to be more attracted to and more capable of positive affect (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1992). Based on the analysis of ideology in Jost et al. (2003), there is a distinct difference between the liberal and conservative ideology in affective motivation. Conservatism is mostly about negative emotions, either expressing them or avoiding them, whereas liberalism is more about positive emotion. Along these lines, because Extraversion is so closely linked to positive emotion, I would expect individuals high in Extraversion, when exposed to positive emotional contexts, to be more likely to identify as liberal. When the emotional context is negative, however, I would expect this relationship to be diminished, indicating no relationship between Extraversion and ideology.

There has been mixed evidence in support of a relationship between Agreeableness and political attitudes. In line with the analysis of ideology presented above, there seems to be reason to expect that Agreeableness should correlate positively with liberalism. Liberalism is more closely associated with kindness, empathy, fairness, and generosity, all ideals closely related to Agreeableness (Komarraju, Dollinger, and Lovell 2012, Lewis and Bates 2011). However, individuals high in Agreeableness are highly sensitive to negative emotional contexts, and it is possible that under those

conditions, the relationship between Agreeableness and ideology disappears, which might account for the contradictory results seen in previous studies. I would expect, however, that under conditions of positive emotional context, individuals high in Agreeableness would be more likely to identify as liberal.

The relationship between Neuroticism and ideology is also plagued with contradictory results, with some scholars showing that individuals high in Neuroticism tend to be more conservative and others showing no evidence of this relationship. Neuroticism is the personality domain most closely related to negative emotions and individuals high in this domain tend to experience more negative emotions and tend to be more anxious and angry (Rusting and Larsen 1997, Magnus et al. 1993, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1980). Scholars such as (Jost et al. 2003) have demonstrated that conservatism is largely a product of anxiety and an attempt to manage threatening situations, which is very similar to Neuroticism. However, Neuroticism is characterized by the *inability* to manage stress well. Therefore, there should be a relationship between the two, however, this is not always evident. This could possibly be due to the emotional context under which individuals respond to questions about ideology. Individuals high in Neuroticism respond more strongly to negative emotions than positive, but when put into these emotional contexts, would be more likely to be comfortable with positive emotions than negative emotions. Individuals high in Neuroticism, when exposed to negative emotions, should be more likely to react in ways that showcase those emotions, which would translate into more conservative responses. However, when put into positive emotional contexts, free from anxiety, anger, or threat, one would expect this relationship to disappear or even reverse itself, with individuals answering less conservatively to questions about ideology and issue positions.

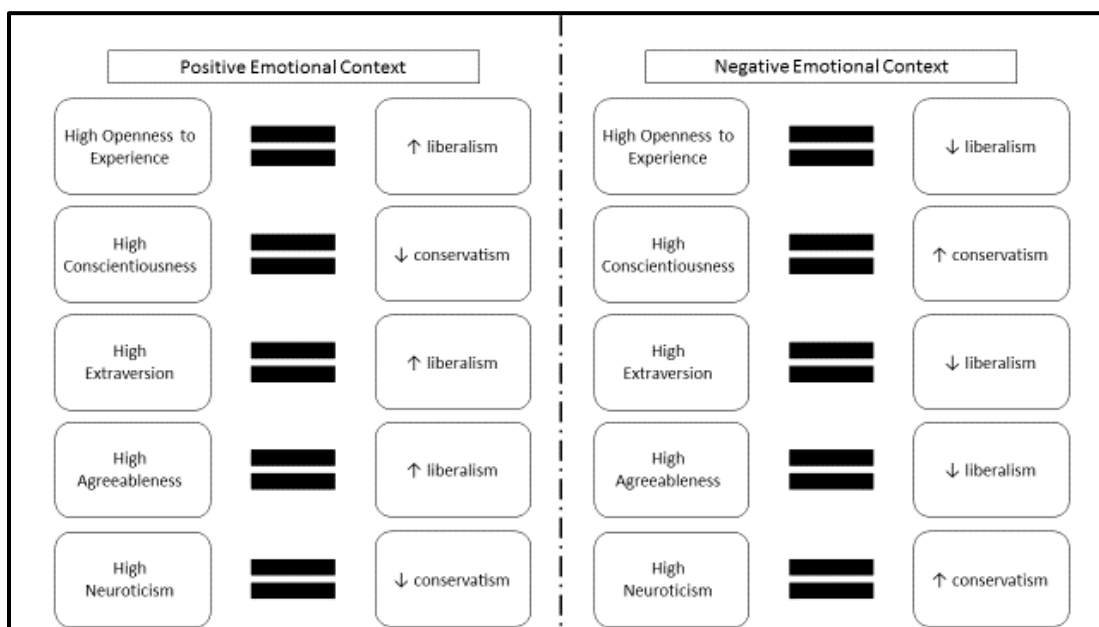


Figure 15 – The expected relationships between personality and political attitudes in positive and negative emotional contexts

Based on the theorizing above, Figure 15 shows the expected relationships between personality and affect in the context of political attitudes. These expectations reflect comparisons between individuals high and low on these traits across emotional condition. In order to test these relationships, I have used two datasets: a unique dataset collected on Amazon's mTurk and the 2012 American National Election Survey. First, I will discuss the Amazon mTurk study and then, second, the 2012 ANES analysis.

## **Amazon mTurk Study**

### Method

This study was a randomized online survey experiment conducted through Amazon mTurk with 1097 respondents. Participation in the survey was restricted to respondents in the U.S. and over the age of 18 (voting age). Respondents were asked basic demographic questions and then randomly assigned to one of 3 experimental conditions: positive emotion condition, negative emotion condition, and neutral condition. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked a 44 question personality battery, called the Big Five Inventory, developed by John and Srivastava (1999). A full list of the questions is available in the appendix.

The emotional conditions were induced by asking respondents to remember and write down a moment in their lives when they were either extremely happy (positive emotion) or extremely upset/angry (negative emotion). The process of remembering and writing down an answer to this type of question is referred to as an Imagination Mood Induction Procedure (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994). Several studies have shown that when asked to remember and write down an emotional experience, an individual enters the emotional state being described such that they will experience the emotions associated with the memory *as if* they were in that moment again. In essence, this procedure elicits an organic emotion of the same intensity and valence as the prompt they are given, effectively putting respondents into the emotional state they are asked to describe (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994, Larsen and Ketelaar 1989).

Once separated into the experimental conditions and induced to feel the emotional state they were assigned (control condition was not assigned any emotional prompt and moved directly into the questionnaires), respondents were asked a battery of political attitude questions and a Big 5 personality battery, the full list of which is available in the appendix. In short, respondents were asked their political party affiliation, their political ideology, and the Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale questions. The Wilson-Patterson Scale was adapted from the original scale to better fit modern issues, but is based on the original in large part and adapted from Wilson and Patterson (1968) and Eaves et al. (1997). The Wilson-Patterson Conservatism Scale is a highly tested and validated scale that combines questions about specific issue positions and opinions, both political and not, in order to create an index of how conservative a respondent is. Measuring political attitudes in this way allows me to not be limited to a simple self-report of left vs. right and creates an added barrier to the social desirability bias present in straightforward questions of ideology.

## Data

Amazon mTurk is a web service that allows individuals to find and take surveys online that interest them. In this sense, there is a strong selection bias towards more active and engaged respondents. However, even amongst this group, there is variation in the amount of political knowledge and interest individuals display, which creates variation enough to see differences. For instance, political knowledge was measured using 5 different relevant political knowledge questions. Each respondent scored either a 1 if they chose the correct answer or 0 if they did not. The mean for this measure was 3.90, with a standard deviation of 1.1. This is a fairly normal looking distribution, with plenty of variation. Similarly, political interest had a mean of 3.17 (on a scale of 1-4) with a standard deviation of .80. These figures show that there is clearly variation amongst respondents in how knowledgeable and interested they are in politics. Moreover, there is variation amongst individuals in terms of their personality traits.

I administered a 44-question personality battery measuring the five personality domains; a full list of these questions is available in the appendix. Each individual received five scores, one for each personality domain, which was an additive measure of all the questions relevant to the personality domain. Each personality domain score was then transformed into a standardized scale ranging from 0 to 1 for ease of analysis and comparability. Table 7 below shows the means and standard deviations of each personality domain in the sample.

Table 7 – Distribution of personality measures in Amazon mTurk study

Personality Domain	Mean	Standard Deviation
Openness to Experience	0.64	0.17
Conscientiousness	0.67	0.19
Extraversion	0.49	0.21
Agreeableness	0.64	0.18
Neuroticism	0.43	0.22

Whereas it is clear that in each personality domain the data skew a bit higher than 0.5, it is a consistent skew across each one, indicating that the sample is not biased toward any particular personality type. The main concern here would be if there was a clear skew toward a particular personality type in the sample, which would bias the results, but as Table 7 indicates, that is not the case.

There are two measures of conservatism that were tested: self-reported conservatism and the Wilson Pattern Conservatism Scale. The self-reported conservatism was a simple question asking respondents to place themselves on a 7-point left-right scale ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative, 7 being extremely conservative. I have used OLS regression to analyze the data and controlled for age, education, income, political efficacy, and political interest. An ordered logit model with the same variables showed no substantive difference in the results. Table 8 shows the relevant results of the analysis. A complete table of results can be found in the appendix.

Table 8 – The effect of personality and emotion on self-reported conservatism

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-2.46*** (0.33)		-2.66*** (0.54)
Conscientiousness	0.54 (0.35)		-0.28 (0.62)
Extraversion	0.09 (0.28)		-0.58 (0.46)
Agreeableness	-0.25 (0.34)		-0.12 (0.58)
Neuroticism	-1.00*** (0.30)		-1.34** (0.49)
Positive Emotion		-0.03 (0.12)	-1.56 (0.98)
Negative Emotion		0.11 (0.13)	-1.86 (0.97)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			0.17 (0.78)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.44 (0.83)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			1.22 (0.87)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			1.27 (0.85)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			1.15* (0.66)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			1.03 (0.69)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.08 (0.79)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-0.15 (0.87)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.14 (0.71)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.87 (0.77)
Constant	7.08*** (0.67)	5.79*** (0.54)	8.13*** (0.86)
N	993	1086	993
Adjusted R2	0.09	0.02	0.08

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

A comparison between the three models, model 1 which includes only personality, model 2 which includes only emotion, and model 3 which includes both personality and emotion, shows us that, in this analysis, emotion does not seem to be statistically significant, except in the case of Extraversion. Figure 16 shows the relationship between this personality trait and conservatism graphically.

Figure 16 indicates that, compared to the control condition, individuals higher in Extraversion, when in a positive emotional context, are more likely to report themselves as being more conservative. This is contrary to expectations, as laid out above. In the control condition, absent any emotional context, individuals high in Extraversion are more likely to report themselves as being more liberal. However, when put into a positive emotional context, this relationship is reversed. Extraversion is uniquely related to positive emotions in that individuals high in this trait are more likely to seek out and experience positive emotions. For these individuals, positive emotions bring out their truer tendencies, which appears to be the case here. It is possible that, true to their inherent tendencies toward outgoingness and spontaneity in positive emotional contexts, when put into a positive mindset, highly Extraverted individuals are more likely to state their true attitudes, which the data indicate happen to be more conservative.

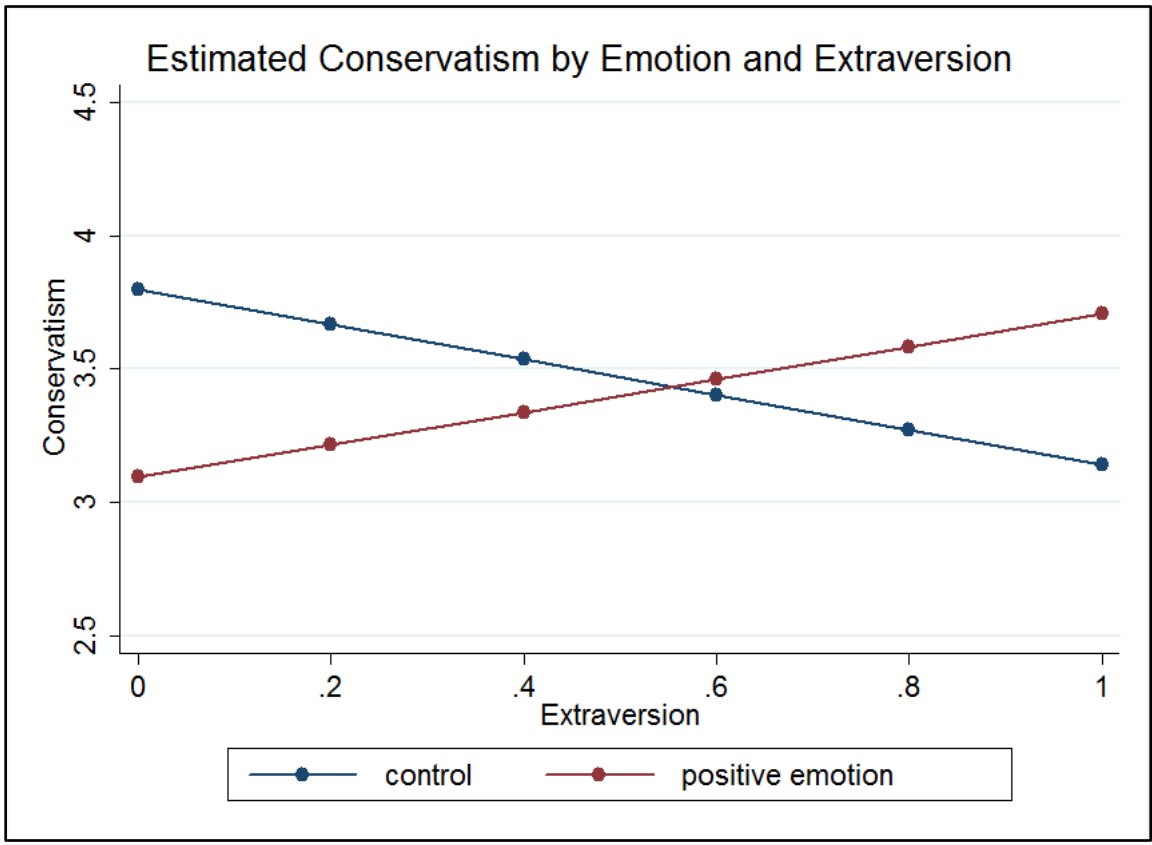


Figure 16 – The relationship between Extraversion and conservatism in positive and negative emotional contexts

Two personality traits play an important role in their direct effect on conservatism. As expected, individuals high in Openness to Experience (-2.66) tend to report themselves as more liberal, as compared to those low in this trait. Figure 17 shows the direct relationship between Openness to Experience and Conservatism.

The strong downward trend, demonstrating the direct effect of Openness to Experience on self-reported conservatism, indicates as Openness to Experience increases, the level of conservatism decreases. In other words, individuals higher in Openness to Experience are more likely to be more liberal in their ideology, which is line with prior research and theory.

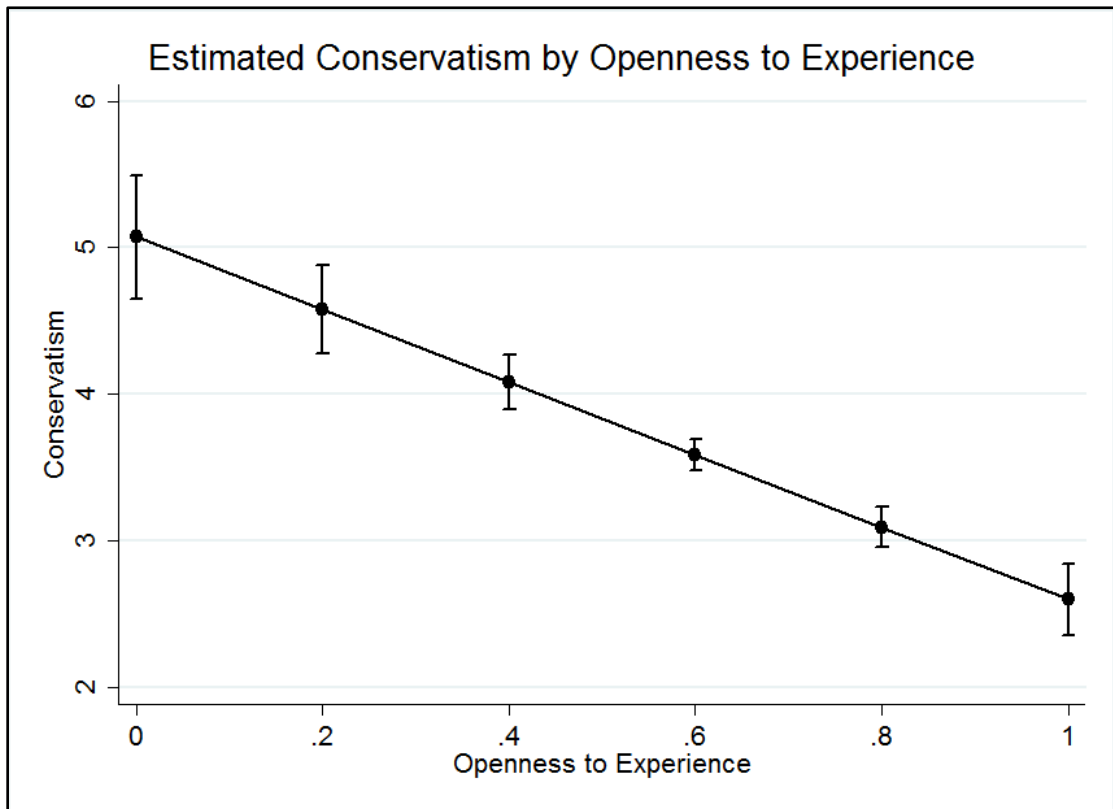


Figure 17 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on conservatism

Table 8 indicates that Neuroticism seems to be inversely related to conservatism (-1.34). The direct effect coefficient of Neuroticism seems to indicate that, as an individual is higher in this scale, they are more likely to report themselves as being more liberal. This effect is controlling for emotion and other demographics, indicating that, in a vacuum, highly Neurotic individuals are more likely to self-identify as more liberal. Figure 18 shows this relationship graphically.

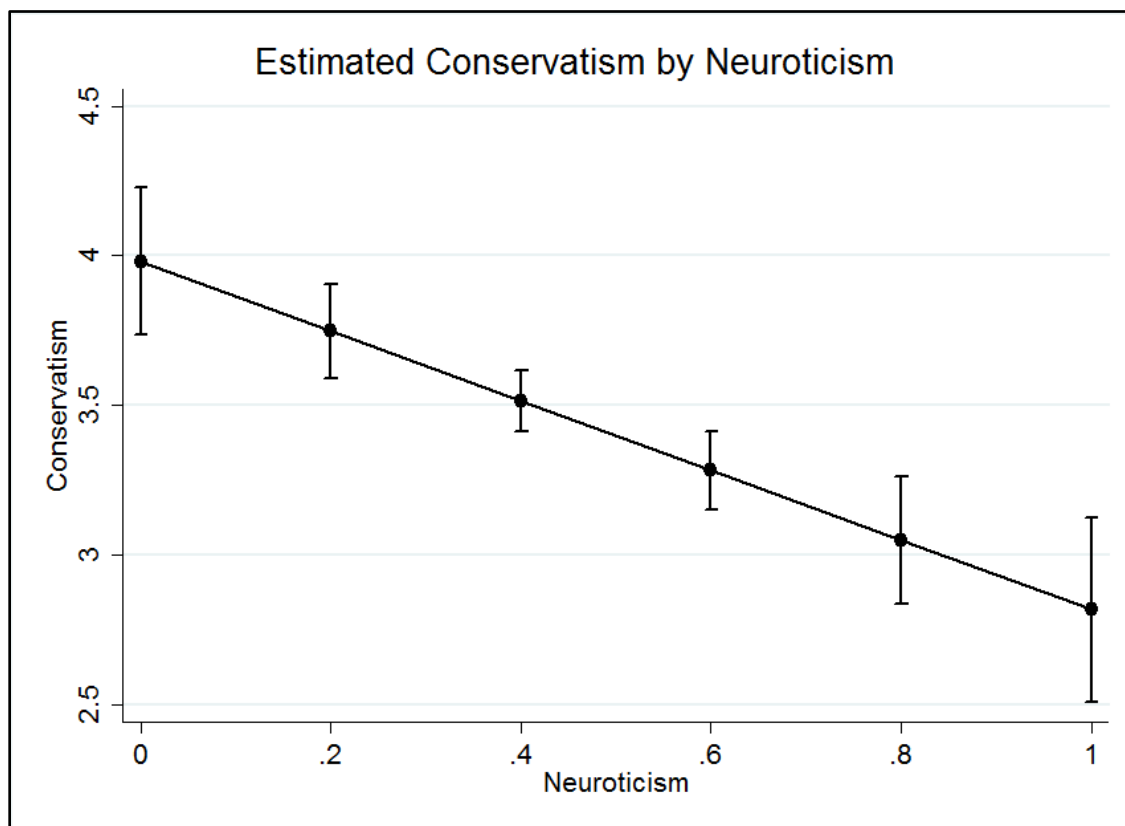


Figure 18 – The direct effect of Neuroticism on conservatism

This result seems to indicate that as emotional stability increases, which is the inverse of Neuroticism, individuals are more likely to report themselves as more conservative. The data seem to show that as individuals are more comfortable with and able to deal with negative emotions, the more likely they are to report being more conservative. This result also seems to grow in magnitude between model 1 (-1.00) and model 3 (-1.34), indicating that the inclusion of emotion into the model is changing the effect, but the effect of emotion remains statistically insignificant. In line with theory and research, it appears that conservatism is closely aligned with negative emotions and the more able an individual is to deal with these emotions, the more likely they are to identify as conservative.

In order to examine conservatism more closely, I have also included a second measure of conservatism, the Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale. The Wilson Patterson Scale was constructed using 25 indicator questions asking individuals how they feel about issues and organizations. Using confirmatory factor analysis, I have omitted two of the questions, and so the resultant scale is comprised of 23 items. The scale was then standardized so it ranges from 0-1. The Wilson Patterson variable, then, is an indirect measurement of conservatism. Table 9 shows the relevant results of the OLS regression for the Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale. A table of complete results can be found in the appendix.

Table 9 – The effect of personality and emotion on the Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.44*** (0.04)		-0.50*** (0.07)
Conscientiousness	0.09* (0.04)		0.04 (0.08)
Extraversion	0.08* (0.04)		0.02 (0.06)
Agreeableness	-0.15*** (0.04)		-0.15* (0.07)
Neuroticism	-0.14*** (0.04)		-0.17** (0.06)
Positive Emotion		-0.01 (0.02)	-0.14 (0.13)
Negative Emotion		0.03* (0.02)	-0.23 (0.12)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			0.09 (0.10)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.13 (0.11)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.06 (0.11)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.08 (0.11)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.08 (0.08)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			0.12 (0.09)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			0.00 (0.10)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.03 (0.11)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.02 (0.09)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.11 (0.09)
Constant	1.04*** (0.09)	0.75*** (0.07)	1.15*** (0.11)
N	993	1087	993
Adjusted R2	0.16	0.04	0.16

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

The results of Table 9 indicate that emotion has no direct or indirect effect on conservatism as measured by the Wilson Patterson Scale, but personality does have a direct statistically significant effect.

Openness to Experience (-0.50) and Agreeableness (-0.15) are both negatively related to conservatism here, indicating that highly Open and Agreeable individuals are more likely to hold less conservative issue positions than those lower in these traits. Figure 19 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and conservatism.

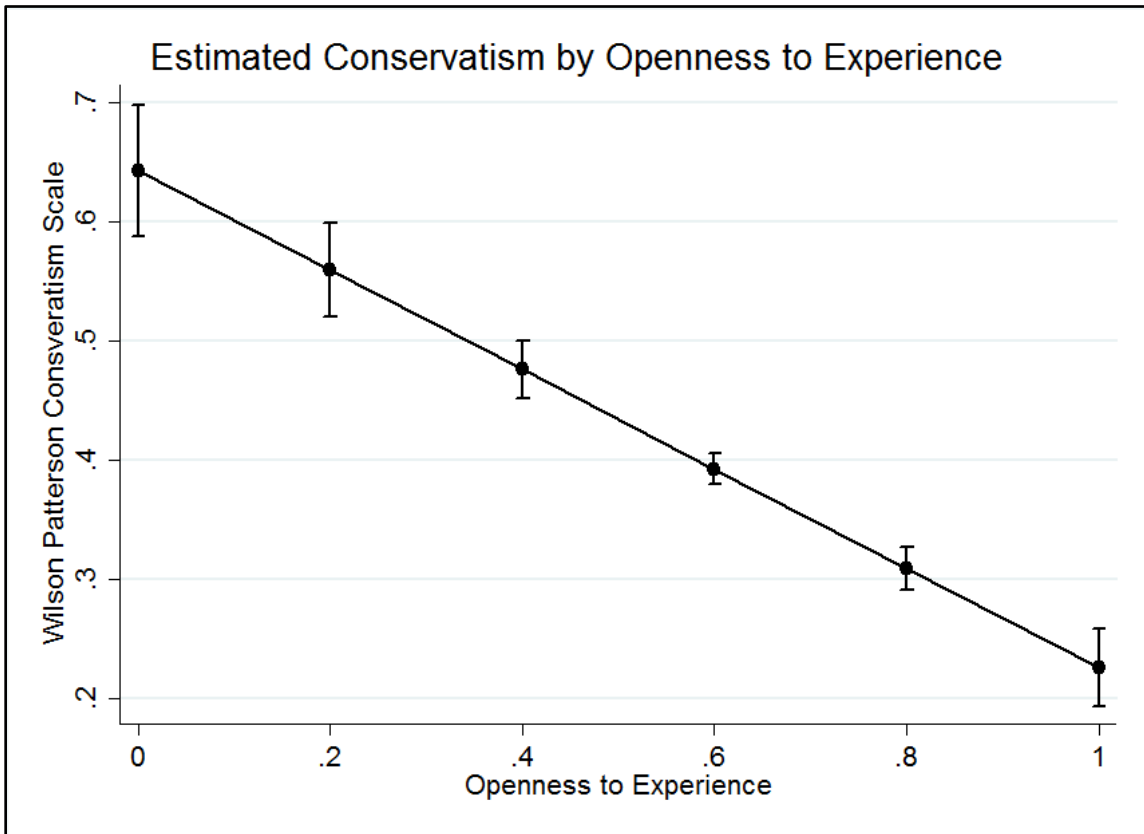


Figure 19 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on conservatism

The clear downward trend indicates that as Openness to Experience increases, the tendency toward conservatism also decreases. Figure 20 shows the relationship between conservatism and Agreeableness. This figure shows that increasing levels of Agreeableness are negatively related to Wilson Patterson conservatism.

Comparatively, it seems that Openness to Experience has a stronger effect, in terms of magnitude, than Agreeableness does, indicating that Openness is a strong mover of issue position placement in individuals. The results also indicate that Neuroticism (-0.17) is negatively related to conservatism, as the results of Table 8 did, and that this effect is stronger than that of Agreeableness.

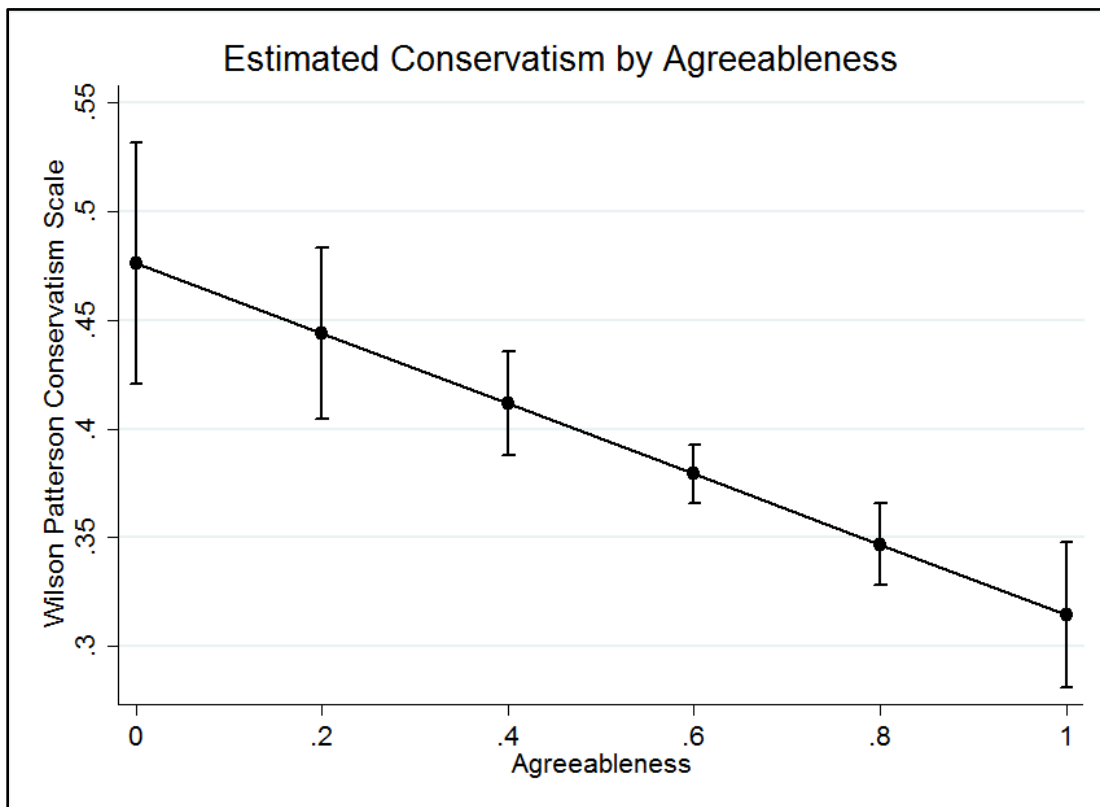


Figure 20 – The direct effect of Agreeableness on conservatism

Figure 21 shows the relationship between Neuroticism and conservatism. This is further evidence that highly Neurotic individuals are more likely to report more liberal attitudes than those lower in this trait, but also more likely than highly Agreeable individuals. Looking between model 1 and model 3, the coefficient for the direct result of Neuroticism is higher in the fully interactive model (-0.17) as compared to model 1 (-0.14), indicating that models that do not include emotion show results that are weaker than they really are. With emotion being accounted for in the model, the true effect of Neuroticism pushes individuals high in this trait toward more liberal attitudes and issue positions. The very absence of negative emotion, so closely tied to both this personality trait and conservatism, allows the true nature of this relationship to be seen.

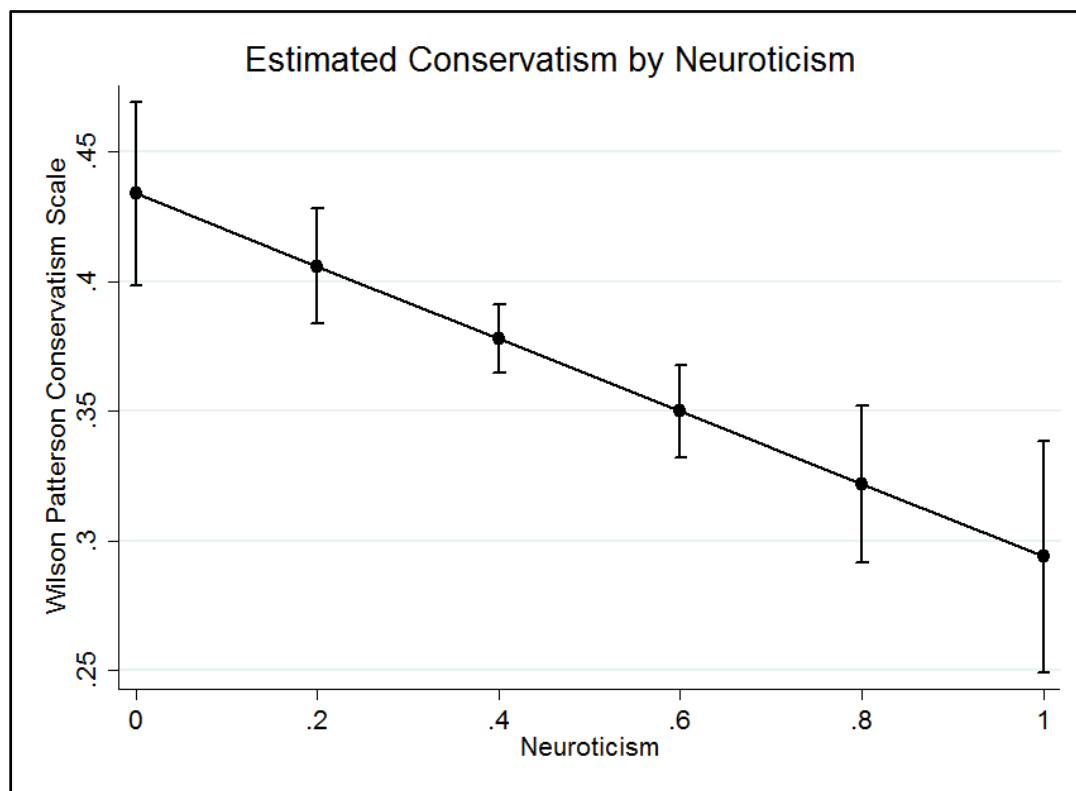


Figure 21 – The direct effect of Neuroticism on conservatism

### ANES Study

The second study is an analysis of the 2012 American National Election Study data. The obvious benefit of using this dataset in addition to the lab study is that it provides a large, nationally representative sample with which to compare the results. The 2012 ANES has questions very similar to the questions in the lab study, with some notable differences.

The ANES does not have an emotional manipulation, but following the example of Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000), I can find a reasonable comparison in the emotion questions asked. The ANES asks respondents how they feel about candidates and other political figures. Combining these indicators together, I can approximate an emotional state for the respondents and use this measure as a proxy for emotional context. The ANES also does not include the Wilson Patterson Conservatism scale, but instead asks questions about different issue positions which, when combined, approximately tracks onto a traditional left-right scale of political attitudes. Along with a straightforward question about ideology, these questions should be enough to establish respondents' political attitudes.

## Data

The ANES data approximates the fuller, more directed survey conducted in the lab study, and thus is somewhat different in the way measures were created and concepts were operationalized.

Emotional context cannot be operationalized as an experimental condition as it was in the lab study. The closest approximation was created by asking individuals how they felt about political candidates. Respondents were asked how they felt about candidates and how often they felt these emotions in four distinct emotional areas: fear, anger, hope, and pride. These four emotional indicators were then split into two measurements: positive emotions and negative emotions. The positive emotions were characterized as pride and hope and the negative emotions were characterized as fear and anger. Each respondent was first asked whether they felt this emotion toward a current candidate, and then asked how often they had felt this emotion lately. This created a continuous variable for each emotion indicating the amount of emotion felt. Each respondent was also asked all four of these questions for two candidates, which means that respondents could answer in a positive emotion for one and a negative for another. Since there is no consistency to the emotional context, the closest approximation is to get an overall feel for how the respondent reacted to all emotional questions is a continuous scale variable. This variable ranges from -8 to 8, with more negative numbers indicating more negative emotions felt while more positive numbers indicate more positive emotions. This is an attempt to mirror the experimental conditions of the lab study and to come as close to the overall conception of emotion as divided between positive or negative as possible.

The personality battery asked by the ANES is the TIPI – Ten Item Personality Index, which simply asks fewer questions in the same vein as the 44-question battery in the lab study. A full list of the TIPI is available in the appendix. As with the lab study, I transformed these variables into a standardized score ranging from 0-1. Again, I used two measures of conservatism: a self-placement scale and an approximation of the Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale. The actual Wilson Patterson Scale was not present in the ANES, but the ANES asked questions that were similar to the Scale. I used 4 questions similar to the ones found in the WP Scale. A full list of these questions can be found in the appendix. The WP scale is an additive scale that I transformed into a standardized scale ranging from 0-1.

I analyzed the data using OLS regression controlling for age, income, political efficacy, and political interest. Table 10 shows the relevant results for self-reported conservatism, which is a 1-7 scale of self-placement along a liberal-conservatism spectrum with 7 being extremely conservative. A full table of results can be found in the appendix.

Table 10 – The effect of personality and emotion on self-reported conservatism

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-1.29*** (0.12)		-1.32*** (0.13)
Conscientiousness	0.91*** (0.12)		0.93*** (0.13)
Extraversion	0.09 (0.10)		0.11 (0.10)
Agreeableness	-0.37** (0.12)		-0.31* (0.13)
Neuroticism	-0.31** (0.12)		-0.40*** (0.12)
Emotion		-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.12* (0.05)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			0.06 (0.04)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			-0.03 (0.04)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.03 (0.04)
Agreeableness X Emotion			0.00 (0.04)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.08* (0.04)
Constant	4.40*** (0.17)	3.89*** (0.09)	4.40*** (0.17)
N	4705	5044	4698
Adjusted R2	0.05	0.04	0.06

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 10 shows the results of three models: model 1 includes only personality, model 2 includes only emotion, and model 3 is a fully interactive model including both personality and emotion together. These results demonstrate that personality and emotion both exert significant influence on how individuals report their ideology.

Emotion has a direct inverse effect on self-reported ideology in both model 2 (-0.06) and model 3 (-0.12). The coefficients for both models indicate that when individuals feel more positive emotions, they are more likely to report being more liberal, which is in line with expectations. It appears that, regardless of personality, individuals put into more positive emotional contexts will respond in a more liberal way.

As expected, Openness to Experience (-1.32) has a significant inverse relationship with self-reported conservatism. Figure 22 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and conservatism.

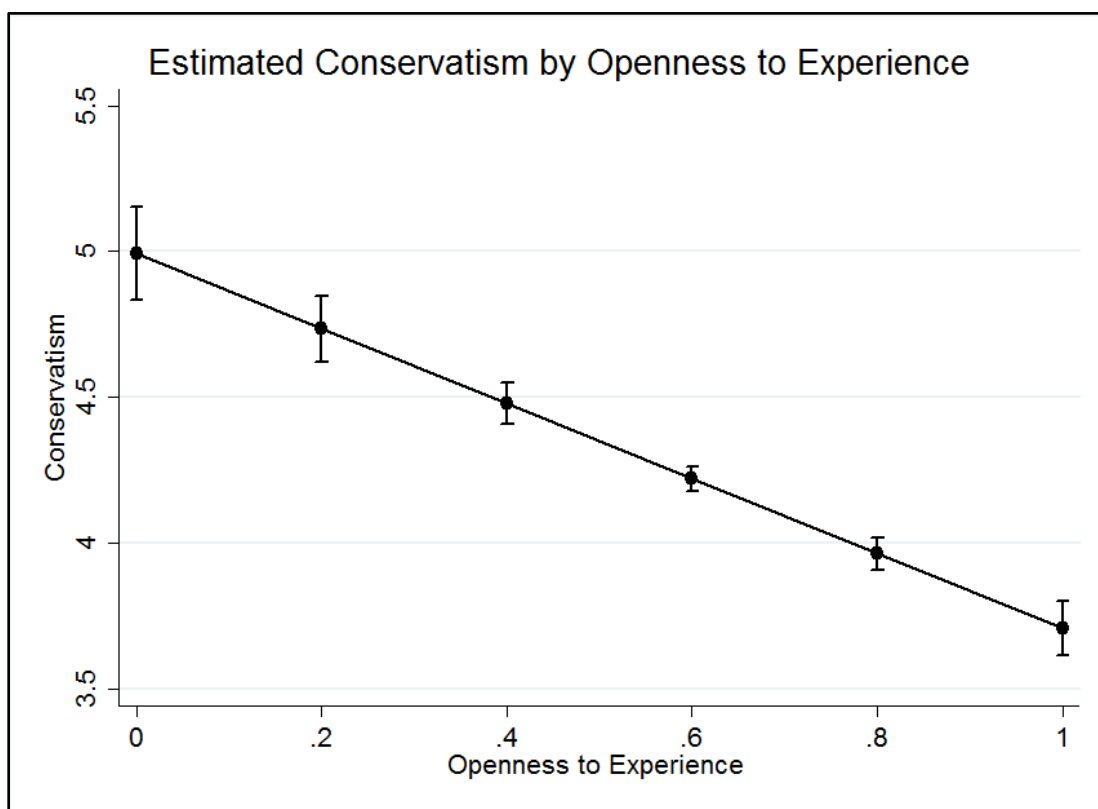


Figure 22 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience conservatism in the ANES

In model 1, which includes only personality, highly Open individuals are highly likely to report being more liberal. This relationship is heightened in the presence of emotion. Model 3 shows that, when emotion is included, the direct effect of Openness to Experience (-1.32) is larger than that shown in model 1 (-1.29). However, the interactive term is not statistically significant, which indicates that while Openness exerts an influence on self-reported conservatism directly, this relationship does not change in the face of emotion. Similarly, Conscientiousness (0.93) and Agreeableness (-0.31) both conform to expectations and exert a direct effect on self-reported conservatism. Figure 23 shows the relationship between Conscientiousness and conservatism.

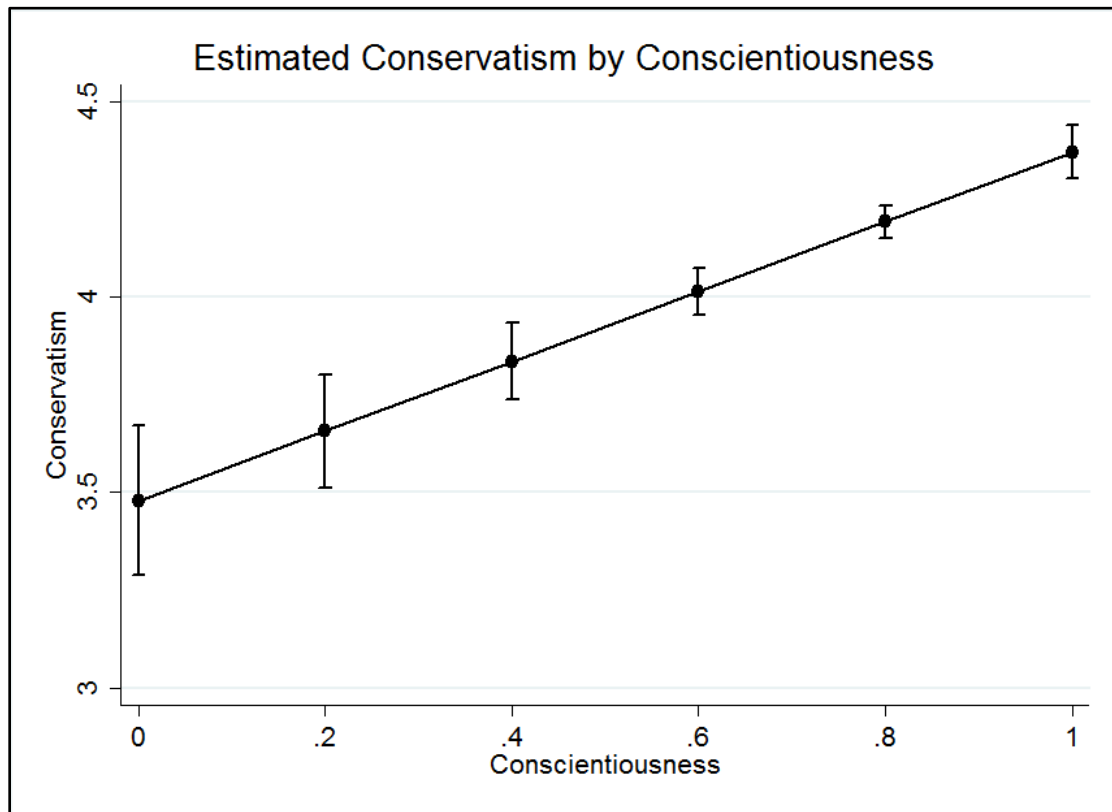


Figure 23 – The direct effect of Conscientiousness on conservatism in the ANES

Individuals higher in Conscientiousness are much more likely to report being more conservative than those lower in this trait. The positive upward trend seen in Figure 23 shows that as Conscientiousness increases, so too does the level of conservatism.

Highly Agreeable individuals are also more likely to report being more liberal as compared to those lower in this personality trait, as shown in Figure 24. The strong negative downward trend shown here indicates that as Agreeableness increases, the level of conservatism decreases.

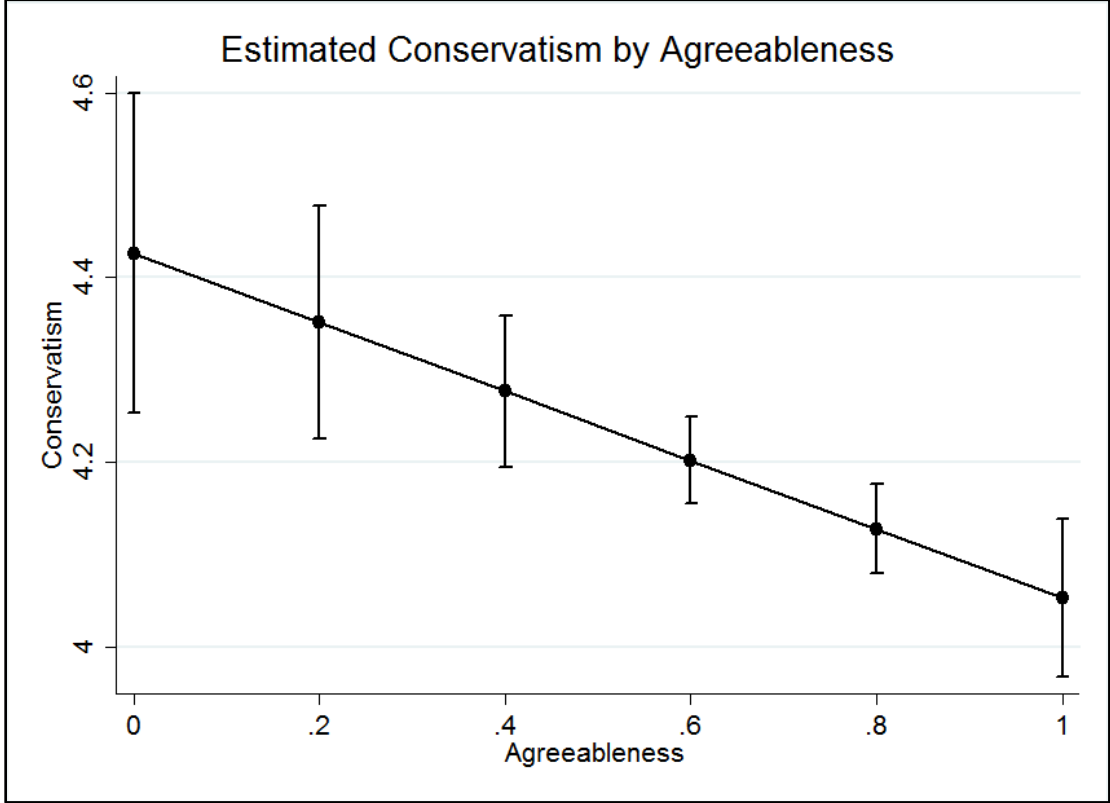


Figure 24 – The direct effect of Agreeableness on conservatism in the ANES

Neuroticism shows a surprising result in its direct effect on self-reported conservatism (-0.40). The negative coefficient indicates that, in general, individuals high in Neuroticism are more likely to report being more liberal. This echoes the results seen in the Amazon mTurk study. It seems that, in a vacuum, individuals high in Neuroticism are more likely to be more liberal. The interactive effect here is also significant (0.08). Breaking the emotion variable into positive and negative emotion for the sake of clarity, Figure 25 shows the differential relationship between Neuroticism, emotion, and conservatism.

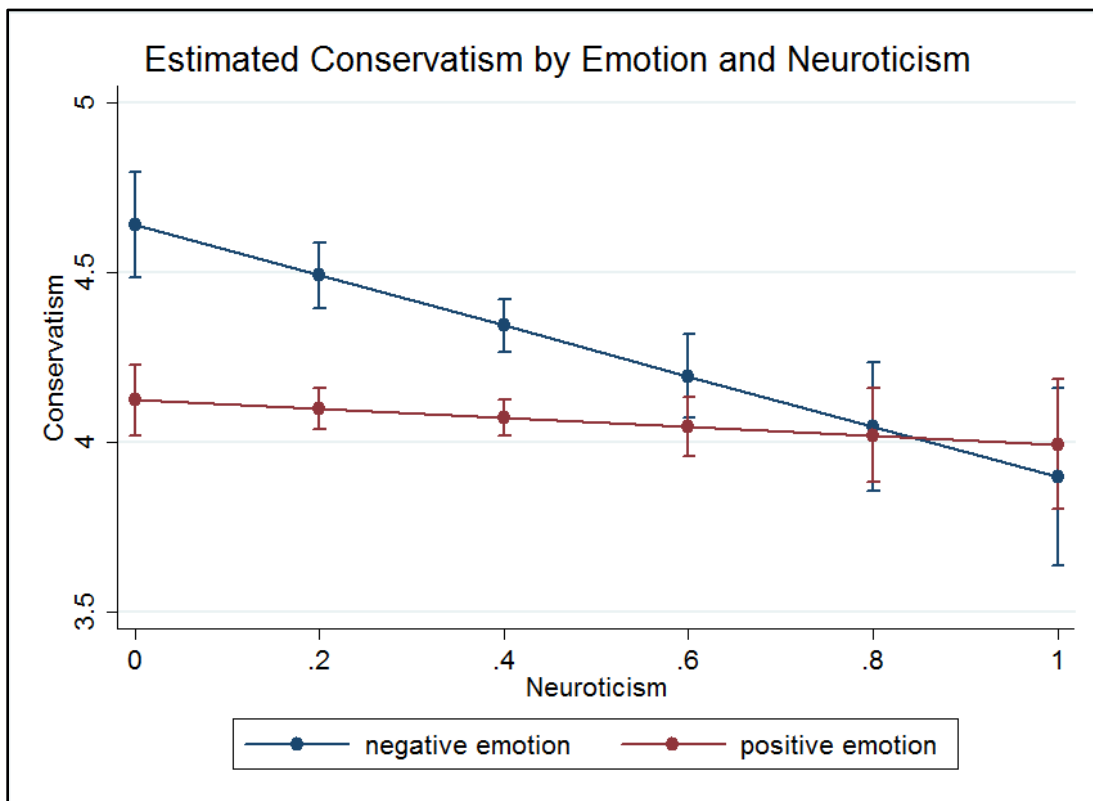


Figure 25 – The effect of Neuroticism on conservatism in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

While both positive and negative emotion lines show a slight negative trend along Neuroticism, the negative emotion slope is much steeper than the positive emotion slope. This indicates that individuals higher in Neuroticism, when exposed to negative emotions, are more likely to be less conservative. This result is entirely unexpected, but might be explained by the characteristics of the personality trait itself. Neuroticism is defined by the *inability* to deal with stress, anger, anxiety, threat, etc., all emotions central to conservatism (Jost et al. 2003). While individuals high in Neuroticism are more likely to experience and be attracted to negative emotions in general, this does not necessarily mean that they will be more likely to follow an ideology that rests on these foundations. The data suggest that, ideologically, individuals higher in Neuroticism are put off by these emotions, perhaps due to their inability to deal with them, which pushes them away from conservatism.

A second test of political attitude is reflected in Table 11, which shows the analysis of the approximated Wilson Patterson Scale. The approximated Wilson Patterson Scale is an additive scale which has been standardized to range from 0-1 with 1 being most conservative. Table 11 shows the relevant results of the OLS regression. A complete table of results is provided in the appendix.

Table 11 – The effect of personality and emotion on the Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.17*** (0.02)		-0.18*** (0.02)
Conscientiousness	0.18*** (0.02)		0.18*** (0.01)
Extraversion	0.04** (0.02)		0.05** (0.02)
Agreeableness	-0.07*** (0.02)		-0.06** (0.02)
Neuroticism	-0.02 (0.02)		-0.04* (0.02)
Emotion		-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			0.01 (0.01)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			0.00 (0.01)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.00 (0.01)
Agreeableness X Emotion			-0.01 (0.01)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.01* (0.01)
Constant	0.64*** (0.03)	0.62*** (0.01)	0.65*** (0.03)
N	5197	5564	5185
Adjusted R2	0.07	0.08	0.11

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Overall, the results of the approximated Wilson Patterson Conservatism analysis echo the results of self-reported conservatism demonstrated in Table 10. Table 11 further demonstrates that personality and emotion both are significant in explaining political attitudes. Emotion seems to have a direct and negative effect on political attitudes (-0.02), indicating that the more positive emotion one feels, the more likely they are to report liberal issue positions.

Similar to self-reported conservatism, Openness to Experience (-0.18), Conscientiousness (0.18), and Agreeableness (-0.06) all conform to expectations in their direct effect on conservatism. Individuals high in Openness to Experience and Agreeableness tend to be more liberal than those low in these traits while individuals high in Conscientiousness tend to be more conservative than those low in this trait. Figure 26 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and conservatism.

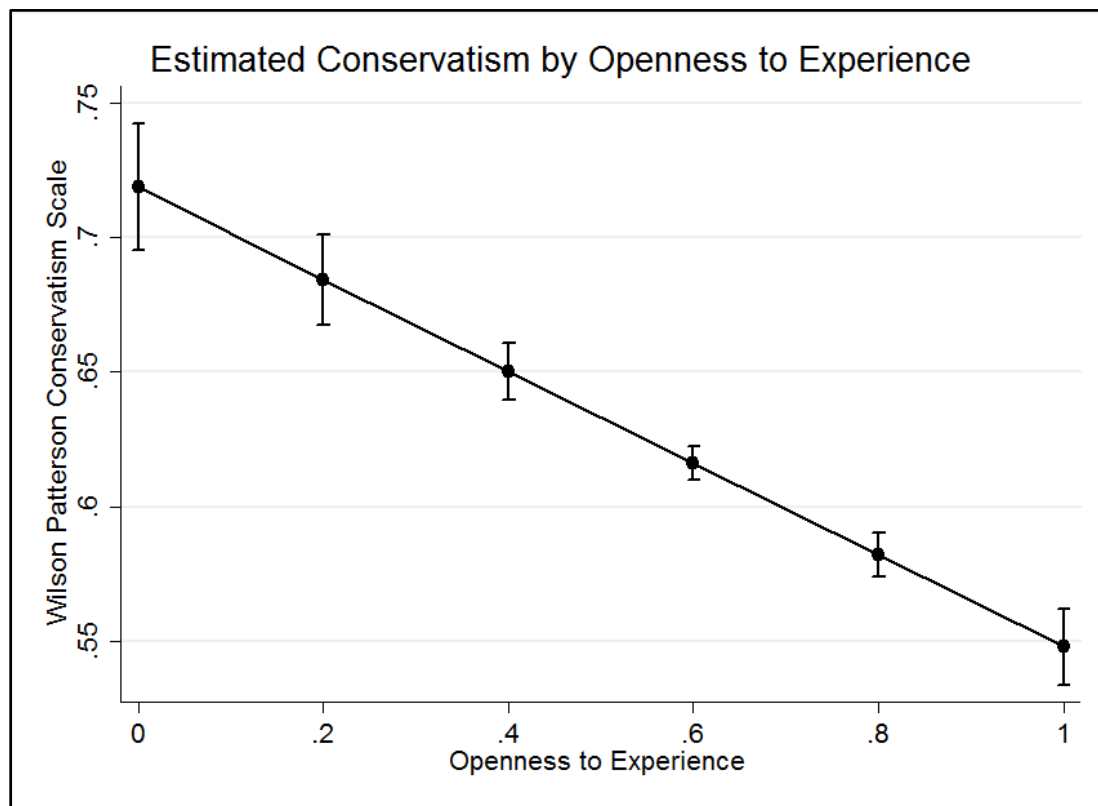


Figure 26 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on WP conservatism in the ANES

The sharp downward trend shown in Figure 26 demonstrates that as Openness to Experience increases, the level of conservatism as measured by the approximated Wilson Patterson score decreases. Similarly, Figure 27 shows the relationship between Conscientiousness and conservatism.

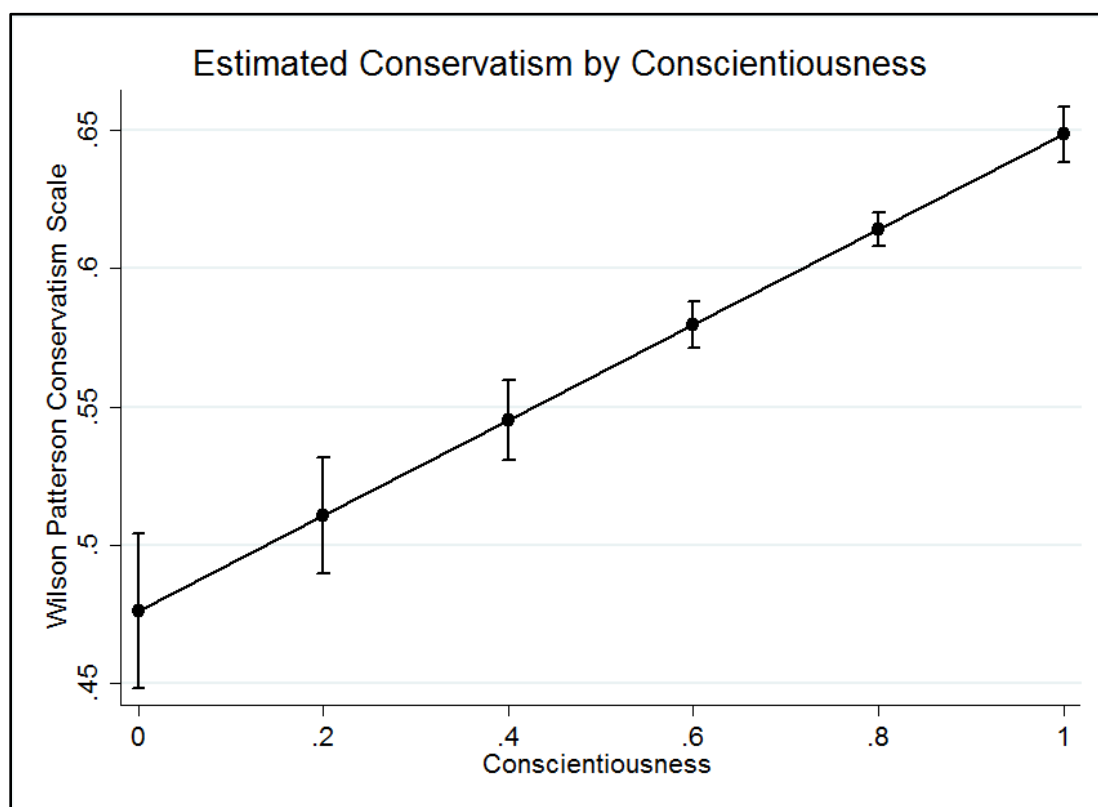


Figure 27 – The direct effect of Conscientiousness on WP conservatism in the ANES

The upward slope here in Figure 27 shows that as Conscientiousness increases, the level of conservatism also increases. Interestingly, Openness to Experience and Conscientiousness seem to have the same magnitude of effect, only in opposite directions.

Again, here there is evidence of the puzzling result of Neuroticism, which shows that individuals high in this trait, absent emotion, tend to be more liberal, and in the presence of positive emotions these individuals tend to be more conservative. This result is further evidence of the unanticipated effect of positive emotion driving highly Neurotic individuals more toward their natural affective state and its most closely aligned ideology.

A more shocking result here is that of Extraversion (0.05). This personality trait has not been a significant mover of political ideology in any other model, and the results here indicate that highly Extraverted individuals are more likely to respond in ways that are more conservative, which is contrary to expectations. This effect is puzzling, but could be an artefact of the personality trait itself. Extraverts are outgoing, spontaneous, and slightly scattered in their approach to life, which might lend itself to answering questions like those included in this measure without deep thought. It is possible that individuals high in this trait simply answer questions more spontaneously and without much introspection, leading to this unexpected result.

## Conclusion

The Amazon mTurk experiment and the ANES results differ in some respects, and the results are truly a mixed bag of support and contradiction, but a few key conclusions can be drawn here to create a better picture of the overall relationship between personality, emotion, and political attitudes.

The first conclusion to be drawn is that emotion matters. In both the Amazon mTurk and the ANES analyses, the results indicate that a fully interactive model including both personality and emotion give us a better picture of political attitudes and explain more of what is driving political ideology. While in general emotion seems to have no strong interactive effects with personality traits, these results indicate that emotion has a direct effect on how individuals answer questions about their ideology. The ANES results indicate that the more positive emotion you feel, the more likely you are to answer in more liberal ways. In other words, emotional context matters for how a person will answer about their political ideology.

The second conclusion to be drawn is that personality strongly influences political ideology. Both the Amazon mTurk and ANES studies demonstrate that Openness to Experience, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism have a significant and consistent effect on political ideology. Individuals high in Openness to Experience, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism are more likely to be more liberal whereas individuals high in Conscientiousness tend to be more conservative. The results for Neuroticism are interesting here, in that the data indicate that individuals higher in Neuroticism tend to be more liberal, and this effect is heightened in the presence of negative emotions.

Finally, even though the interaction between personality and emotion does not significantly or consistently move political ideology, it is clear that both play a role in influencing it. Certain personality traits are more or less likely to make a person lean liberal or conservative, and positive emotion seems to influence people to lean more liberal in general. This is a significant finding in itself, as these two factors have never been studied together before. The data demonstrate evidence for the effect of personality on ideology, the effect of emotion on ideology, but not an interactive effect between the two.

Personality and emotion are deeply intertwined in the psyche; personality lays the foundation for and influences our experience of emotions while emotions heighten or mute the manifestations of personality. These results make clear the need for including both in our models and bring us closer to the truth of the relationship between the two.

## Chapter 5

### Political Participation

Political participation is one of the cornerstones of democracy; the idea being that a truly free and fair democracy is only possible when all citizens have their voice heard and are active in the political and civic space. Several studies, beginning in the 1960's, have sought to discover how and why individuals participate in politics (Brady, Verba, and Scholzman 1995, Verba and Nie 1972, Olson 1965). Scholars have largely discovered the environmental factors that contribute to this behavior, such as political knowledge (Carpini and Keeter 1996, Kuklinski et al. 2000, Althaus 1998, Prior and Lupia 2008), political ideology (Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Snyder 2008, Campbell et al. 1960), political sophistication (Luskin 1987, 1990, Bartels 2000, Hetherington 2001), and social influence (Bond et al. 2012, Barabas 2004). These factors are labelled environmental as they are more external than dispositional, more susceptible to influence by other factors, such as political knowledge being influenced by education, and varying at points in an individual's lifespan, such as social influence. In contrast, dispositional factors are more stable and less influenced by other factors. For instance, personality is stable throughout a person's life and not likely to be influenced by other external issues.

There has been an emerging trend in the literature to incorporate both environmental and dispositional factors, such as personality and emotion, into the explanations of political participation. Several studies have shown that pre-dispositions such as personality, in conjunction with environmental factors, may influence how and when individuals participate in the political process (Mondak 2010, Mondak et al. 2010, Ulbig and Funk 1999, Blais and St. Vincent 2011, Denny and Doyle 2008, Mondak and Halperin 2008, Deppe et al. 2013, Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen 2000).

It is clear, therefore, that neither environmental nor dispositional factors alone determine political participation. It is, in fact, an interactive relationship wherein pre-dispositions can influence how individuals perceive things and the influence environmental factors have on the behavioral outcomes. Thus, both must be studied in order to fully understand how and when these factors interact in order to produce predictable participation outcomes.

Studies have shown that emotion has a direct and immediate influence on the decision to participate in politics. Several studies have shown that negative emotions, such as anger, often push individuals to participate in politics more than they would have otherwise (Valentino et al. 2011, Valentino, Gregorowicz, and Groenendyk 2009, Valentino and Neuner 2016). Conversely, as Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000) demonstrate, positive emotions cause individuals to become complacent and has a dampening effect on political participation.

Personality has also been discovered to be very influential in participation. Openness to Experience has been linked positively to participation and studies have shown that individuals high in Openness to Experience tend to participate in politics more (Mondak and Halperin 2008, Mondak et al. 2010, Mondak and Canache 2014). Individuals high in this personality trait are also more attracted to and experience more emotions in general. As evidenced in Chapter 1, individuals high in this trait tend to

experience both positive and negative emotions at higher rates than those low in this trait. Positive emotion has a generally depressive effect on participation, but negative emotion has a mobilizing effect. Individuals high in Openness are generally more likely to participate (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011), so it stands to reason that individuals high in this trait, in the presence of negative emotion, would be more likely to participate at higher rates. In the case of positive emotion, the relationship could go either way. Positive emotion, which has a depressive effect on participation, should translate into lower rates of participation for individuals high in this trait, but combined with their inherent tendency toward higher rates of participation, it is possible that this depressive effect manifests as a slight downward trend as compared to those in negative emotional contexts. Therefore, in a vacuum, I would still expect to see higher rates of participation for individuals high in Openness to Experience in positive emotional contexts, however, this should be a lower rate of participation than that seen in individuals high in this trait in negative emotional contexts.

Conscientiousness has been shown to have both a positive relationship with political participation (Cooper, Golden, and Socha 2013) and a negative relationship (Mondak et al. 2010, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011). Mondak et al. (2010) argue that the relationship between personality and political participation is not a straightforward one, and the reason for inconsistent results might be that there is a moderating variable changing the nature of the relationship. Mondak et al. (2010) suggest that the difference may lie in the way individuals perceive political engagement. Conscientiousness is a personality trait characterized by duty and serious mindedness, and if political engagement is seen as luxury rather than as a duty, it is possible that individuals high in this trait may eschew politics for something they see as more productive and practical. However, a possible explanation for these discrepancies might lie in emotional context.

Conscientiousness is a personality domain characterized by rigid thinking, dutifulness, and achievement striving. These tendencies are enhanced in the presence of negative emotional contexts, which can spur individuals high in Conscientiousness to exhibit greater levels of their personality traits. In a vacuum, individuals who are dutiful and committed to maintaining strict social hierarchical structures are expected to participate in politics at higher rates than those who are not so conscientious. On the other hand, if politics is viewed as a luxury, these same individuals can be expected to participate at lower rates. In either case, emotional context should change the direction and strength of this relationship. Negative emotional contexts should spur participation in politics, prompting these individuals to take action to support their cause or defend their viewpoint, whereas positive emotional contexts spur complacency. Under positive emotional contexts, there is no impetus for highly Conscientious individuals to do anything, which may appear in the data as a negative relationship.

The relationship between Extraversion and participation is clear and positive one, wherein individuals high in Extraversion tend to participate in politics at higher rates (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Mondak 2010, Mondak et al. 2010). As mentioned earlier, extraverts are more capable of, attracted to, and responsive to positive affective contexts (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1992). In the case of political participation,

individuals high in Extraversion can be expected to participate in politics more under conditions of positive emotional contexts, but these individuals can also be expected to demonstrate lower rates of participation under negative emotional contexts. Individuals high in this trait are more attracted to and speak and act out more in positive emotional states. For Extraverts, negative emotional contexts are rare and, when experienced, uncomfortable. In general, discomfort and dissonance on that level should indicate withdrawal for individuals, spurring lower levels of participation.

The most inconsistent relationship between a personality domain and participation is seen in the case of Agreeableness (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011). There is evidence that individuals high in Agreeableness participate in politics at higher rates (Mondak and Halperin 2008) and there is also evidence that individuals high in Agreeableness participate in politics at lower rates (Blais and St. Vincent 2011, Ulbig and Funk 1999, Mutz 2002). Agreeableness also has a very clear relationship to emotional contexts; individuals high in this trait tend to do everything they can to avoid or mitigate negative emotional contexts. Agreeableness is also very closely related to high feelings of fairness for others, trust, and altruism, all traits that lend themselves to participation in the political arena. Since politics can be such a conflictual experience, it has a high probability of being associated with negativity in people's minds. It is possible that this negativity, or perception of negativity, can encourage individuals high in Agreeableness to stay away from politics. However, the reverse is equally likely; when presented in a positive emotional context, politics can be something these individuals want to participate in.

Neuroticism also has a straightforward relationship with participation. There is some inconsistency in the findings across studies in that some studies show that individuals high in Neuroticism tend to participate in politics less (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al. 2011, Gerber, Huber, Doherty, and Dowling 2011, Mondak and Canache 2014, Mondak et al. 2010) or show no statistical relationship at all (Mondak and Halperin 2008). Neuroticism is the personality domain most closely related to negative emotional contexts, with individuals high in Neuroticism particularly prone to and attracted to negative emotions. It follows, then, that negative emotional contexts should affect how Neuroticism influences political participation. It is very possible that surveys taken at different times and under different emotional contexts would lead to inconsistent results. Specifically manipulating emotional contexts and controlling for them would allow for clearer analysis into the actual effect of Neuroticism on political participation. Neuroticism as a personality trait is characterized by high levels of anxiety and poor stress management, both of which come into play when considering political participation. Participation in politics requires the ability to act in a high-conflict and stressful environment, which is not something individuals high in Neuroticism are capable of doing. In a vacuum, individuals high in Neuroticism would be less likely to participate in politics; under conditions of negative emotions, however, this relationship can be expected to become stronger, further decreasing the likelihood of participation in politics.

Based on the theory above, Figure 28 shows the expected relationships between personality domains and affect in the context of political participation.

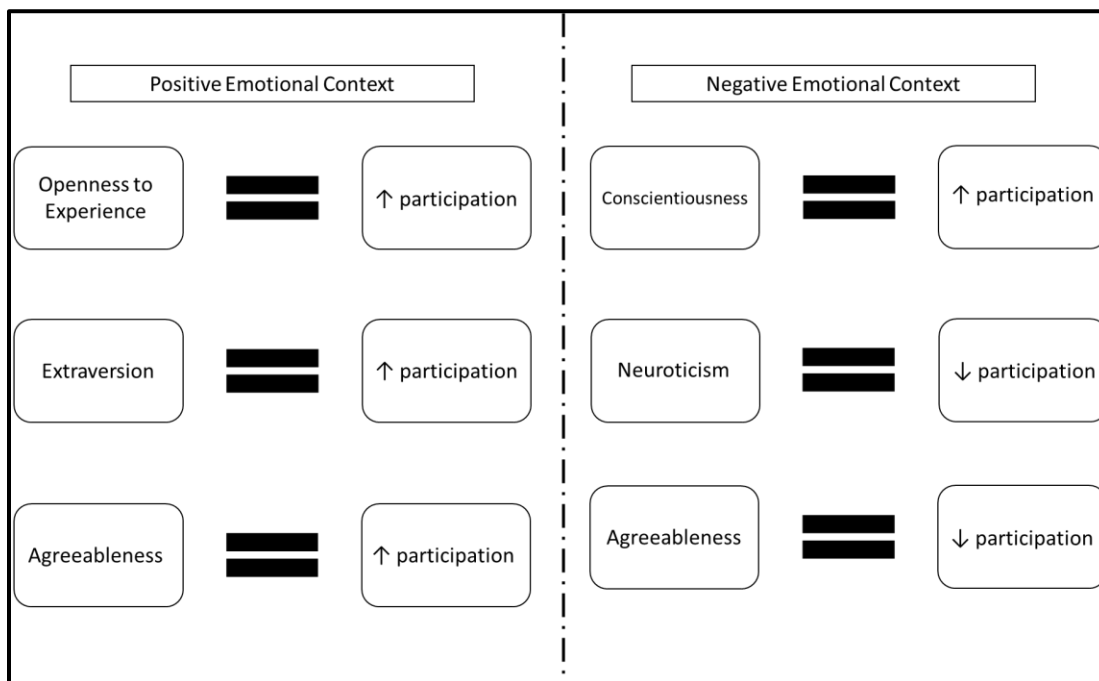


Figure 28 – The expected relationships between personality, emotional context, and political participation

## Amazon mTurk Study

### Method

This study was a randomized online survey experiment conducted through Amazon mTurk. Participation in the survey was restricted to respondents in the U.S. and over the age of 18 (voting age). Respondents were asked basic demographic questions and then randomly assigned to one of 3 experimental conditions: positive emotion condition, negative emotion condition, and neutral condition. This survey was done identically to the survey in the Amazon mTurk study conducted in Chapter 4.

The emotional conditions were induced by asking respondents to remember and write down a moment in their lives when they were either extremely happy (positive emotion) or extremely upset/angry (negative emotion). The process of remembering and writing down an answer to this type of question is referred to as an Imagination Mood Induction Procedure (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994). Several studies have shown that when asked to remember and write down an emotional experience, an individual enters the emotional state being described such that they will experience the emotions associated with the memory *as if* they were in that moment again. In essence, this procedure elicits an organic emotion of the same intensity and valence as the prompt they are given, effectively putting respondents into the emotional state they are asked to describe (Gerrards-Hesse, Spies, and Hesse 1994, Larsen and Ketelaar 1989).

Once respondents had been separated into one of the 3 experimental conditions and induced to feel the emotion prompted, they were asked a series of political participation questions, which can be viewed in the appendix. The obvious problem of self-reported political participation measures is the social desirability bias. Individuals often feel that engaging in politics is a desirable social trait and, when asked directly about it, will sometimes lie in order to seem more active in politics than they are. While several studies have shown that this bias is minimal at best, I have included a measure meant to circumvent this problem by forcing an amount of political participation in the moment.

Respondents were first asked their political affiliation and ideology. Based on these responses, respondents were directed to a page detailing an issue that fit within their political preference. On this page was a link to sign an online petition based on the issue. I recorded whether respondents chose to follow up on the issue by signing the petition. Sample issues and petitions can be found in the appendix. This approach allowed me to determine whether someone would actually participate in politics, but with a low threshold, signing an online petition. As respondents were already online, the petition was embedded in the survey, and the issue was carefully selected based on their own stated political affiliation and ideology, there were very few barriers to participation in this scenario. Logically, this is an easier path to participation than most other options, such as physically leaving the house to go vote or attend a rally, and yet it is also reflective of today's online society whereby a large part of an individual's interaction with the world happens through the relatively low threshold barrier of a computer screen.

A third method of probing the relationship between participation, emotion, and personality is to separate out the different types of participation and examine each relationship individually. Traditionally, participation is measured as an index of potential political activities an individual can engage in, ranging from voting to joining a protest march to signing petitions. This index is most often created as an additive scale, as I have done here. However, theoretically, it is disingenuous to liken voting to protesting in the streets; these are two very different types of participation that have very different barriers to entry and motivations for engagement. It is possible that, in fact, a large part of the motivational difference between types of participation lie in the emotional motivation required for each. Therefore, the third test below separates each type of participation.

### Data

There were three measures of participation measured in this study: self-reported participation, actual participation, and separate types of participation. Self-reported participation is a count variable measuring how many political participation activities a respondent reported having done, ranging from 0-9. This is a standard additive scale measurement of participation combining responses from 10 yes or no questions asking individuals whether they had participated in several different types of political activity. Table 12 shows the relevant negative binomial regression results. The full results are available in the appendix.

Table 12 – The effect of personality and emotion on political participation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.28* (0.11)		0.36* (0.18)
Conscientiousness	0.02 (0.11)		0.14 (0.20)
Extraversion	0.10 (0.09)		0.07 (0.14)
Agreeableness	-0.04 (0.11)		0.12 (0.19)
Neuroticism	0.27** (0.10)		0.49** (0.17)
Positive Emotion		-0.02 (0.04)	0.33 (0.33)
Negative Emotion		-0.00 (0.04)	0.60 (0.33)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.15 (0.26)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-0.12 (0.27)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-0.11 (0.29)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.19 (0.28)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.11 (0.21)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.02 (0.23)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.19 (0.26)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-0.33 (0.29)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.28 (0.24)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.41 (0.26)
Efficacy	0.82*** (0.11)	0.83*** (0.11)	0.83*** (0.12)
Political Interest	0.70*** (0.08)	0.69*** (0.08)	0.70*** (0.08)
Conservatism	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Constant	0.45* (0.21)	0.75*** (0.16)	0.13 (0.29)
N	986	1079	986
Pseudo R2	0.08	0.07	0.08

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 12 includes the results from three models: model 1 includes only personality, model 2 includes only emotion, and model 3 includes both personality and emotion in a fully interactive model. Looking between the models, the most striking result is that emotion seems to have no effect on self-reported political participation. In both model 2 and model 3, the coefficients for emotion are not statistically significant, either alone or interacted with personality. This indicates that political participation, at least in this sample, is not based on emotional motivation. The strongest influences on political participation seem to be efficacy (0.83) and interest (0.70). It is expected that those who feel the most efficacious, like they are important to the system and can influence it, and those who are most interested in politics, will also be more inclined to participate.

As expected, certain personality traits seem to influence participation to a large degree. Openness to Experience is positively related to participation (0.36), indicating that individuals high in this personality trait are more likely to participate in more ways. Figure 29 demonstrates this relationship graphically. The upward positive trend indicates that as Openness to Experience increases, so too does the level of political participation.

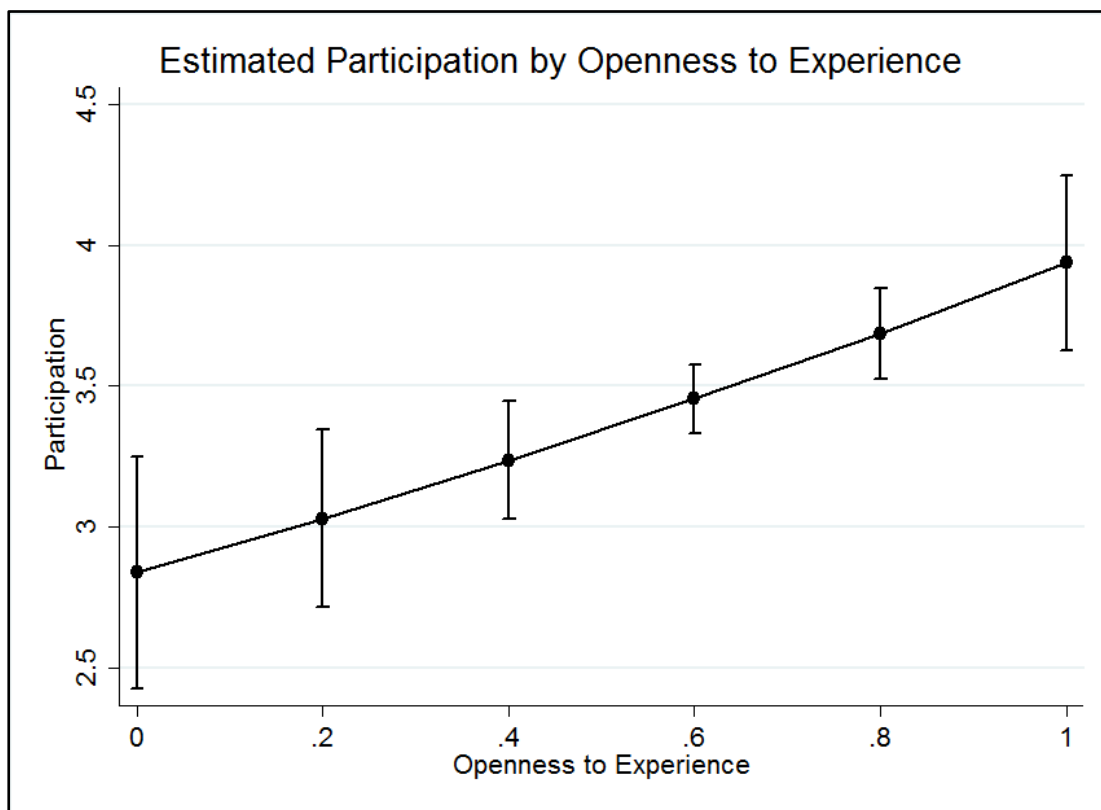


Figure 29 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on political participation

This relationship is theoretically expected; individuals who are open to and attracted to experiences of every type are more likely to want to experience and participate in politics.

The surprising relationship in this analysis is that of Neuroticism and participation (0.49). Figure 30 demonstrates this relationship graphically and demonstrates that as levels of Neuroticism increase, so too do levels of participation. The data indicate that individuals high in Neuroticism are *more likely* to participate in politics than those who are lower in this trait. This finding echoes the relationship found by Mondak et al. (2010), though they offered no explanation for it. The relationship shown here is positive and statistically significant, and larger in magnitude than the relationship between Openness and participation. It is possible that the charged emotional context of politics, which is often fraught with conflict and tension, is attractive to those high in Neuroticism. This personality trait is, after all, very closely related to negative emotions, with individuals high in this trait not only experiencing these types of emotions more frequently than others, but also being more attracted to these emotions in particular. In this sense, it is logical to assume that any activity that either evinces or demonstrates emotions such as anger, anxiety, tension, or conflict would be more attractive to individuals high in Neuroticism.

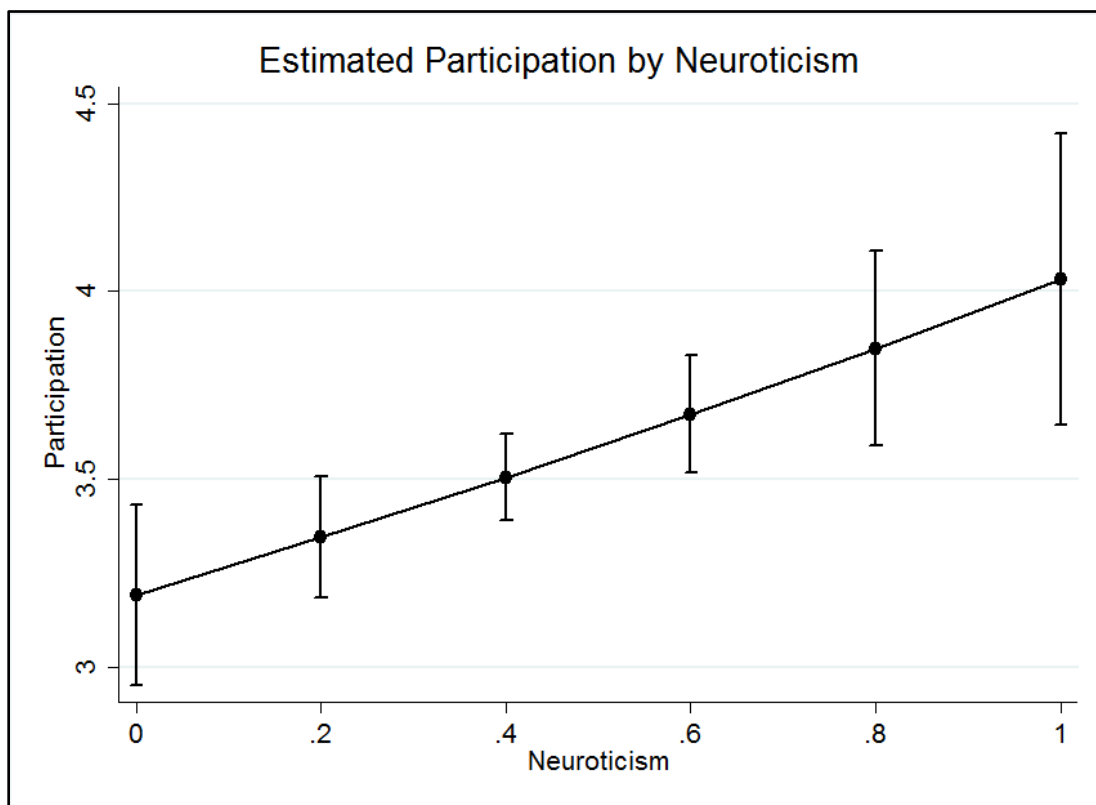


Figure 30 – The direct effect of Neuroticism on political participation

A second measure of political participation was an opportunity to actually participate in politics in the moment. Respondents were shown petitions relevant to their stated ideology and political party affiliation and asked whether they would like to sign the petition. For instance, individuals who responded as being more liberal and Democrat were asked to sign left leaning petitions while those who responded as being more conservative and Republican were asked to sign right leaning petitions. A sample of the petitions is available in the appendix. The resulting variable is a binary 0/1 variable indicating whether the respondent chose to act and sign the petition or not. Table 13 shows the relevant logit regression results. The full results are available in the appendix.

Table 13 – The effect of personality and emotion on actual participation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.09 (0.43)		-1.02 (0.70)
Conscientiousness	-0.41 (0.45)		-0.21 (0.81)
Extraversion	-0.16 (0.36)		0.35 (0.59)
Agreeableness	1.49*** (0.44)		1.59* (0.75)
Neuroticism	0.98* (0.39)		1.38* (0.65)
Positive Emotion		-0.14 (0.15)	0.16 (1.28)
Negative Emotion		-0.08 (0.15)	-0.17 (1.27)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			1.83 (1.01)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			1.23 (1.06)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-1.06 (1.14)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.35 (1.09)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			-0.43 (0.86)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-1.42 (0.89)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.35 (1.04)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.02 (1.13)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.81 (0.93)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.62 (0.99)
Efficacy	1.78*** (0.45)	1.68*** (0.42)	1.82*** (0.46)
Political Interest	0.74** (0.29)	0.70** (0.27)	0.77** (0.29)
Conservatism	-0.14* (0.06)	-0.13* (0.06)	-0.13* (0.07)
Constant	-1.69* (0.82)	-0.63 (0.60)	-1.64 (1.09)
N	986	1079	986
Pseudo R2	0.05	0.04	0.05

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

Table 13 again indicates that emotion does not seem to play a role in influencing whether someone will participate in politics. In this instance, the barrier to participation was very low and the cost almost negligible, since the petition was embedded in the survey and respondents were already online, but emotion played no part in determining whether they would sign the petition. Instead, the only significant results seen are those of two personality measures: Agreeableness (1.59) and Neuroticism (1.38).

Figure 31 shows the relationship between participation and Agreeableness graphically.

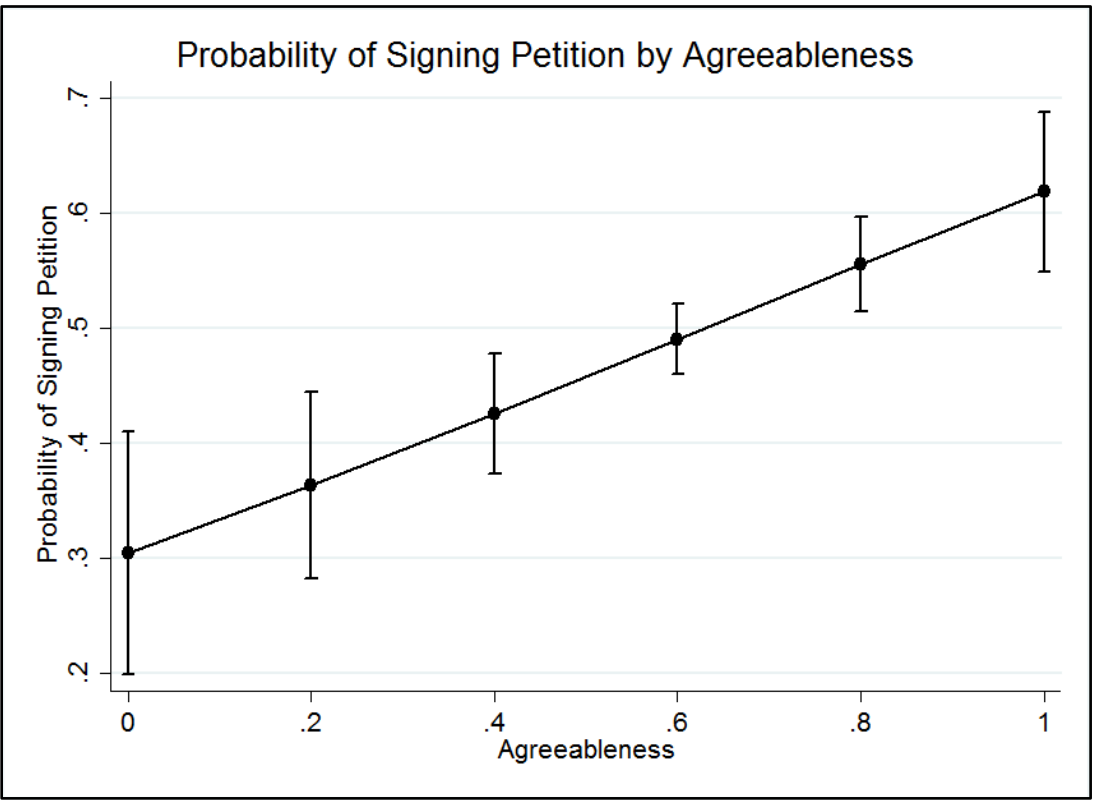


Figure 31 – The direct effect of Agreeableness on the probability of signing the online petition

As expected, the more Agreeable a person is, the more likely they were to sign the petitions they were presented with. This seems to follow the general expectations of this personality domain, as the individuals high in this trait are more likely to go along with what is asked of them in general.

Figure 32 demonstrates the relationship between probability of signing the petition presented to individuals and Neuroticism.

Individuals high in Neuroticism follow the trend seen in Table 12 by also being more likely to sign the petition. Again, it appears that the attraction to the conflictual, tense, and confrontational environment of politics drives individuals high in Neuroticism toward higher levels of participation.

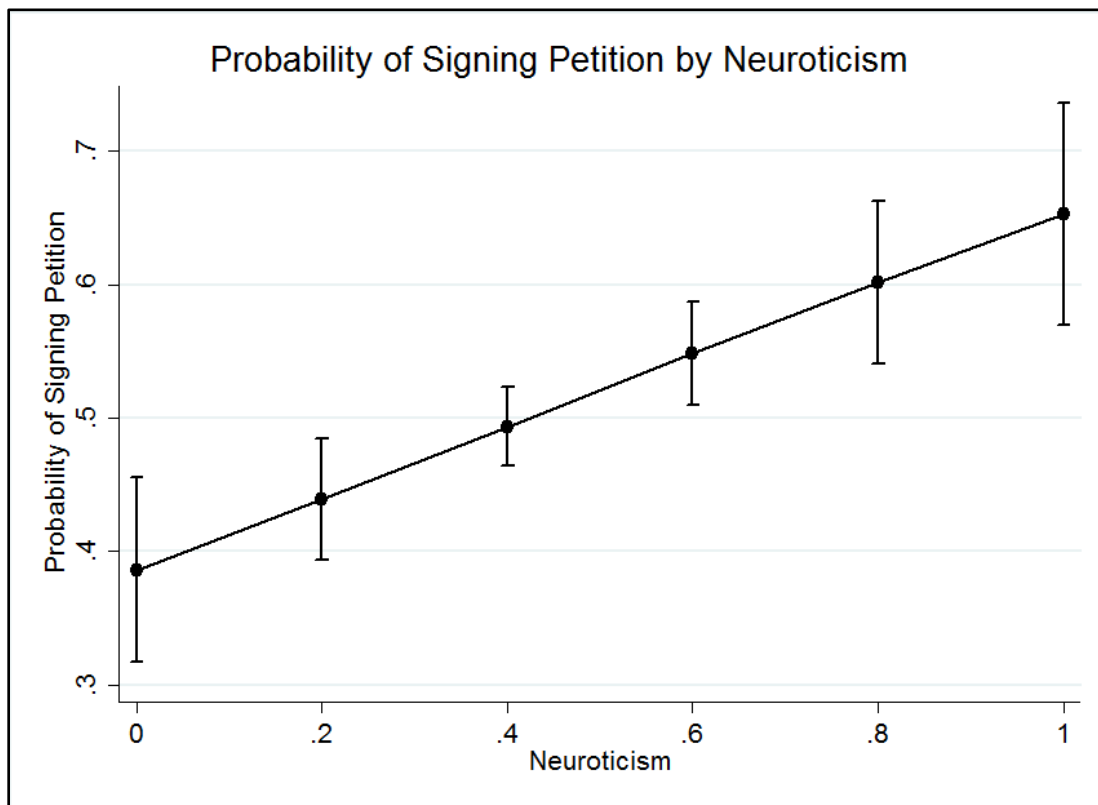


Figure 32 – The direct effect of Neuroticism on the probability of signing the online petition

The third measure of participation breaks up the standard participation index and tests the probability of engaging in each type of participation. There were ten political activity questions asked of respondents. Of these ten types of political activity, two were shown to have significant interactive effects of personality and emotion. Here I confine myself to discussion of these relevant results; a complete table of the results of all ten participation models is available in the appendix.

Analyzing each participation event separately showed that two types of activity, participation in a political campaign and joining a protest march show an interaction between personality and emotion. The data indicate that individuals higher in Extraversion are more likely to work in a political campaign in the presence of positive emotion. Figure 33 demonstrates this result.

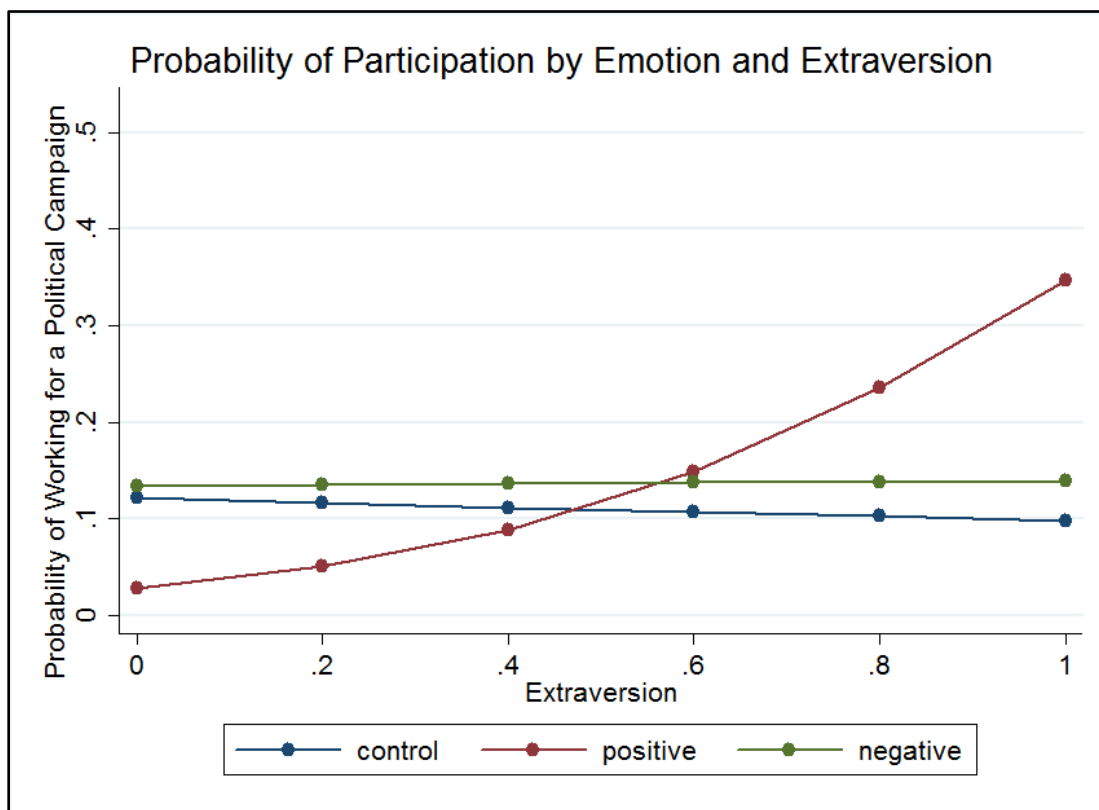


Figure 33 – The relationship between Extraversion and probability of working for a political campaign in different emotional contexts

Figure 33 shows that, as compared to the control and negative emotional conditions, individuals higher in Extraversion are more likely to work for a political campaign in the presence of positive emotion. This result is in keeping with theoretical expectations; highly Extraverted individuals are more likely to be attracted to and participate in situations of positive emotion. Positive emotion seems to spur individuals high in this trait to go out and participate in the most highly proactive type of political activity.

Similarly, there was a significant relationship between Openness to Experience, emotion, and joining a protest march. Figure 34 demonstrates this result.

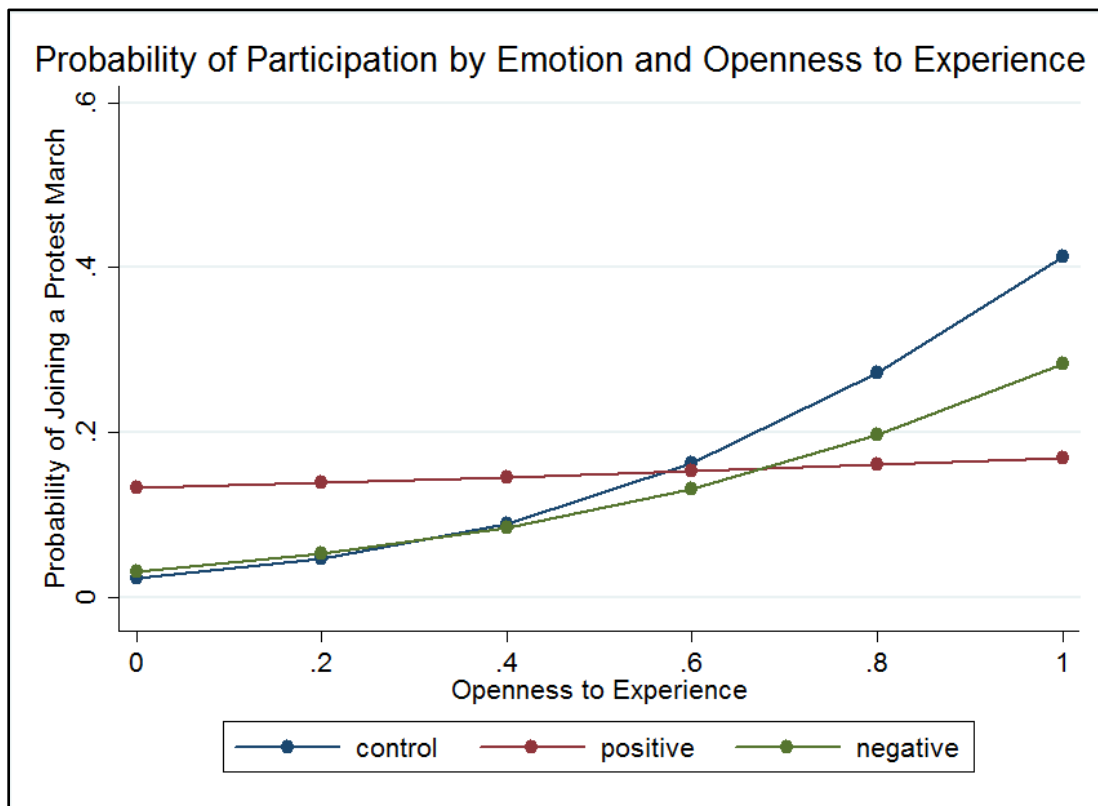


Figure 34 – The relationship between Openness to experience and the probability of joining a protest march in different emotional contexts

Figure 34 shows that as Openness to Experience increases, positive emotion causes complacency and does not move individuals to join a protest march. However, in the negative emotional condition, individuals higher in Openness to Experience are more likely to participate in protest marches. This result is also theoretically expected, as negative emotion spurs discontent and an urge to go out and change the political situation. In this negative emotional context, it is more likely that individuals will be driven to participate, particularly those who are more open, curious, thrill-seeking, and willing to chase all sorts of experiences.

## ANES Study

### Method

The second study used the 2012 American National Election Survey data in order to approximate the unique survey conducted in the lab study. The ANES is a nationally representative study that is uniquely suited to large scale analysis of political behavior such as political participation. There are some differences between the survey in the lab study and the ANES, however, that must be accounted for.

The ANES does not have an emotional manipulation, but following the lead of Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000), I used the questions asking respondents how they felt about political candidates and issues to approximate their emotional context at

the time of the survey. The ANES also does not have an option of participating in politics in real time, like the lab study has. However, the ANES has a battery of standard political participation questions that mirror the straightforward self-report questions asked in the lab study, and so should approximate the same ideas.

### Data

The ANES asked 14 questions about participation, the full list of which can be found in the appendix. For this analysis, I combined these questions into a variable measuring how many participation acts a respondent recorded as having done. The scale ranges from 0-14. Table 14 shows the relevant results of the negative binomial regression. The full results are available in the appendix.

Table 14 – The effect of personality and emotion on political participation

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.44*** (0.08)		0.45*** (0.08)
Conscientiousness	-0.32*** (0.08)		-0.33*** (0.08)
Extraversion	0.23*** (0.06)		0.23*** (0.07)
Agreeableness	0.16 (0.08)		0.18* (0.08)
Neuroticism	0.09 (0.07)		0.06 (0.08)
Emotion		-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.04 (0.03)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			-0.05 (0.03)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			0.03 (0.03)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.05* (0.02)
Agreeableness X Emotion			-0.01 (0.03)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.02 (0.03)
Political Efficacy	0.70*** (0.09)	0.86*** (0.09)	0.78*** (0.09)
Political Interest	1.17*** (0.06)	1.19*** (0.06)	1.15*** (0.06)
Constant	-1.22*** (0.12)	-0.94*** (0.07)	-1.19*** (0.12)
N	4701	5039	4694
Pseudo R2	0.06	0.06	0.06

(\*\*\* p<.001, \*\* p<.01, \* p<.05)

The ANES data indicate that both personality and emotion play a role in determining how much an individual participates in politics. Interestingly, Neuroticism is no longer a significant factor in participation in this sample as it was in the Amazon mTurk sample.

The results indicate that individuals high in Agreeableness are more likely to report higher levels of political participation as compared to those low in this trait (0.18). This coefficient is surprising as, theoretically, the expectation of this personality trait is to exert a negative influence on participation. However, it is possible that individuals high in this trait report higher levels of participation due to their inherent tendency to please others. It is possible that these individuals believe that participation in politics is a socially desirable trait, which would compel them to please the interviewer and others by answering in the affirmative more often than not. Similarly, it is possible that this belief, that political participation is something one ought to do, might drive them to actually participate more, overriding their natural tendency to shy away from the conflict inherent

in politics. This would imply that the effect of Agreeableness is complicated by its own characteristics; one the one hand is the need to avoid conflict and disagreeable situations, and on the other is the need to please and follow socially proscribed dictates of desirable behavior. In this case, it appears that the latter exerts more influence than the former.

The data show that individuals higher in Openness to Experience were more likely to participate in politics, as were individuals higher in Extraversion and Agreeableness. Figure 35 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience and political participation. The positive upward trend indicates that as Openness to Experience increases, so too does political participation.

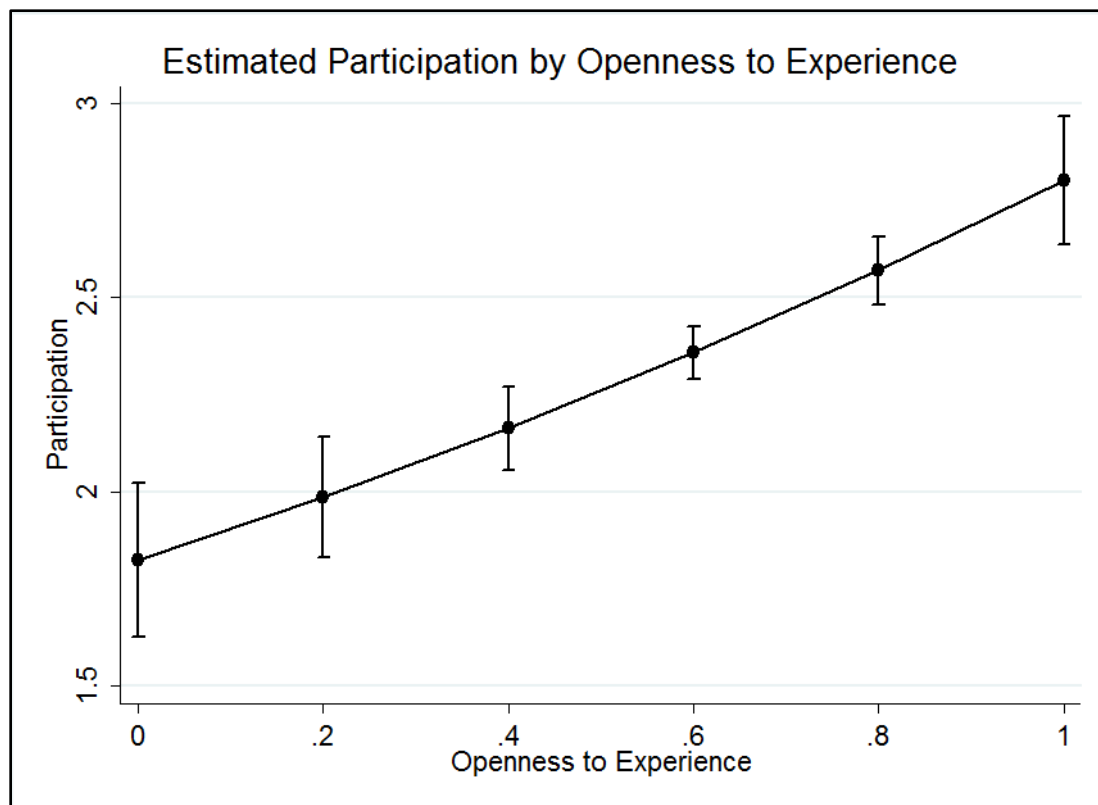


Figure 35 – The direct effect of Openness to Experience on participation in the ANES

Comparatively speaking, it seems that Openness has the largest effect on participation among the personality traits, indicating that individuals higher in Openness to Experience are more likely to participate in politics than individuals low in this trait and individuals high in Extraversion and Agreeableness.

As mentioned above, the relationship between Conscientiousness and participation has sometimes been shown to be positive and sometimes negative. In this instance, it appears the data indicate that individuals higher in Conscientiousness are less likely to participate in politics as compared to those low in this trait. Figure 36 shows the direct effect of Conscientiousness on political participation. The downward negative trend indicates that as Conscientiousness increases, levels of participation decreases.

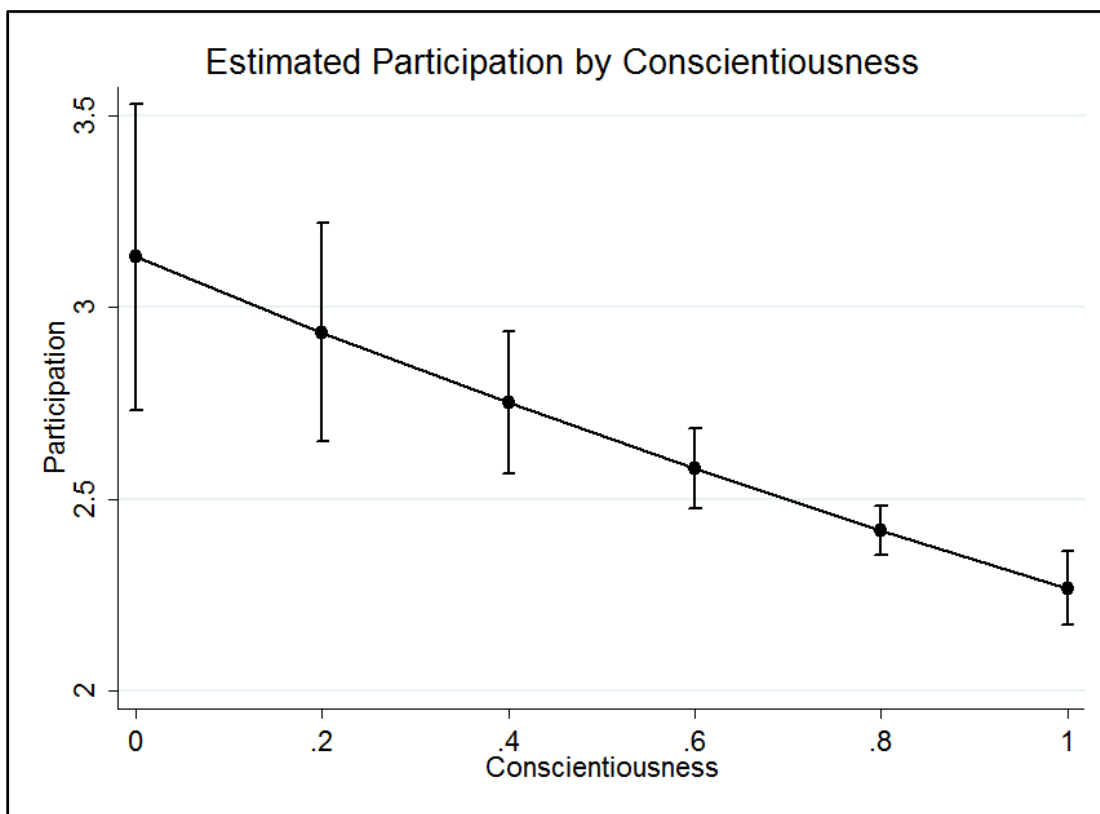


Figure 36 – The direct effect of Conscientiousness on participation in the ANES

It is possible that, in this instance, individuals high in Conscientiousness believe political participation to be a luxury, something not directly relevant to their lives or duties. In this case, it is likely that dutiful Conscientious individuals will be less likely to participate in politics in favor of other, seemingly more pressing and practical activities.

There is a significant interaction between Extraversion, emotion, and personality, as shown in Table 14. The positive coefficient here indicates that as individuals high in Extraversion feel more positive emotion, they are more likely to participate in politics. This relationship is entirely as expected, and is evidence that, at least in this case, emotion influences how individuals participate in politics. Figure 37 shows the relationship between Extraversion, emotion, and political participation.

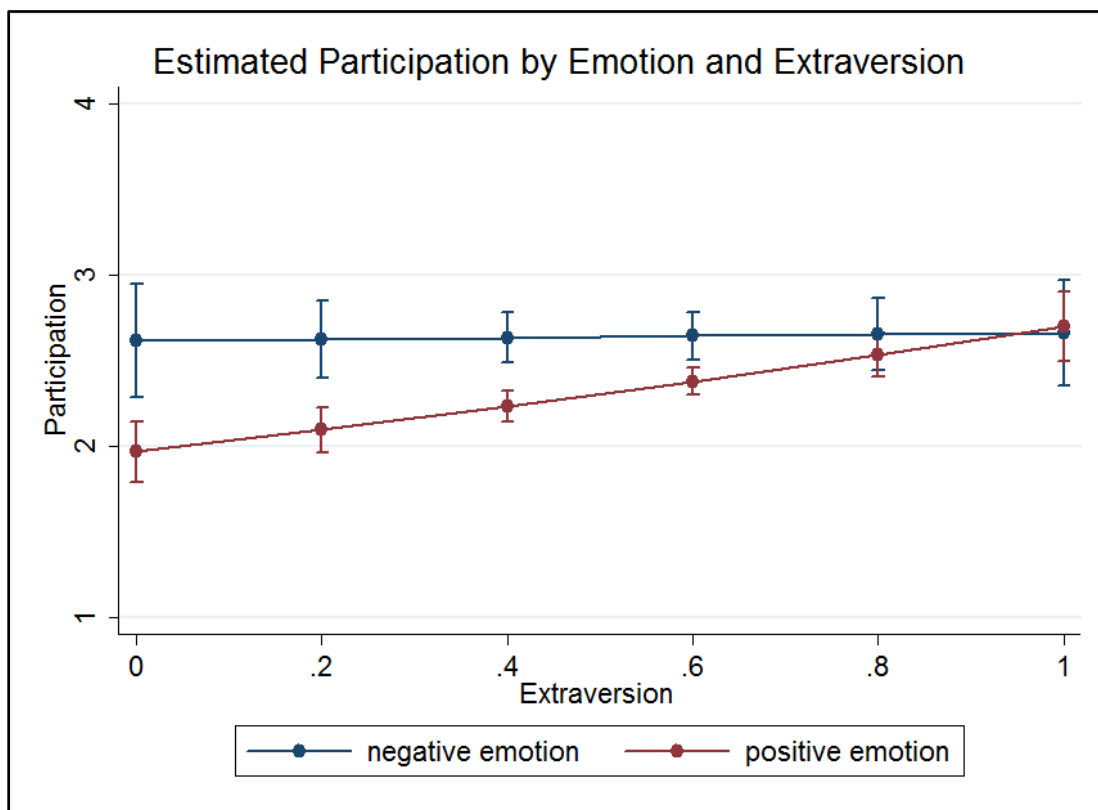


Figure 37 – The relationship between Extraversion and participation in negative and positive emotional contexts in the ANES

Extraverts are outgoing, gregarious, and generally social people, which translates into higher rates of political participation in general, as evidenced by the direct effect coefficient. However, in presence of positive emotion, they are even more likely to participate, indicating that positive emotion heightens the effect of this personality trait. Figure 37 shows that in the negative emotion condition, the slope of the line is flat, indicating no change in levels of political participation. The positive emotion line, however, shows an upward positive trend, indicating that, in this condition, as Extraversion increases, so too do levels of political participation.

A more detailed examination of each type of participation, separately, shows that several types of participation are influenced by both emotion and participation. A complete table of results is available in the appendix, but I will review the most striking relationships below.

The first type of participation influenced by both emotion and personality is working for a candidate or campaign. Figure 38 graphically represents the different effect of emotion and Neuroticism on the probability of working for a political campaign.

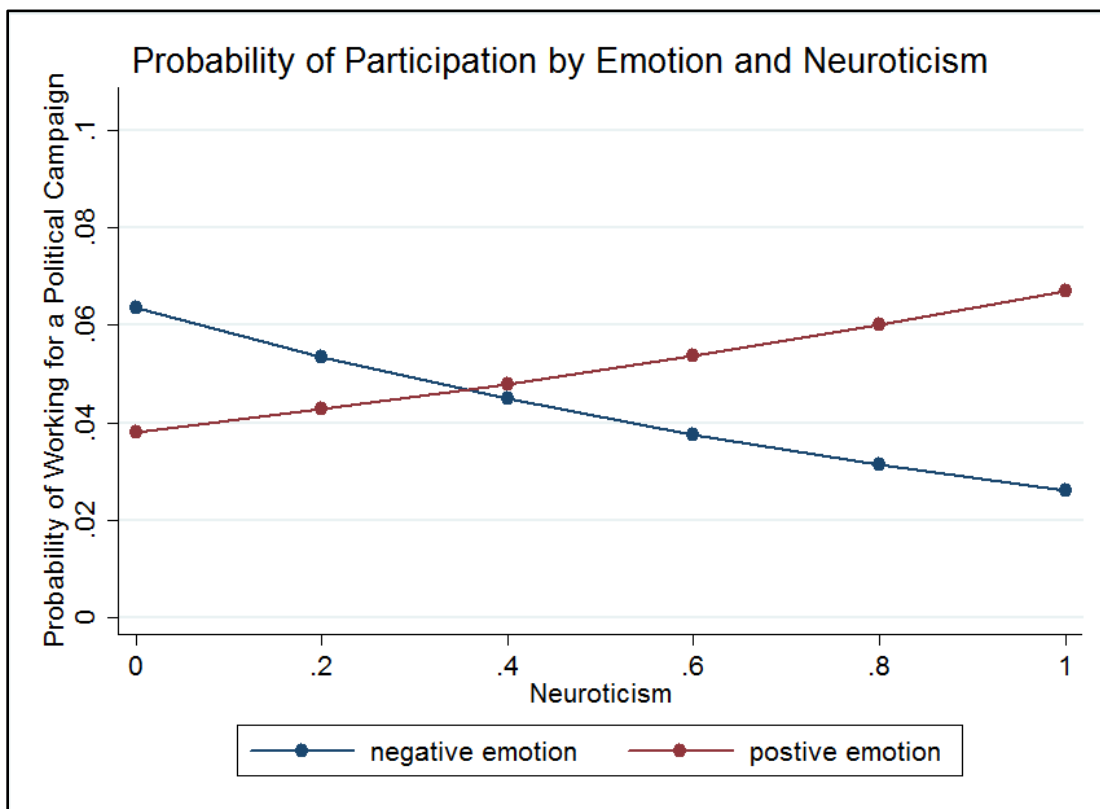


Figure 38 – The relationship between Neuroticism and probability of working for a political campaign in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

As the different line slopes show, the effect of positive and negative emotion is quite different here. Individuals high in Neuroticism in positive emotional contexts are more likely to work for a campaign whereas individuals high in Neuroticism in negative emotional contexts are less likely to work for a campaign. This effect implies that, as expected, when individuals high in Neuroticism are exposed to negative emotions, they are less likely to put themselves out there and become more likely to withdraw from participation. Conversely, in positive emotional contexts, when these individuals feel happy, confident, and generally positive, they are more likely to go out and work for a campaign. It appears that Neuroticism's characteristic inability to manage and deal with negative emotions affects how individuals high in this trait tend to participate.

The second type of participation is the probability of signing an internet petition. This measure is a self-report version of the petition signing included in the Amazon mTurk survey above. Figure 39 graphically represents the relationship between emotion, Extraversion, and the probability of signing an online petition.

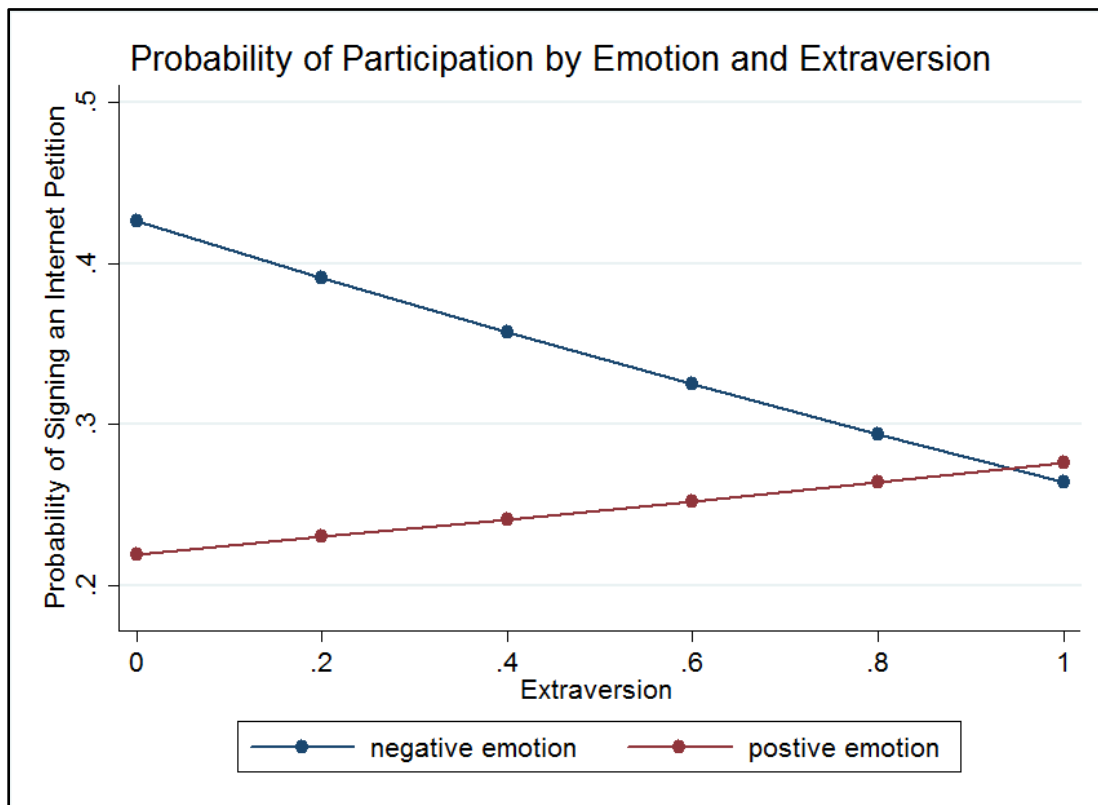


Figure 39 – The relationship between Extraversion and probability of signing an internet petition in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

The different slopes of the negative and positive emotion lines indicate that positive and negative emotional contexts have very different effects on the probability of signing an internet petition. The lines indicate that at lower levels of Extraversion, positive and negative emotions exert very different influences, however these lines converge and cross on the high end of the scale, indicating a reverse trend. Positive emotion causes individuals high in Extraversion to be more likely to sign an internet petition as compared to those low in this trait whereas negative emotion has the opposite effect. Extraversion is a personality trait very closely related to positive emotion; Extraverts seek out positive experiences and shun negative ones. It appears that, when negative emotion is involved, individuals high in this trait tend to participate less; specifically, they become less inclined toward signing online petitions whereas positive emotions seem to spur them on.

The third type of participation is the probability of signing a paper petition in person. Figure 40 shows the relationship between emotion, Openness to Experience, and the likelihood of signing a paper petition in person.

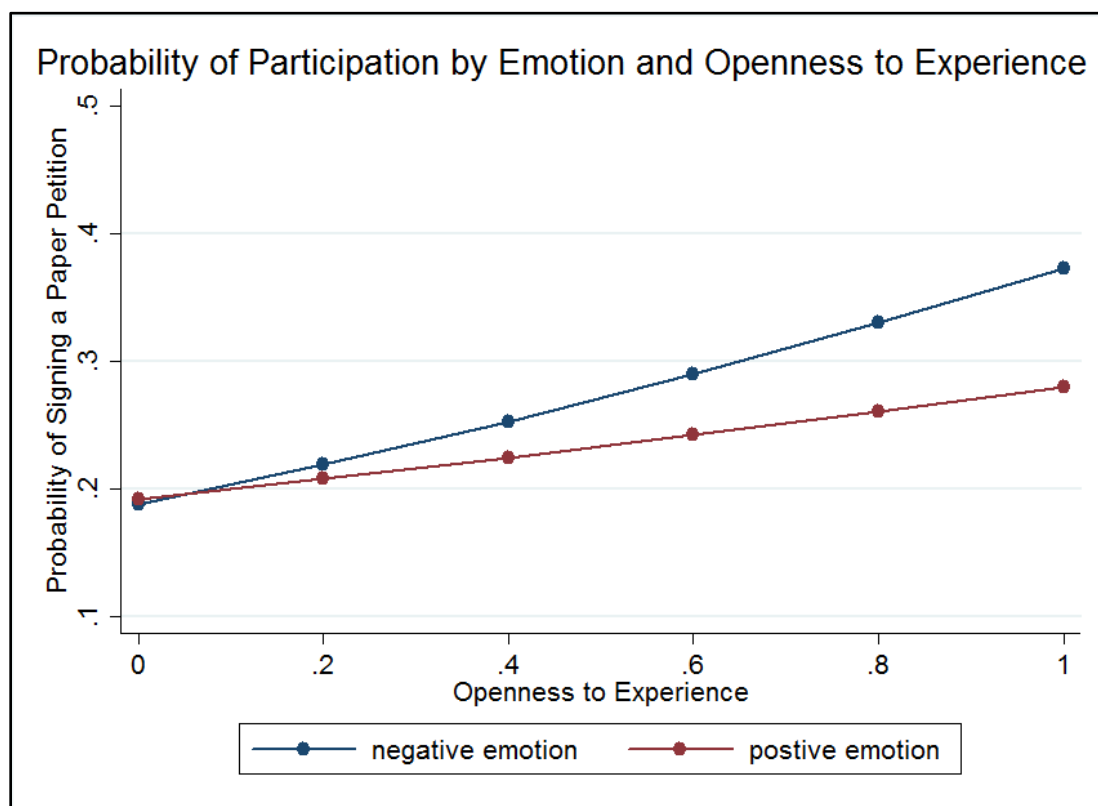


Figure 40 – The relationship between Openness to Experience and probability of signing a paper petition in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

The direction of both positive and negative emotions is positive and upward, indicating that, despite the emotional context, individuals higher in Openness to Experience will be more likely to sign a paper petition in person. However, the lines diverge slightly, indicating that individuals higher in Openness to Experience are more likely to sign a paper petition in negative emotional contexts as compared to positive emotional contexts. This result shows that the effect of emotion is strong in this type of participation.

Whereas individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to sign paper petitions in general, as evidenced by the upward trend in both lines, negative emotions spur on this behavior to higher levels than positive emotions do. This effect is further evidence of the theoretical relationship between emotion and participation. Positive emotion seems to cause complacency, or baseline participation at whatever level one's personality will influence one toward, whereas negative emotion spurs higher levels of participation, at least in the instance of signing paper petitions in person.

The fourth type of participation is giving money to campaigns or candidates. The analysis shows that, in the case of giving money to candidates or campaigns, emotion has a direct effect on the level of giving and there is an interactive effect between emotion, Neuroticism, and giving money. Figure 41 shows the relationship between emotion and giving money to a political candidate or campaign.

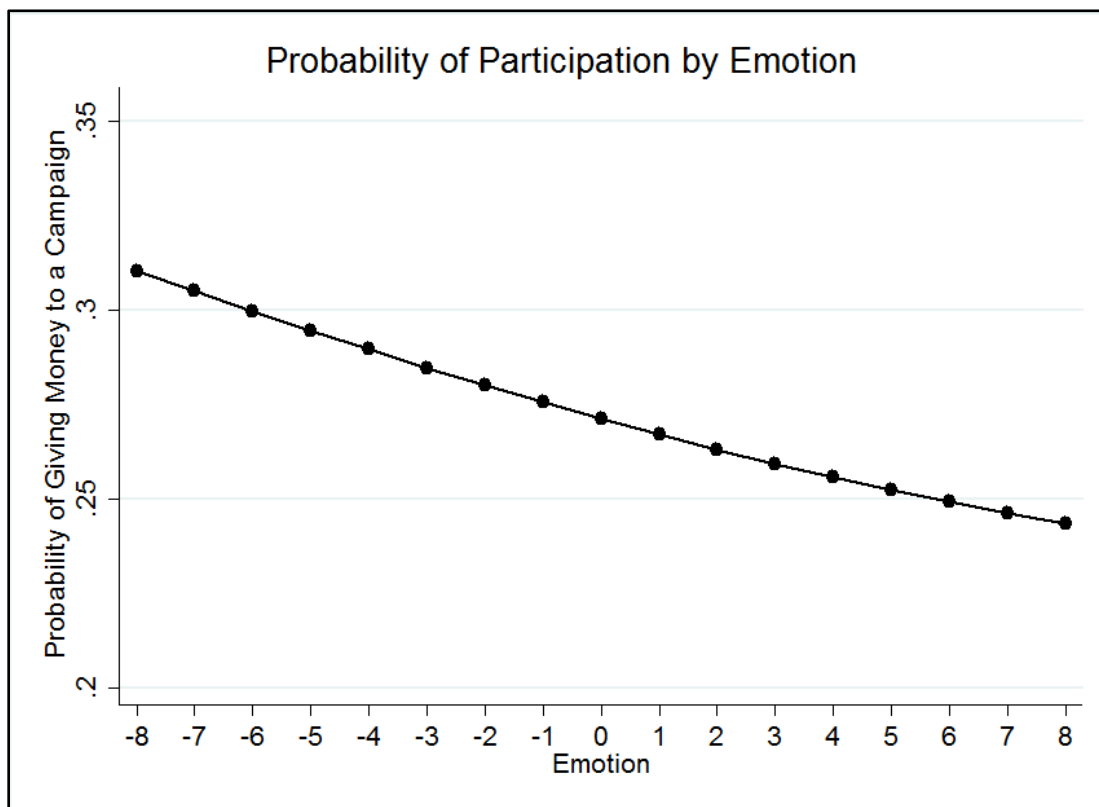


Figure 41 – The direct effect of emotion on probability of giving money to a political campaign or candidate in the ANES

The downward negative trend indicates that, as emotions get more positive, the probability of giving money decreases as well. This relationship is further evidence of the depressive effect of positive emotion in general. Positive emotions breed complacency; people feel that since they are happy, the system and the political world is working well for them. This thinking does not spur individuals toward action or change. In fact, it appears that negative emotions will influence individuals to give more money to their favored campaigns or candidates.

This relationship, however, seems to be reversed in the case of Neuroticism. Figure 42 shows the effect of Neuroticism and emotion on the probability of giving money to a political campaign or candidate.

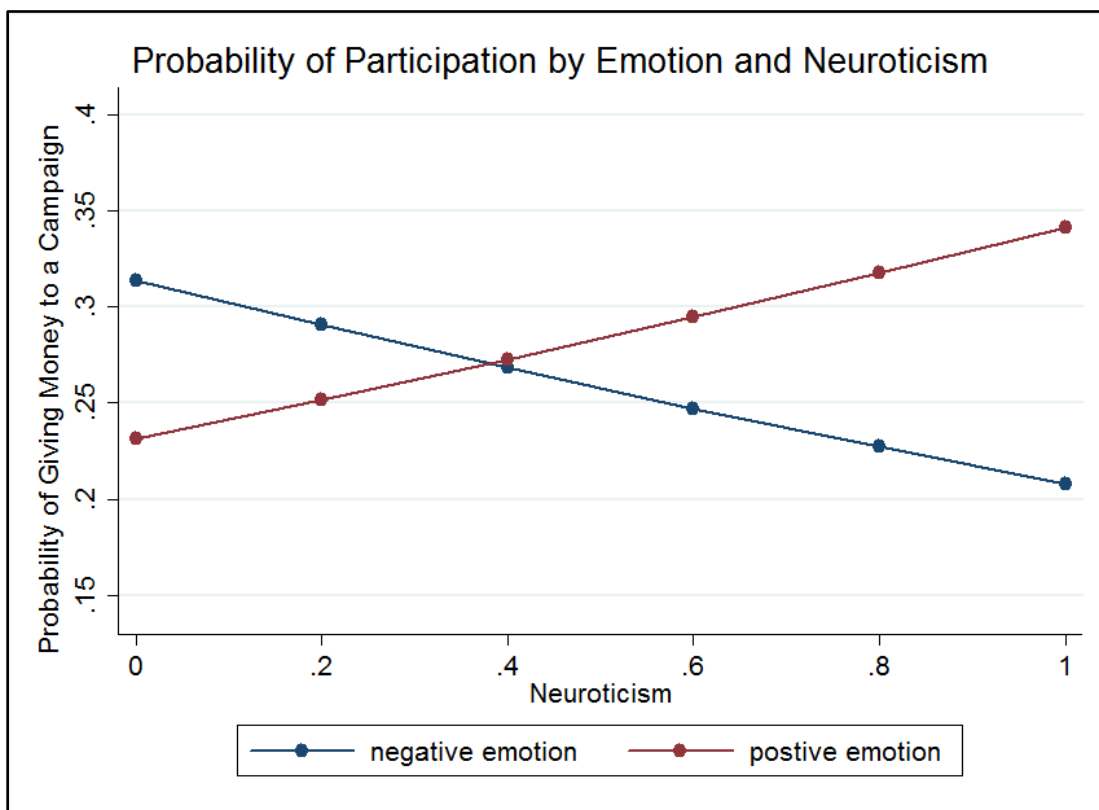


Figure 42 – The relationship between Neuroticism and probability of giving money to a political campaign or candidate in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

The different slopes of the emotion lines indicate that positive and negative emotion have a very different effect on the probability of giving money in the case of Neuroticism. Positive emotion seems to spur higher levels of giving among those higher in Neuroticism and negative emotion has the opposite effect. This relationship indicates that Neuroticism exerts a powerful influence on the tendency to give money as this personality trait seems to reverse the trend seen in the direct effect of emotion, as shown above. Individuals high in Neuroticism have shown, in several analyses so far, to be singularly unable to deal with or manage negative emotions. It seems that giving money to a candidate or campaign is no different. In a negative emotional context, they seem to be less inclined toward giving money, perhaps feeling as though their input and effort will not matter, whereas in positive emotional contexts they appear to feel more confident and optimistic.

The fifth type of participation is that of contacting one's representative. The manner of contact was not specified, so it could be anything from calling, writing, to social network messaging. Figure 43 shows the relationship between emotion, Extraversion, and the probability of contacting one's elected representative.

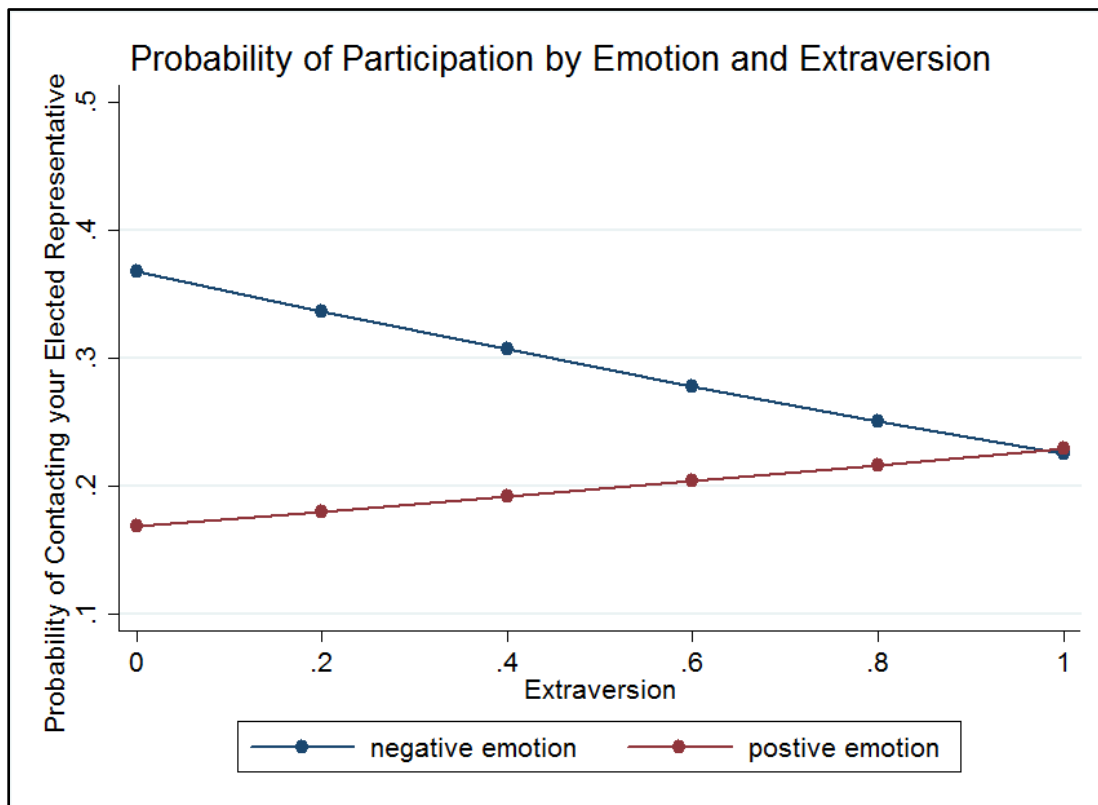


Figure 43 – The relationship between Extraversion and probability of contacting one's elected representative in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

The different slopes for negative and positive emotion indicate that as Extraversion increases, positive and negative emotions have different, and ultimately opposite effects as the lines intersect at the highest point of the Extraversion scale. Positive emotion seems to increase the probability of contacting one's elected representative whereas negative emotion seems to decrease this tendency. This effect is contrary to the general expectations of positive and negative emotions, which indicates the strong effect Extraversion has on participation in general. As with the probability of signing an internet petition, Extraverts seem to respond strongly to emotion. Negative emotion appears to turn individuals higher in this trait off, depressing their natural tendency to participate in politics, whereas positive emotions spur these individuals toward more participation.

Contrary to the results for Extraversion, the relationship between Openness to Experience, emotion and the probability of contacting one's elected representative follows the expectations of the general effect of emotion on participation. Figure 44 shows the relationship between Openness to Experience, emotion, and the probability of contacting one's elected representative.

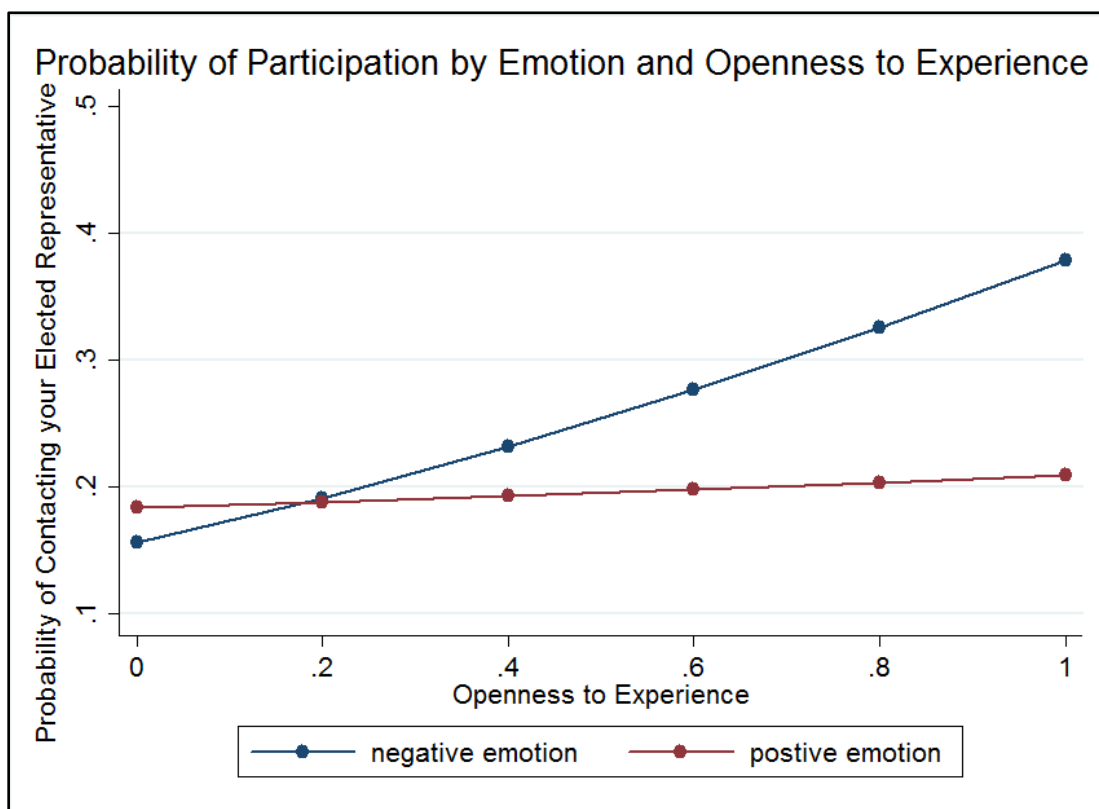


Figure 44 – The relationship between Openness to Experience and the probability of contacting one's elected representative in positive and negative emotional contexts in the ANES

Positive emotion seems to spur complacency whereas negative emotion increases one's tendency toward contacting elected representatives. The relatively flat slope of positive emotion indicates that the probability of contacting elected representatives remains the same, rather low probability, at all levels of Openness. However, the upward positive trend of negative emotion indicates that, as Openness to Experience increases, negative emotion spurs individuals toward a higher probability of contacting elected representatives.

## Conclusion

In large part, it appears that political participation, be it immediate and easy or long-term and difficult, is driven primarily by personality rather than emotion. In all tests, across both datasets, personality emerges as the primary influence on whether an individual will go out and participate in politics or not. This finding seems to contradict several studies in this area which indicate that emotion, most prominently anger and

anxiety, strongly influence one's participation level (Valentino et al. 2011, Valentino and Neuner 2016). However, it should be noted that these studies are first, more focused on a particular issue or candidate, which implies that the emotion is driven and focused as well, and second, these studies also focus on *choice* rather than broad participation. When an emotional reaction is targeted, say toward a policy or candidate, there is a direct link between that emotion and one's likelihood of acting upon it, and the choice they make. Here, the analysis is more broad and general: does a *generally emotional mindset* motivate individuals toward *general action and participation*? The results above indicate that largely, with some exceptions, it does not. Instead, the most influential factor in whether an individual is likely to participate in politics is their personality.

Openness to Experience, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism are all positively related to political participation, indicating that individuals high in these traits are more likely to go out and participate in politics in different ways. Openness to Experience is a personality trait most closely associated with being curious, intellectual, and interested in the world, and these traits translate into a drive to participate. Politics is often seen as a source of experience and intellectual activity, which is congruent with the motivations of these personality traits.

Extraversion is positively related to political participation, implying that those high in this personality trait are more likely to participate in politics as compared to those low in this trait. Extraverts are outgoing, social, and like to participate in any social situation, which also manifests in political situations. However, here the data demonstrate the effect of emotion as well. Highly Extraverted individuals are more likely to participate in politics in positive emotional contexts, indicating that positive emotion heightens their innate tendencies toward participation even further. This relationship is particularly evident when each participation act is considered individually.

The relationship between Agreeableness and participation is surprising. The expectation was that individuals high in Agreeableness would be less likely to participate in politics due to the conflictual and tense atmosphere; individuals high in this trait tend to shy away from conflict and disagreement in general. However, the data indicate that individuals high in this trait are more likely to participate in politics as compared to those low in this trait. It appears that highly Agreeable individuals, seeing participation in politics as a duty or a task, or even something that is socially desirable, will be more likely to report higher participation levels, regardless of their inherent tendency to shy away from such situations.

Neuroticism is shown to be consistently positively related to political participation, indicating that individuals high in this personality trait are more likely to participate in politics as compared to those low in this trait. Individuals high in this trait are more attracted to negative emotions, such as tension, stress, and conflict, which are hallmarks of the political world. In this sense, this relationship is not unexpected; individuals attracted to conflict and tension will seek to involve themselves in situations where these emotions are most prevalent.

Conscientiousness is negatively related to political participation, which is further evidence that individuals high in this trait likely consider political participation to be a luxury rather than a duty. In this mindset, a highly Conscientious individual will be more inclined to eschew political participation in favor of other, more practical activities.

Political participation is driven primarily by personality while emotion sometimes moderates this relationship. The data herein establish that, between the two, personality is the more dominant influence, driving participation levels significantly. Emotion plays a role, certainly, in moderating some relationships, but not in all. The relationship between personality, emotion, and participation is highly nuanced and contingent on personality trait and mode of participation.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

Traditionally, the study of emotion in politics has primarily been concerned with the uniform effects of a particular emotion on a focused outcome. For instance, Valentino and Neuner (2016) found that anger toward voter ID laws can mobilize people into going out to vote and protest against them. In this instance, the emotion is very focused, as is the potential outcome. Similarly, Brader, Valentino, and Suhay (2008) found that anxiety about a particular racial group can lead to anti-immigrant opinions directed toward that particular group. In general, most research into emotion and politics has treated emotion as either uniformly felt, as in everyone exposed to a situation or emotion should react the same way, or directed toward a particular outcome in question. These limitations have narrowed the scope of research into the relationship between emotion and political outcomes, and it is this narrowness of focus that this research attempts to overcome. This study specifically attempts to uncover and account for individual variance in emotional experience and the impact and implications of general emotional context on specific political outcomes.

The most likely source of individual variation among individuals in emotional experience is personality. Personality traits are the foundation upon which all experience and cognition builds; our personalities guide us and focus us on certain experiences and tendencies, which fundamentally shape our interactions in the world. It stands to reason, then, that personality will influence our emotional experiences. In fact, research into this area has shown that certain personality traits are variably inclined toward experiencing certain emotions (Zillig, Hemenover, and Dienstbier 2002, Costa Jr. and McCrae 1992, 1980, Watson and Clark 1997, Canli et al. 2002, Magnus et al. 1993, Pavot, Diener, and Fujita 1990, Rusting and Larsen 1997). However, there has been little to no research into the interaction between emotion and personality and their combined effect on political outcomes. This research is an attempt to bridge this gap between emotion and personality and discover the effects the interaction between the two has on various political outcomes.

### Lessons Learned

Chapter 2 demonstrated that personality influences the way individuals experience emotion, particularly political emotion. The tests related the experience of emotion in a political context to personality traits and found that emotional experience is variable based on personality; some personality traits tend to experience more positive emotions while others tend to experience negative emotions more. Individuals higher in Openness to Experience tend to experience *all* emotions more keenly, both positive and negative, and show no clear preference for either.

Extraversion and Agreeableness are most closely related to positive emotion; individuals high in these traits tend to gravitate toward more positive emotional experiences. Neuroticism is closely related to the experience of negative emotions; individuals high in this personality trait tend to gravitate toward and experience more negative emotions.

More than experiential differences, personality and emotion interact to influence several political outcomes: attentional processing, political attitudes, and political participation. All three of these areas are highly important in the study of political behavior. Attentional processing, also sometimes called political learning, is foundational to how individuals act in the political world. Learning about politics, candidates, campaigns, etc. all lay the foundation for opinions and choices individuals make. Political attitudes, which encompass ideology and issue positions, are the prism through which individual act, or participate in politics.

Political learning is strongly influenced by personality and emotion, directly and interactively. Personality and emotion both influence political learning at all stages of the process: acquisition of information, acquisition of relevant information, and recall of information.

Information acquisition is influenced most strongly by Openness to Experience, Extraversion, and Agreeableness. Individuals higher in Openness to Experience are more likely to gather more information, while individuals higher in Extraversion and Agreeableness are less likely to gather information. Emotion influences Agreeableness in that the presence of emotion changes the direction of this relationship. When put into positive emotional contexts, individuals higher in Agreeableness are more likely to gather more information while those in negative emotional contexts are less likely to gather information.

The acquisition of relevant information is substantively different than general information recall. Individuals may go out and acquire information, but judging relevance and being selective about *what* information one gathers requires more care and cognition. Individuals high in Openness to Experience are more likely to acquire more relevant information while individuals high in Agreeableness are less likely to gather relevant information. Positive emotion also decreases the tendency to gather relevant information, except in the case of Agreeableness. Individuals high in Agreeableness, in the presence of positive emotions, are more likely to gather more relevant information.

The last stage of political learning is information recall. Here, neither personality nor emotion has a direct effect, but two interactions of personality and positive emotion together do. Individuals high in Extraversion are less likely to recall information in positive emotional contexts while individuals high in Conscientiousness are more likely to recall information in positive emotional contexts. These relationships are indicative of the variable nature of emotion, which interacts an individual's personality traits and tendencies to influence outcomes.

Political attitudes and ideology are influenced directly by emotion and personality, and interactively with both combined. Generally speaking, the data show that positive emotions increase the likelihood of reporting more liberal attitudes while

negative emotions increase the likelihood of reporting more conservative attitudes. Specifically, positive emotion in conjunction with high extraversion results in higher reported liberalism and negative emotion in conjunction with neuroticism results in higher reported conservatism. Personality also directly influences political attitudes, with individuals higher on Openness to Experience, Neuroticism, and Agreeableness traits reporting more liberal attitudes while individuals higher in Conscientiousness tend to exhibit higher levels of conservatism.

Political participation is highly influenced by emotion and personality both. Personality exerts a direct and strong influence, with individuals high in Openness to Experience, Extraversion, Neuroticism, and Agreeableness are more likely to participate in more political activities while individuals high in Conscientiousness are less likely to participate. Individuals high in Conscientiousness likely believe political participation to be a luxury and eschew politics in favor of more practical and useful activities. Surprisingly, individuals high in Agreeableness also tend to participate in politics more than those low in this trait. When measuring participation as an index of several different participation activities, emotion does not seem to exert any influence at all. However, when participation is separated and analyzed as independent participation activities, emotion and personality interact to influence whether an individual will participate or not.

Broadly speaking, the probability of working for a campaign, giving money to a campaign, and signing an online petition rise when individuals high in Openness to Experience, Extraversion, or Neuroticism are in positive emotional contexts. Conversely, the probability of joining a protest march, signing a paper petition in person, and contacting an elected representative rise when individuals high in Openness to Experience are in negative emotional contexts. These relationships indicate that emotion and personality both influence political participation, but this relationship is highly contingent on personality trait and mode of participation.

### **Contributions and Future Directions**

The largest contribution this research makes is to bridge the gap between personality and emotion research. There is ample evidence from both emotion research and personality research to suggest that both influence political behavior; there is also evidence suggesting that personality and emotion are intertwined and influence each other. It is logical to extrapolate from this that both personality and emotion, together, influence each other and political outcomes. However, there has been scant research about the confluence of these two factors. This project brings both personality and emotion together to explore how and when these factors interact and influence political behavioral outcomes.

This research has made several things clear about the nature of this relationship. First, emotion is not a uniform experience; personality influences the shape, intensity, and feel of our emotional experiences. Some individuals are more prone to feel certain

emotions, and this research makes it clear that this matters in how political behavior is conceptualized and understood.

Second, the theory tested herein, for the sake of clarity and brevity, focused on a simple explanation of emotion as either positive or negative. This theory has yielded interesting and testable hypotheses, but these predictions, like the tests, remain general in nature. While this is a good first step to being to probe the relationships between personality, emotion, and political behaviors, further research should focus on narrowing the focus of the emotional experiences to discrete emotions. While this research can conclude that individuals high in Conscientiousness are more likely to recall political information in a positive emotional context, it would be substantively interesting to discover the specific flavor of emotion that caused this reaction. The next step, then, in this line of theorizing, would be break down the emotional context variables into more discrete emotions and study the effect those have, in conjunction with personality, on political outcomes.

Third, this research has focused on largely broad, general outcomes in a largely exploratory endeavor. Having no research in this particular area contributed to this decision; making broad generalizable predictions and tests creates a rich environment to test the theory in multiple areas to establish its applicability. However, the next step here would be to understand the particular areas of politics in which these relationships might influence individual outcomes. For instance, do these relationships between personality and emotion influence opinions of or participation in discrete areas of politics such as women's issues or immigration? That line of inquiry could potentially produce some insightful and fruitful research.

Lastly, though the results of the tests conducted herein were a mixed bag of confirmation and contradiction, it is possible that this is a result of the nature of this project rather than the deep truth of the relationship between personality and emotion in political behavior. This work was constrained by theoretical and practical realities that, if surpassed, might deliver more interesting results. For now, this project has created a foundation upon which future work can build and explore these and other interconnected psychological processes in political behavior.

### **Last Thoughts**

The 2016-2017 election cycle showed one very clearly: politics is emotional. Americans on both sides of the aisle were vociferous in their antipathy of the other, and the emotional response has not slowed down since. The global marches and almost daily protests in the early months of 2017 showcase the emotionality of politics. Clearly, emotion is an integral part of politics and political behavior; it drives individuals to formulate their opinions, to act on those opinions, and choose their preferred candidates and policy options. Emotion drives us in nearly everything we do and in how we interact with the world of politics is no exception. But emotion does not influence us alone; both personality and emotion work together to influence our actions and thoughts in politics.

It behooves us, then, as scholars of political behavior, to understand more deeply the inner workings of the political mind. This research here is a small attempt to do so; the theory, tests, and conclusions drawn here all point to one clear fact. We might know today more than we knew yesterday, but the complexities of the human mind and actions mean that there is still so much more knowledge to strive for.

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## Appendix

### Chapter 2 – The Emotion Connection

#### Positive and Negative Emotion Separate OLS Regressions

Personality Domain	Positive Emotion	Negative Emotion
Openness to Experience	0.07** (0.02)	0.09*** (0.02)
Conscientiousness	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Extraversion	0.12*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Agreeableness	0.13*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.02)
Neuroticism	-0.02 (0.02)	0.13*** (0.02)
Age	0.003** (0.001)	0.004*** (0.001)
Education	-0.01** (0.003)	0.01 (0.00)
Party ID	-0.03*** (0.001)	0.01*** (0.001)
Political Interest	0.30*** (0.01)	0.28*** (0.02)
Constant	0.21*** (0.03)	-0.05 (0.03)
N	5343	5347
Adjusted R-squared	0.15	0.09

#### Positive Versus Negative Emotion Ratio Measurement OLS Regression

Personality Domain	Positive : Negative Emotion
Openness to Experience	-0.20 (0.22)
Conscientiousness	0.37 (0.22)
Extraversion	0.66*** (0.18)
Agreeableness	0.49** (0.22)
Neuroticism	-1.17*** (0.21)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	-0.14*** (0.03)
Party ID	-0.36*** (0.02)
Political Interest	0.20 (0.14)
Constant	2.09*** (0.14)
N	5340
Adjusted R-squared	0.09

### Ten Item Personality Index Questionnaire

We're interested in how you see yourself. Please mark how well the following pair of words describes you, even if one word describes you better than the other:

1 Extremely poorly	2 Somewhat poorly	3 A little poorly	4 Neither poorly nor well	5 A little well	6 Somewhat well	7 Extremely well
--------------------------	-------------------------	----------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------	-----------------------	------------------------

- |                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1) Extraverted, enthusiastic        | 6) Reserved, quiet           |
| 2) Critical, quarrelsome            | 7) Sympathetic, warm         |
| 3) Dependable, self-disciplined     | 8) Disorganized, careless    |
| 4) Anxious, easily upset            | 9) Calm, emotionally stable  |
| 5) Open to new experiences, complex | 10) Conventional, uncreative |

### **Chapter 3 – Attentional Processing**

#### Dynamic Process Tracing Environment Information Acquisition Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	1.79* (0.87)		4.03** (1.44)
Conscientiousness	0.32 (0.73)		1.52 (1.29)
Extraversion	-0.99 (0.64)		-2.35* (1.12)
Agreeableness	-0.02 (0.80)		-3.15** (1.34)
Neuroticism	-0.65 (0.61)		-0.70 (1.11)
Positive Emotion		-0.02 (0.28)	-3.06 (2.22)
Negative Emotion		0.02 (0.31)	-0.07 (0.98)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-3.51 (2.17)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-3.12 (1.97)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-0.44 (1.64)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-2.12 (2.34)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			2.79 (1.52)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			0.32 (1.68)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			5.20** (1.86)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			4.06* (2.00)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.97 (1.47)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.43 (1.60)
Gender	-0.35 (0.37)	-0.42 (0.36)	-0.54 (0.35)
Age	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.07)
Efficacy	0.34 (0.57)	0.27 (0.57)	-0.21 (0.64)
Political Interest	0.12 (0.14)	0.15 (0.15)	0.14 (0.15)
Constant	2.92 (1.59)	2.36 (1.34)	4.49* (2.19)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.02	0.01	0.05

Dynamic Process Tracing Environment Relevant Information Acquisition Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.28* (0.14)		0.52* (0.22)
Conscientiousness	0.08 (0.12)		0.16 (0.21)
Extraversion	-0.14 (0.11)		-0.25 (0.17)
Agreeableness	-0.04 (0.13)		-0.49* (0.22)
Neuroticism	-0.14 (0.11)		-0.14 (0.19)
Positive Emotion		-0.01 (0.05)	-0.83* (0.37)
Negative Emotion		-0.02 (0.05)	0.17 (0.39)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.45 (0.34)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-0.39 (0.34)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.15 (0.28)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.26 (0.39)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.48 (0.27)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.06 (0.28)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			0.89** (0.29)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.31 (0.36)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.31 (0.27)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.08 (0.29)
Gender	-0.13* (0.06)	-0.14* (0.06)	-0.12 (0.06)
Age	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Efficacy	0.09 (0.09)	0.11 (0.10)	-0.00 (0.11)
Political Interest	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Constant	0.46* (0.23)	0.37* (0.18)	0.72* (0.31)
N	109	109	109
Adjusted R2	0.08	0.05	0.13

Dynamic Process Tracing Environment Simple Recall Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.24 (0.43)		0.22 (0.69)
Conscientiousness	-0.63 (0.38)		-0.81 (0.63)
Extraversion	0.14 (0.33)		0.23 (0.49)
Agreeableness	-0.05 (0.38)		0.55 (0.66)
Neuroticism	-0.28 (0.32)		-0.28 (0.59)
Positive Emotion		-0.05 (0.14)	0.47 (1.10)
Negative Emotion		-0.11 (0.16)	0.38 (1.21)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.26 (1.04)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.42 (1.14)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.04 (0.88)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.38 (1.19)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.14 (0.84)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.17 (0.85)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.83 (0.86)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-1.32 (1.11)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.00 (0.59)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.07 (0.91)
Gender	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.19)
Age	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Efficacy	0.68* (0.31)	0.63* (0.29)	0.74* (0.36)
Political Interest	0.03 (0.07)	0.04 (0.07)	0.03 (0.08)
Constant	0.86 (0.66)	0.62 (0.51)	0.51 (0.92)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.03	0.02	0.04

### Dynamic Process Tracing Environment Free Response Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.94* (0.47)		0.85 (0.68)
Conscientiousness	-0.48 (0.39)		-0.95 (0.61)
Extraversion	-0.41 (0.35)		0.39 (0.49)
Agreeableness	-0.05 (0.42)		0.59 (0.64)
Neuroticism	-0.39 (0.34)		-0.57 (0.64)
Positive Emotion		-0.15 (0.15)	0.60 (1.10)
Negative Emotion		-0.17 (0.17)	0.60 (1.20)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.13 (1.06)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.97 (1.11)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			1.78* (0.84)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.84 (1.11)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			-1.81* (0.80)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.98 (0.87)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-1.00 (0.88)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-1.12 (1.10)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.30 (0.82)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.59 (0.87)
Gender	-0.16 (0.19)	-0.14 (0.19)	-0.06 (0.18)
Age	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Efficacy	0.44 (0.33)	0.38 (0.33)	0.27 (0.35)
Political Interest	0.19* (0.08)	0.21** (0.08)	0.27*** (0.08)
Constant	0.52 (0.68)	0.17 (0.50)	0.09 (0.91)
N	109	109	109
Pseudo R2	0.04	0.04	0.09

### Dynamic Process Tracing Information Articles

#### Candidate Thomas Oliver

#### Relevant Information:

1. Thomas Oliver has officially announced his candidacy for State Senate.  
Thomas Oliver has officially announced his candidacy for the upcoming State Senate seat race. He seeks to fill the vacant State Senate seat left open after the announcement that the previous State Senator, Janet Young, has decided that she will not be running for re-election. The 45-year-old lawyer stated that he made the decision to run for State Senate after urging from his friends and family. He will officially begin his campaign at the beginning of next week.
2. Is Thomas Oliver qualified to run for office?  
With Oliver's recent announcement of his intention to run for State Senate, many observers have questioned Oliver's record and his qualification to hold office. Oliver, a 45-year-old trial lawyer, is a relative newcomer to the world of politics. He has never held public office before, but Oliver's campaign has argued that his skills as an attorney will surely cross over to politics. Oliver graduated law

school with top honors from University of California Berkeley and then became a top prosecutor with the District Attorney's office. At the DA, Oliver has maintained a strong record of justice and has helped reduce crime in the area. While some argue that he does not have enough political experience, Oliver's campaign is focusing on his dedication to the law and justice as strong points in his favor.

3. Thomas Oliver is focused on crime

Thomas Oliver has recently become a strong front-runner in the race for State Senate. His platform is almost entirely centered on a need to reduce crime through the legal system. Oliver's career in the DA's office seems to be his strongest point, as he argues for tougher sentencing and stronger restrictions on crime. Oliver has argued that he will take a holistic approach to reducing crime in local neighborhoods through increased policing, but focuses primarily on sentencing issues, such as careful oversight of reduced sentencing, stricter prison terms, and increasing educational and rehabilitation programs in prisons.

4. Where does Thomas Oliver stand on the issues?

Thomas Oliver's campaign has, so far, been almost entirely based on his focus on the justice system. When asked, Oliver has very little to say about social issues and has often repeated that he will obey the will of his constituents in everything. He has stated that believes that the will of the people will be the most important factor in determining how he will vote when in office, however he does respect the right of the federal government to impose laws on states. When asked about gay marriage recently, Oliver stated that the Supreme Court's recent decision should dictate state laws.

Irrelevant Information:

1. Oliver's weekend outing

Thomas Oliver, candidate for State Senate, was seen last weekend in the company of his wife and two children at an amusement park. What started as perhaps a small break from the pressures of the campaign soon became a full-fledged campaign event as several park goers noticed the Oliver family and began to question the loudly on policy issues. The crowd soon began to grow and park officials were forced to shut down a part of the park in order to disperse the crowd. Oliver and his family were then asked to leave the park before the park could resume operations.

2. Thomas Oliver reaches out to local businesses

Thomas Oliver, candidate for State Senate, held an event last week to hear and address the concerns of local businesses. This town hall style event was held at a local restaurant and was a very low-key, casual affair. Many local business leaders were present and, at the close of the event, many reported saying they were very impressed with Oliver.

3. Thomas Oliver's speeding ticket

Oliver, who is running for State Senate on a platform of very strict justice, has admitted to sometimes skirting the law himself. In a statement from a friend of the family, it was revealed that Oliver is something of a speed racer. He has collected dozens of speeding tickets over the years and, sources say, has even had someone other than himself take the online driver's education classes in lieu of payment. Oliver, when questioned, admitted to having someone else take the class for him once, but said that he realized what he had done was wrong and has never repeated the mistake since.

4. Thomas Oliver reaches out to seniors

In a continuing effort to reach out to people across the area, Oliver attended a small event at a local high school last weekend. Oliver took time out of his busy schedule of fundraising to speak to a group of high school seniors about the importance of education. At the event, Oliver stressed the importance of persistence and even gave specific career advice, such as tips on studying and career plans for college and beyond. Many parents and students were impressed at the level of detail and helpfulness Oliver showed.

Candidate Bob Smith

Relevant Information:

1. Bob Smith has officially announced his candidacy for State Senate.

Bob Smith has officially announced his intention to run in the upcoming State Senate race. Smith, a 63-year-old businessman will run for the seat of outgoing State Senator Janet Young. Young, a three-term veteran of the State Senate, announced earlier this week that she will not be running for re-election this coming season. The Smith campaign announced a small fundraiser party this weekend to officially kick off his campaign.

2. Bob Smith may be a leader in business, but politics?

With his recent announcement to run for State Senate, Bob Smith has come under public scrutiny. Observers have mentioned that Bob Smith, a relative unknown, has never participated in politics before, nor has he ever held public office. However, the Smith campaign has recently issued a press release detailing Smith's many accomplishments in an effort to silence those negative comments. Smith has been a leader in business as a small business owner for many years. The Smith campaign points to his role as a leader of community businesses and the many promotions he has managed, along with other local business owners, as proof of his community organization skills. Smith has also been recognized by the Better Business Bureau and Chamber of Commerce as a leader who has fought for small and local businesses in the area.

3. Bob Smith promises new business and a stronger economy  
Bob Smith laid out his main platform for State Senate yesterday. The main focus of his campaign has been growth through local and small businesses. Smith has argued that real economic growth is possible through looser regulations on business, such as making it easier to start a new business. He promises to create more jobs and increase local economies by focusing on business creation and growth. Smith has stated that, in office, he intends to ease regulations and taxes to make it easier for people to start businesses.
4. Bob Smith send very conservative message  
Recently in a press conference, Bob Smith was questioned about his stance on social issues. The business leader was very straightforward with his answers and stated that he does not believe in abortion or gay marriage. When pressed about gay marriage and the Supreme Court's decision, which effectively made gay marriage legal, Smith argued that the States should have the right to decide what is best for them and the federal government has no right to decide what happens in local communities.

Irrelevant Information:

1. Bob Smith quiets everyone down  
There was quite a scene at a recent rally for State Senate candidate Bob Smith. At the end of a small rally event, Smith was approached by a young family for a handshake and some conversation, but things took a turn for the worse. The family's young three-year-old child, perhaps being frightened by all the noise and confusion, started to cry and scream loudly. Smith, who is a grandfather himself, noticed the child and, in a very calm voice, asked everyone around him to quiet down. He then picked up the child and proceeded to calm him down by talking softly. Soon, everyone around the event were speaking in whispers and the child and Smith was laughing and talking like old friends. It was quite a sight to see.
2. Bob Smith attends local college  
Smith, candidate for State Senate, has recently revealed that he is still technically a student. Bob Smith, veteran businessman and community leader, loves to learn new and different things and so, every semester, he tries to take one class that interests him. He has, sadly, not been able to take a class recently due to the commitment of the campaign. When asked what his favorite class was, he replied that he enjoyed film classes the most.
3. Bob's wardrobe mystery  
Many observers have been noticing an interesting trend in State Senate candidate Bob Smith's wardrobe over the course of the campaign. It appears that the candidate always has something blue on his person. When investigated, all pictures and videos of the candidate show that Smith always has something blue on, either a shirt, jacket, handkerchief, or hat. When asked directly, Smith admitted that the choice was not a coincidence. In fact, he makes an effort to

wear something blue at all times. Smith stated that this was because his wife had once said that blue was her favorite color, so to keep something of his wife with him at all times, he wears her favorite color.

4. Bob Smith's Day Off

Recently Bob Smith took a day off from campaigning for State Senate to take his family camping. Bob, his wife Susan, and their son, David, took the weekend to get away from the stress of the campaign and to recharge. Upon returning, Smith stated that his family had a tradition of going camping at least once a year, to get away from their normal routines and to strengthen their bond as a family.

Traditionally, the Smith family spends about a week in the woods, but due to the busy campaign, they were only able to take 3 days this year.

Big Five 44 Item Personality Questionnaire

How I am in general

Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who *likes to spend time with others*? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which **you agree or disagree with that statement.**

1 Disagree Strongly	2 Disagree a little	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Agree a little	5 Agree strongly
---------------------------	---------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Is talkative                             | 25. Is inventive                                  |
| 2. Tends to find fault with others          | 26. Has an assertive personality                  |
| 3. Does a thorough job                      | 27. Can be cold and aloof                         |
| 4. Is depressed, blue                       | 28. Perseveres until the task is finished         |
| 5. Is original, comes up with new ideas     | 29. Can be moody                                  |
| 6. Is reserved                              | 30. Values artistic, aesthetic experiences        |
| 7. Is helpful and unselfish with others     | 31. Is sometimes shy, inhibited                   |
| 8. Can be somewhat careless                 | 32. Is considerate and kind to almost everyone    |
| 9. Is relaxed, handles stress well          | 33. Does things efficiently                       |
| 10. Is curious about many different things  | 34. Remains calm in tense situations              |
| 11. Is full of energy                       | 35. Prefers work that is routine                  |
| 12. Starts quarrels with others             | 36. Is outgoing, sociable                         |
| 13. Is a reliable worker                    | 37. Is sometimes rude to others                   |
| 14. Can be tense                            | 38. Makes plans and follows through with them     |
| 15. Is ingenious, a deep thinker            | 39. Gets nervous easily                           |
| 16. Generates a lot of enthusiasm           | 40. Likes to reflect, play with ideas             |
| 17. Has a forgiving nature                  | 41. Has few artistic interests                    |
| 18. Tends to be disorganized                | 42. Likes to cooperate with others                |
| 19. Worries a lot                           | 43. Is easily distracted                          |
| 20. Has an active imagination               | 44. Is sophisticated in art, music, or literature |
| 21. Tends to be quiet                       |   |
| 22. Is generally trusting                   |   |
| 23. Tends to be lazy                        |   |
| 24. Is emotionally stable, not easily upset |   |

## Chapter 4 – Political Attitudes

### Amazon mTurk Wilson Patterson Conservatism Scale

Please indicate whether or not you agree with each topic by selecting Yes or No as appropriate. For some items, Yes and No indicates whether you believe in the concept, believe it is right or real. As an example, if the item was "GHOST", you would select YES if you believe that ghosts are real and NO if you believe they are not real. As another example, if the item was "THE GREEN PARTY", you would select YES if you generally agree with The Green Party and NO if you generally disagree with The Green Party. If you are uncertain or unsure of how you feel about an item, please select ?

Death Penalty	Liberals
Astrology	Deporting Illegal Immigrants
X-Rated movies	Capitalism
Modern Art	Republicans
Equal Pay for Women	School Prayer
Foreign Aid	Socialism
Federal Housing	Increasing Welfare Funding
Democrats	Increasing Environmental Regulations
Increasing Military Defense Budget	Fracking
Pro-Abortion Legislation	Drilling in Tar Sands for Oil
Property tax	Completing the Keystone XL Pipeline
Marriage Equality (Gay Marriage)	Stem Cell Research

### ANES Self-Reported Conservatism OLS Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-1.29*** (0.12)		-1.32*** (0.13)
Conscientiousness	0.91*** (0.12)		0.93*** (0.13)
Extraversion	0.09 (0.10)		0.11 (0.10)
Agreeableness	-0.37** (0.12)		-0.31* (0.13)
Neuroticism	-0.31** (0.12)		-0.40*** (0.12)
Emotion		-0.06*** (0.01)	-0.12* (0.05)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			0.06 (0.04)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			-0.03 (0.04)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.03 (0.04)
Agreeableness X Emotion			0.00 (0.04)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.08* (0.04)
Age	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)
Education	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Income	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Political Efficacy	-0.31* (0.14)	-0.15 (0.14)	-0.10 (0.14)
Political Interest	0.23** (0.09)	0.12 (0.08)	0.19* (0.09)
Constant	4.40*** (0.17)	3.89*** (0.09)	4.40*** (0.17)
N	4705	5044	4698
Adjusted R2	0.05	0.04	0.06

ANES Wilson Patterson Conservatism OLS Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.17*** (0.02)		-0.18*** (0.02)
Conscientiousness	0.18*** (0.02)		0.18*** (0.01)
Extraversion	0.04** (0.02)		0.05** (0.02)
Agreeableness	-0.07*** (0.02)		-0.06** (0.02)
Neuroticism	-0.02 (0.02)		-0.04* (0.02)
Emotion		-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.01)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			0.01 (0.01)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			0.00 (0.01)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.00 (0.01)
Agreeableness X Emotion			-0.01 (0.01)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.01* (0.01)
Age	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Education	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Income	0.003*** (0.00)	0.003*** (0.00)	0.002*** (0.00)
Political Efficacy	-0.14*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.09*** (0.02)
Political Interest	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Constant	0.64*** (0.03)	0.62*** (0.01)	0.65*** (0.03)
N	5197	5564	5185
Adjusted R2	0.07	0.08	0.11

Amazon mTurk Self-Reported Conservatism OLS Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-2.46*** (0.33)		-2.66*** (0.54)
Conscientiousness	0.54 (0.35)		-0.28 (0.62)
Extraversion	0.09 (0.28)		-0.58 (0.46)
Agreeableness	-0.25 (0.34)		-0.12 (0.58)
Neuroticism	-1.00*** (0.30)		-1.34** (0.49)
Positive Emotion		-0.03 (0.12)	-1.56 (0.98)
Negative Emotion		0.11 (0.13)	-1.86 (0.97)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			0.17 (0.78)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.44 (0.83)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			1.22 (0.87)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			1.27 (0.85)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			1.15* (0.66)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			1.03 (0.69)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.08 (0.79)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-0.15 (0.87)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			0.14 (0.71)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.87 (0.77)
Age	-0.01* (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)
Education	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.08** (0.03)
Income	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.01)	0.05** (0.02)
Efficacy	-0.49 (0.35)	-0.31 (0.33)	-0.52 (0.35)
Political Interest	-0.04 (0.22)	-0.25 (0.22)	-0.03 (0.22)
Constant	7.08*** (0.67)	5.79*** (0.54)	8.13*** (0.86)
N	993	1086	993
Adjusted R2	0.09	0.02	0.08

Amazon mTurk Wilson Patterson Conservatism OLS Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.44*** (0.04)		-0.50*** (0.07)
Conscientiousness	0.09* (0.04)		0.04 (0.08)
Extraversion	0.08* (0.04)		0.02 (0.06)
Agreeableness	-0.15*** (0.04)		-0.15* (0.07)
Neuroticism	-0.14*** (0.04)		-0.17** (0.06)
Positive Emotion		-0.01 (0.02)	-0.14 (0.13)
Negative Emotion		0.03* (0.02)	-0.23 (0.12)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			0.09 (0.10)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			0.13 (0.11)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			0.06 (0.11)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.08 (0.11)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.08 (0.08)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			0.12 (0.09)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			0.00 (0.10)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.03 (0.11)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.02 (0.09)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			0.11 (0.09)
Age	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)	-0.002*** (0.00)
Education	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Income	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Efficacy	-0.12** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)	-0.11* (0.04)
Political Interest	0.04 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Constant	1.04*** (0.09)	0.75*** (0.07)	1.15*** (0.11)
N	993	1087	993
Adjusted R2	0.16	0.04	0.16

## Chapter 5 – Political Participation

### Amazon mTurk Self-Reported Participation Questions

Which of these activities have you ever participated in? Please select all that apply:

Voted in an election

Attended a political campaign meeting, rally, or speech

Wore a campaign button or posted a sign on your property or had a political bumper sticker

Worked for a political party or candidate

Joined a protest march

Attended a political meeting, such as city council meeting or school board meeting

Signed a political petition in person or online

Contacted your political representative

Some other form of participation not listed here

I have never participated in politics

### Amazon mTurk Participation Surveys

#### Conservative Petitions

President Obama : Do Not Allow Terrorists To Enter Our Country!

President Obama's inaction in the Syrian civil war has allowed the ISIS terrorist group to gain strength and cause havoc in the region. This has led to a mass exodus of the local population, which is fleeing to Europe and beyond to escape the bombings, airstrikes, and mass executions. The problem is that those fleeing ISIS include terrorists and religious zealots, and we don't know who is who. President Obama now plans to allow 100,000 Syrian refugees into the U.S. This is a threat to our national security and must be stopped!

Syrian refugees have already caused problems in Europe, including riots and other violence. In addition to the terrorism risk, do we really want that here in the U.S.?

President Obama's pro-Muslim agenda is now a clear and present danger to our national security.

Tell Obama: do not bring terrorists into our country!

Congress : Fight the federal takeover of education and oppose Common Core!

Through Common Core State Standards, President Obama is using the same model to take over education as he used for healthcare: implementing national standards to be overseen by boards of bureaucrats. This one-size-fits-all educational model takes the inspiration out of teaching and the joy out of learning.

Worst of all, it's failing our kids. The trauma done to children and families by these policies is inconceivable. For so many, Common Core Standards have led to tears and frustration at homework time, and, in many cases, a lack of confidence and enthusiasm among even our youngest students.

The Common Core Standards are completely untested, and the voices of opposition include early childhood experts, special education teachers, educators of second language learners, and developmental psychologists.

Tell Congress to put a stop to Common Core and put common sense back into education!

### Liberal Petitions

#### Governors: Stop Your Collective Punishment of Refugees in Need

To be delivered to Governors of the United States

We say no to collective punishment, and we say yes to refugees. Welcoming refugees was the right thing to do before the Paris and Beirut attacks and it's still the right thing to do. We must not be consumed by fear at this time.

**Petition Background:** We are all horrified by the terrorist attacks in Paris, Beirut, and other parts of the world, and mourn the loss of innocent lives. But an increasing number of reactionary governors across the U.S. have used these tragedies to announce that they will stop all acceptance of Syrian refugees.

We stand against this collective and cruel punishment of refugees. These individuals are escaping the very same terrorism that the world has witnessed in Paris and Beirut. Syrians have been killed by the thousands, millions have been displaced, and their entire livelihoods destroyed by the likes of ISIS and the Assad regime.

The United States must be steadfast in its commitment to remain a sanctuary for refugees fleeing political and religious persecution—from all across the world.

We demand these governors stop using their hatred and xenophobia to shut out Syrian refugees who are in dire need of normalcy and safety. We call on these governors to refrain from making decisions rooted in misinformation and fear.

Let us remember the words etched on the Statue of Liberty, a symbol of a long tradition of welcoming immigrants, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

## Give Seniors a Cost of Living Social Security Raise in 2016

To be delivered to President Barack Obama

To deny seniors even a modest increase in Social Security benefits is unscrupulous. Ask President Obama to issue an Executive Order to give the elderly even a modest increase in Social Security that they deserve as a generation that has given much to this country.

The hike in Medicare premiums in 2016 further lowers funds the elderly need for basic costs of living including, utilities, food and rent. Please act to right this wrong and expand not cut Social Security benefits to seniors.

**Petition Background:** Many seniors do not receive enough Social Security benefits to cover basic food and rental costs. With increases in Medicare and no cost-of-living raise (COLA) in 2016, the amount of monthly SS benefits does not remain the same but is actually lowered! Why should seniors pay for the extravagant national debt and be deprived of basic commodities? The Obama administration is the only presidency in which seniors did not receive a COLA not once but three times — 2010, 2011 and 2016.

The only recourse for 2016 is an Executive Order to give seniors a COLA that will offset rising Medicare hikes since Congress has failed to act on the issue of Social Security. President Obama is a lame duck President and could help to reverse this unfortunate policy that does not give seniors even a small basic COLA to offset soaring Medicare costs by applying pressure to Congress, and demanding they stop dragging their feet and issue funding for the COLA in 2016.

Amazon mTurk Political Participation Negative Binomial Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.28* (0.11)		0.36* (0.18)
Conscientiousness	0.02 (0.11)		0.14 (0.20)
Extraversion	0.10 (0.09)		0.07 (0.14)
Agreeableness	-0.04 (0.11)		0.12 (0.19)
Neuroticism	0.27** (0.10)		0.49** (0.17)
Positive Emotion		-0.02 (0.04)	0.33 (0.33)
Negative Emotion		-0.00 (0.04)	0.60 (0.33)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			-0.15 (0.26)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			-0.12 (0.27)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-0.11 (0.29)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			-0.19 (0.28)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			0.11 (0.21)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-0.02 (0.23)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.19 (0.26)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			-0.33 (0.29)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.28 (0.24)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.41 (0.26)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Education	0.05*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)
Income	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Efficacy	0.82*** (0.11)	0.83*** (0.11)	0.83*** (0.12)
Political Interest	0.70*** (0.08)	0.69*** (0.08)	0.70*** (0.08)
Party ID	0.02 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)
Conservatism	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.07*** (0.02)
Constant	0.45* (0.21)	0.75*** (0.16)	0.13 (0.29)
N	986	1079	986
Pseudo R2	0.08	0.07	0.08

Amazon mTurk Petition Participation Logit Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	-0.09 (0.43)		-1.02 (0.70)
Conscientiousness	-0.41 (0.45)		-0.21 (0.81)
Extraversion	-0.16 (0.36)		0.35 (0.59)
Agreeableness	1.49*** (0.44)		1.59* (0.75)
Neuroticism	0.98* (0.39)		1.38* (0.65)
Positive Emotion		-0.14 (0.15)	0.16 (1.28)
Negative Emotion		-0.08 (0.15)	-0.17 (1.27)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion			1.83 (1.01)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion			1.23 (1.06)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion			-1.06 (1.14)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion			0.35 (1.09)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion			-0.43 (0.86)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion			-1.42 (0.89)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion			-0.35 (1.04)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion			0.02 (1.13)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion			-0.81 (0.93)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion			-0.62 (0.99)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.04 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)
Income	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Efficacy	1.78*** (0.45)	1.68*** (0.42)	1.82*** (0.46)
Political Interest	0.74** (0.29)	0.70** (0.27)	0.77** (0.29)
Party ID	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)
Conservatism	-0.14* (0.06)	-0.13* (0.06)	-0.13* (0.07)
Constant	-1.69* (0.82)	-0.63 (0.60)	-1.64 (1.09)
N	986	1079	986
Pseudo R2	0.05	0.04	0.05

### Amazon mTurk Individual Participation Logit Models

	Voted in an election	Attended campaign meeting/rally	Wore a campaign button/posted sign	Worked for a campaign	Joined a protest march
Openness to Experience	-2.03 (1.17)	1.18 (0.78)	-0.19 (0.73)	-0.47 (1.14)	3.65*** (1.00)
Conscientiousness	2.35 (1.27)	0.98 (0.88)	0.77 (0.84)	-1.24 (1.28)	-0.99 (1.02)
Extraversion	-1.35 (1.03)	0.94 (0.63)	1.20* (0.61)	-0.27 (0.91)	0.22 (0.74)
Agreeableness	0.35 (1.14)	-0.68 (0.82)	0.18 (0.77)	-0.40 (1.25)	0.38 (0.99)
Neuroticism	1.02 (0.98)	1.24 (0.71)	1.47* (0.68)	0.32 (1.09)	0.67 (0.83)
Positive Emotion	-2.13 (2.02)	0.79 (1.41)	0.38 (1.35)	0.00 (2.09)	2.28 (1.75)
Negative Emotion	-2.02 (1.85)	2.93* (1.45)	1.19 (1.36)	1.13 (2.11)	1.61 (1.81)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion	3.21 (1.78)	-0.48 (1.11)	0.11 (1.04)	-1.74 (1.60)	-3.34* (1.43)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion	0.62 (1.79)	0.26 (1.19)	0.63 (1.11)	-1.11 (1.65)	-0.97 (1.62)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion	0.63 (1.89)	-0.39 (1.24)	-0.26 (1.17)	0.52 (1.80)	-1.29 (1.51)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion	-0.74 (1.78)	-1.60 (1.21)	-0.87 (1.15)	0.09 (1.70)	0.16 (1.47)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion	2.02 (1.53)	0.08 (0.92)	-0.79 (0.88)	3.64*** (1.39)	-0.78 (1.11)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion	2.11 (1.53)	-1.17 (0.99)	-1.55 (0.94)	0.33 (1.41)	-0.23 (1.24)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion	-1.69 (1.71)	-0.13 (1.12)	0.45 (1.06)	-1.75 (1.66)	2.10 (1.46)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion	1.19 (1.77)	-0.84 (1.26)	-0.17 (1.17)	0.30 (1.80)	-1.62 (1.53)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion	0.01 (1.49)	-0.59 (1.01)	-0.67 (0.96)	0.21 (1.55)	-1.12 (1.24)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion	1.11 (1.58)	-2.14 (1.14)	-0.78 (1.06)	-1.28 (1.66)	-0.60 (1.40)
Age	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.27*** (0.06)	0.16*** (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.05)
Income	0.09* (0.04)	-0.05 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.08* (0.04)	0.01 (0.03)
Efficacy	2.69*** (0.73)	2.65*** (0.52)	2.28*** (0.48)	2.91*** (0.78)	0.65 (0.63)
Political Interest	1.55*** (0.43)	1.69*** (0.34)	1.63*** (0.32)	1.79*** (0.54)	0.95* (0.42)
Party ID	0.04 (0.09)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.15 (0.09)	0.17* (0.08)
Conservatism	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.28** (0.11)	-0.54*** (0.09)
Constant	3.03 (1.89)	-5.67*** (1.34)	-3.27** (1.25)	-4.26* (1.97)	-4.69** (1.62)
N	991	991	991	991	991
Pseudo R2	0.25	0.13	0.09	0.16	0.15

	Attended city/school board meeting	Signed a petition	Contacted political representative	Some other participation
Openness to Experience	0.56 (0.74)	1.89* (0.82)	0.81 (0.76)	3.19** (1.18)
Conscientiousness	1.87 (0.86)	-0.13 (0.94)	0.65 (0.88)	-3.54** (1.35)
Extraversion	0.36 (0.61)	-0.81 (0.71)	-1.56* (0.63)	2.28* (0.97)
Agreeableness	0.26 (0.79)	1.28 (0.88)	-0.11 (0.81)	0.98 (1.23)
Neuroticism	1.28 (0.69)	1.75* (0.76)	0.70 (0.69)	1.19 (1.08)
Positive Emotion	0.23 (1.39)	-0.07 (1.18)	0.92 (1.37)	2.88 (1.98)
Negative Emotion	3.19* (1.36)	0.39 (1.44)	1.13 (1.39)	3.39 (2.04)
Openness to Experience X Positive Emotion	-0.25 (1.06)	0.39 (1.18)	-0.07 (1.08)	-1.15 (1.61)
Openness to Experience X Negative Emotion	-0.94 (1.10)	-0.33 (1.22)	-0.83 (1.13)	-0.88 (1.73)
Conscientiousness X Positive Emotion	-1.17 (1.20)	0.49 (1.31)	-0.67 (1.22)	2.41 (1.79)
Conscientiousness X Negative Emotion	-2.17 (1.16)	1.04 (1.25)	-0.59 (1.19)	0.47 (1.73)
Extraversion X Positive Emotion	1.13 (0.89)	-0.27 (1.01)	1.44 (0.91)	-2.21 (1.33)
Extraversion X Negative Emotion	1.08 (0.94)	-0.39 (1.03)	1.62 (0.97)	-1.81 (1.43)
Agreeableness X Positive Emotion	0.72 (1.08)	-0.79 (1.19)	-1.46 (1.09)	-2.54 (1.57)
Agreeableness X Negative Emotion	-1.34 (1.18)	-1.15 (1.30)	-0.97 (1.22)	-1.84 (1.79)
Neuroticism X Positive Emotion	-0.81 (0.98)	-0.12 (1.08)	-0.71 (0.99)	-1.65 (1.47)
Neuroticism X Negative Emotion	-1.59 (1.06)	-0.16 (1.15)	-0.85 (1.09)	-1.79 (1.59)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Education	0.09* (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08 (0.06)
Income	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Efficacy	1.29** (0.48)	2.69*** (0.53)	2.11*** (0.50)	1.66* (0.72)
Political Interest	1.63*** (0.32)	1.76*** (0.32)	1.97*** (0.33)	0.81 (0.47)
Party ID	0.02 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)	0.20* (0.09)
Conservatism	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.17* (0.07)	-0.11 (0.10)
Constant	-4.98*** (1.28)	-2.89* (1.34)	-1.05 (1.27)	-6.23*** (1.89)
N	991	991	991	991
Pseudo R2	0.09	0.15	0.14	0.09

### ANES Political Participation Questions

Please indicate the types of political activity you have participated in:

1. Voted in primary or caucus?
2. Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, or speeches?
3. Did you wear any campaign buttons or post signs or bumper stickers?
4. Any other work for party or candidate?
5. Contribute money to specific candidate or campaign?
6. Joined a protest march in last 4 years?
7. Attended city/school board meeting in last 4 years?
8. Signed an online petition?
9. Signed a paper petition?
10. Given money to a political organization?
11. Called radio/TV about political issues?
12. Facebook/twitter message about political issues?
13. Written letter to newspaper/magazine about political issues?
14. Contacted US senator or Representative?

### ANES Self-Reported Political Participation Negative Binomial Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Openness to Experience	0.44*** (0.08)		0.45*** (0.08)
Conscientiousness	-0.32*** (0.08)		-0.33*** (0.08)
Extraversion	0.23*** (0.06)		0.23*** (0.07)
Agreeableness	0.16 (0.08)		0.18* (0.08)
Neuroticism	0.09 (0.07)		0.06 (0.08)
Emotion		-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.04 (0.03)
Openness to Experience X Emotion			-0.05 (0.03)
Conscientiousness X Emotion			0.03 (0.03)
Extraversion X Emotion			0.05* (0.02)
Agreeableness X Emotion			-0.01 (0.03)
Neuroticism X Emotion			0.02 (0.03)
Age	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Education	0.15*** (0.01)	0.15*** (0.01)	0.15*** (0.01)
Income	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Political Efficacy	0.70*** (0.09)	0.86*** (0.09)	0.78*** (0.09)
Political Interest	1.17*** (0.06)	1.19*** (0.06)	1.15*** (0.06)
Party ID	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Conservatism	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
Constant	-1.22*** (0.12)	-0.94*** (0.07)	-1.19*** (0.12)
N	4701	5039	4694
Pseudo R2	0.06	0.06	0.06

## ANES Individual Political Participation Logit Models

	Voted in a primary or caucus?	Attended political meeting or rally?	Wear button, put up sign?	Work for campaign?	Contribute money?	Protest march?
Openness to Experience	-0.35 (0.19)	0.55 (0.38)	0.71** (0.26)	1.06* (0.47)	0.29 (0.29)	0.94* (0.37)
Conscientiousness	-0.06 (0.20)	-1.14** (0.36)	-0.07 (0.26)	-0.90* (0.44)	-0.28 (0.30)	-1.31*** (0.35)
Extraversion	0.23 (0.16)	0.67* (0.29)	0.56** (0.21)	0.65 (0.36)	0.40 (0.23)	0.34 (0.29)
Agreeableness	0.06 (0.19)	-0.19 (0.37)	0.12 (0.07)	0.02 (0.45)	-0.06 (0.29)	-0.22 (0.36)
Neuroticism	0.05 (0.18)	-0.41 (0.35)	0.38 (0.23)	-0.10 (0.42)	-0.25 (0.27)	-0.16 (0.34)
Emotion	0.07 (0.08)	0.06 (0.15)	0.04 (0.10)	-0.17 (0.19)	0.09 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.15)
Openness to Experience X Emotion	-0.08 (0.06)	0.01 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.15)	-0.03 (0.09)	0.08 (0.13)
Conscientiousness X Emotion	0.02 (0.07)	0.01 (0.12)	0.05 (0.08)	0.16 (0.15)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.08 (0.12)
Extraversion X Emotion	-0.08 (0.06)	0.03 (0.10)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.13 (0.10)
Agreeableness X Emotion	0.02 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.12)
Neuroticism X Emotion	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.12)	0.03 (0.08)	0.36* (0.14)	0.01 (0.09)	0.14 (0.12)
Age	0.15*** (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)
Education	0.09** (0.03)	0.17** (0.06)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.24*** (0.07)	0.18*** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.06)
Income	0.01* (0.00)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Political Efficacy	0.95*** (0.22)	2.13*** (0.39)	1.39*** (0.27)	2.09*** (0.48)	2.10*** (0.32)	1.71*** (0.41)
Political Interest	1.43*** (0.14)	1.99*** (0.28)	1.55*** (0.18)	2.31*** (0.36)	2.01*** (0.22)	1.95*** (0.28)
Party ID	0.02 (0.02)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.12*** (0.02)	-0.18*** (0.05)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)
Conservatism	0.09*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.03)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.09* (0.04)	-0.14** (0.05)
Constant	-3.80*** (0.30)	-4.99*** (0.56)	-4.01*** (0.38)	-6.78*** (0.69)	-6.36*** (0.46)	-3.86*** (0.53)
N	4673	4693	4694	4694	4692	4691
Pseudo R2	0.10	0.09	0.07	0.13	0.17	0.10

	Attended city/school board meeting	Signed an online petition	Signed a paper petition	Given money to a campaign	Called radio/TV about political issue	Facebook/twitter message about political issue
Openness to Experience	1.05*** (0.24)	1.03*** (0.21)	0.74*** (0.21)	0.39 (0.22)	1.61** (0.54)	1.10*** (0.23)
Conscientiousness	-0.38 (0.24)	-0.41 (0.21)	-0.44* (0.21)	-0.38 (0.22)	-1.77*** (0.49)	-0.47* (0.08)
Extraversion	0.45* (0.19)	-0.11 (0.17)	0.34* (0.17)	0.46** (0.17)	1.35*** (0.42)	0.71*** (0.18)
Agreeableness	0.19 (0.23)	0.70*** (0.21)	0.55** (0.21)	0.55** (0.21)	-1.21* (0.48)	0.61** (0.23)
Neuroticism	-0.04 (0.21)	0.09 (0.19)	0.08 (0.19)	0.08 (0.19)	0.04 (0.46)	0.67*** (0.21)
Emotion	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.13 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.19* (0.09)	-0.14 (0.21)	-0.12 (0.09)
Openness to Experience X Emotion	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.16* (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.12 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.08)
Conscientiousness X Emotion	0.11 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.17)	0.12 (0.08)
Extraversion X Emotion	0.02 (0.07)	0.12* (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	0.11 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.14)	0.04 (0.06)
Agreeableness X Emotion	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.27 (0.16)	-0.00 (0.08)
Neuroticism X Emotion	0.09 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	0.23*** (0.07)	-0.00 (0.15)	0.02 (0.07)
Age	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.01)
Education	0.24*** (0.04)	0.28*** (0.03)	0.22*** (0.03)	0.36*** (0.03)	0.11 (0.08)	0.15*** (0.04)
Income	0.02*** (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Political Efficacy	0.82*** (0.25)	0.98*** (0.23)	0.74** (0.23)	0.58* (0.24)	0.18 (0.55)	1.36*** (0.25)
Political Interest	1.55*** (0.17)	1.44*** (0.15)	0.96*** (0.15)	0.86*** (0.15)	3.35*** (0.43)	1.50*** (0.16)
Party ID	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.09 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.02)
Conservatism	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.13*** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.07* (0.03)
Constant	-4.39*** (0.36)	-3.69*** (0.32)	- 3.52*** (0.32)	-4.15*** (0.33)	-5.80*** (0.76)	-3.13*** (0.34)
N	4692	4688	4688	4687	4691	4689
Pseudo R2	0.08	0.09	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.11

	Written letter to newspaper/magazine about political issue	Contacted US Senator or Representative
Openness to Experience	0.51 (0.43)	0.66** (0.23)
Conscientiousness	-1.16** (0.42)	-0.56* (0.23)
Extraversion	0.84* (0.34)	-0.11 (0.18)
Agreeableness	-0.09 (0.41)	0.27 (0.23)
Neuroticism	-0.03 (0.39)	0.03 (0.21)
Emotion	0.12 (0.19)	-0.13 (0.10)
Openness to Experience X Emotion	0.05 (0.15)	-0.23** (0.08)
Conscientiousness X Emotion	-0.03 (0.15)	0.04 (0.08)
Extraversion X Emotion	-0.01 (0.12)	0.32*** (0.07)
Agreeableness X Emotion	-0.19 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.08)
Neuroticism X Emotion	-0.13 (0.14)	-0.09 (0.08)
Age	0.06** (0.02)	0.07*** (0.01)
Education	0.29*** (0.07)	0.33*** (0.04)
Income	0.00 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
Political Efficacy	0.84 (0.47)	0.99*** (0.26)
Political Interest	2.31*** (0.34)	2.05*** (0.17)
Party ID	0.03 (0.04)	0.00 (0.02)
Conservatism	-0.08 (0.06)	0.02 (0.03)
Constant	-6.07*** (0.64)	-5.20*** (0.36)
N	4693	4693
Pseudo R2	0.09	0.13