

Specific Emotions in Negative Campaigning: A Role for Contempt?

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After many years of thinking about political decision making – especially voting – in a cognitively-oriented paradigm, political psychologists have given quite a lot of thought to the role of emotions, which may well be at least as important as pure cognitive processing (as if there were such a thing) in directing voters’ attention and choices. Work by Marcus and his colleagues (2000; 1993) on discrete emotions in particular has led to extensive efforts to identify the roles played by positive emotions such as enthusiasm and hope, and negative emotions such as anxiety and anger. While other discrete emotions have also been examined in somewhat less detail, to our knowledge the emotion of “contempt” has not been the subject of much research within political psychology, and in particular, in the context of voter decision making.

At the same time, other researchers have examined the role of negative advertising in political campaigns, often focusing on questions of its impact on voter turnout and voter disenchantment with the system, with few researchers willing to defend the value of negativity in the political system (see Geer, 2006; Mattes and Redlawsk, 2014 for exceptions.) Ted Brader’s (2006) study of the emotional responses to negativity is one attempt to marry the two lines of research, as he examined how non-verbal negativity influenced emotional responses to campaigns. (Brader also looks at positive emotions.)

This paper also combines these two strands – negativity and emotions – but does so with a focus on an emotion not otherwise considered in prior research; that of contempt. We theorize that a significant purpose of negative advertisements may be to hold the opponent in contempt; not just to make voters feel anxious or angry, but to make them dismissive of the opponent. We examine contempt in context with other discrete emotions, both positive (enthusiasm, hope, admiration) and negative (anxiety and anger, along with contempt). We do so through online

voter surveys of Senate elections in the run up to the 2014 midterms, conducted in New Jersey and in Iowa. These two states had quite different campaigns. The Iowa Senate race was one of the most contested in the country, with the Republican ultimately winning in a race that featured a great deal of negative advertising. The New Jersey race, in contrast, was uncompetitive, with the Democrat winning with relatively little political advertising of any kind (though at least one negative/contrast ad was aired by the Booker campaign in the last week.)

We find noteworthy differentiation among specific emotions. Our analyses indicate that particular emotions can be used to predict voting intentions. Importantly, not all positive or negative emotions predict equally, as would be expected if only positive and negative affective valence matter. Consistent with findings from a study of participants watching excerpts from the 2008 presidential debates (Roseman et al., 2012) ever-felt hope and anger were often strong predictors of vote intention in these Senate races. Also consistent with our prior research (e.g., Roseman et al., 2013; Johnston, Roseman, & Katz, 2014), the understudied emotion of contempt was a significant predictor in the Iowa Senate race. Contempt predicted unique variance in voting intentions, in addition to the significant variance predicted by other emotions, although contrary to previous findings (e.g., Roseman et al., 2013; Johnston et al., 2014), in Iowa it mattered for the Republican as well as the Democratic candidate, suggesting perhaps a role for the intensity of negative campaigning on both sides in 2014 in Iowa. The importance of contempt may be election-specific or candidate-specific, rather than party specific.

This paper proceeds as follows. We begin by reviewing the literature on specific emotions, particularly contempt, both in terms of their identification, and their anticipated impact on political behavior. We then describe our study, which took advantage of the 2014 U.S. midterm elections for Senate in two states at different levels of competitiveness, where we

showed negative ads to panels of online respondents and asked them to tell us about their emotional (and other) responses to the ads. After describing the results of our study, we then close by discussing the implications for negative advertising of the role of contempt and its influence on voter decision making.

Basic Research on Discrete Emotions

While some contemporary emotion theorists emphasize the explanatory power of general positive vs. negative affect (e.g., Barrett, 2006; Russell, 2003), others have argued that particular (“discrete”) emotions, in addition to emotion dimensions, make important contributions to explaining patterns of cognition, motivation, and behavior (e.g., Izard, 2007; Lerner & Keltner, 2000; Plutchik, 2003).

For a number of years, the largest amount of basic research on discrete emotions focused on six emotions for which Ekman and Friesen (e.g., 1971) had found evidence of cross-culturally recognized facial expressions: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, surprise, and disgust. But since that time, researchers have increasingly identified distinctive properties and effects of additional positive and negative emotions (e.g., Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989; Campos, Shiota, Keltner, Gonzaga, Goetz, 2013; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994; Smith, Tong, & Ellsworth, 2014), and there has been an explosion of theory and research on distinct emotions such as shame (e.g., Lewis, 1995), guilt (e.g., Tangney & Dearing, 2003), pride (e.g., Tracy, Weidman, Cheng, & Martens, 2014), and hope (e.g., Cheavens & Ritschel, 2014).

Now recent work suggests it may be important to differentiate the understudied emotion of contempt from the far more often studied emotion of anger. For example, contempt appears to have a cross-culturally recognizable facial expression--a raising and tightening of a corner of the

lips (Ekman & Friesen, 1986; Ekman & Heider, 1988; Matsumoto, 1992), sometimes termed a sneer, that is different from the expressions of other emotions, such as anger (which is expressed by brows drawn down and together, with lips either pressed together [Ekman & Friesen, 1975] or formed into a squarish shape [Izard, 1995]).

In terms of behavior, whereas anger is associated with an increased tendency to attack another person, for example verbally (Averill, 1982) or physically (Potegal & Qiu, 2010), contempt is more associated with a tendency to derogate and reject the target person (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), and with feeling superior and regarding the other person as incompetent (Hutcherson & Gross, 2011).

There also appear to be distinctive goals that people pursue when feeling particular emotions (Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994; Zeelenberg, van Dijk, Manstead, & van der Pligt, 1998; cf. Frijda, 1986), which can organize extended behavior sequences (Roseman, 2011). Whereas in anger, people report (more so than in other emotions) wanting to force another person to change behavior (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), get back at someone, or hurt the target person in some way (Roseman et al., 1994; cf. Aristotle, 1966/350 BC), people feeling contempt differentially report wanting to dissociate from (e.g., have nothing to do with) the target person (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), and have the other person rejected by their group (Roseman, 2002). And indeed, feelings of contempt predict interpersonal relationship deterioration (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), and in married couples, the likelihood of divorce (Gottman & Levinson, 2002).

Finally, contempt appears to be evoked by distinctive perceptions or beliefs. Whereas anger is characteristically elicited by appraisals of injustice (Averill, 1982) or the blockage of one's goals (e.g., Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009), contempt is differentially elicited by appraisals that another person has undesirable traits, such as incompetence or low intelligence

(Hutcherson & Gross, 2011) or a bad character (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), or has violated community norms (Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999).

Emotions and Politics

Are these findings from basic research on emotions, reflecting recent theories of contempt (see, e.g., Bell, 2013; Fischer, 2011; Fischer & Roseman, 2007; Haidt, 2003; Hutcherson & Gross, 2011; Roseman, 2006), relevant to political science? The context, of course, is an increasing awareness of the profound importance of emotions in political information processing, decision-making, and behavior (see, e.g., Erisen, Lodge, & Taber, 2014; Isbell, Otatti, & Burns, 2006; Westen, 2008). Within the literature on public opinion and voting behavior, recent theoretical and empirical work has also found increasing evidence for distinct effects of different emotions, and the effects of these emotions may vary with ideology, political party, and specific candidates.

For example, by improving measurement of negative emotions, Marcus, MacKuen, Wolak, and Keele (2006) found evidence for distinct responses of anxiety and “aversion” (an emotion dimension underlying ratings of the terms angry, bitter, resentful, hatred, and contempt) sometimes felt toward a particular political candidate (Bill Clinton) or policy (affirmative action). Inbar, Pizarro, and Bloom (2008⁹) found that conservatives were more likely than liberals to feel disgust related to a number of political issues, such as gay marriage and abortion. Finn and Glaser (2010) found that anger was a stronger predictor than fear of voting either against Obama or against McCain in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. They also found that hope was a stronger predictor than pride of voting for Obama, while pride was a stronger predictor than hope of voting for McCain. Redlawsk, Tolbert, and Franko (2010) examined the

positive emotion of enthusiasm, and found that Obama's victory was at least in part a result of intense enthusiasm his campaign generated, which may have allowed some white voters to overcome latent concerns about his race. In a different study, Redlawsk, Tolbert, and McNeely (2014) found emotional responses to Barack Obama condition the effects of symbolic racism on evaluations. While both symbolic racism and negative emotions lower evaluations, the positive emotions generated by the campaign counteract the effects of symbolic racism.

But there is reason to believe that contempt may also be important within the political domain. Insofar as competence is a central trait on which candidates for elective office are evaluated (e.g., Kinder, Peters, Abelson, & Fiske, 1980; Todorov, Mandisodza, Goren, & Hall, 2005), and the emotion of contempt implicates perceptions of competence, it would seem that contempt might be quite relevant to candidate evaluations, negative advertising, and electoral outcomes (see Mattes & Redlawsk, 2015, on the informational function of negative campaigning). Indeed, we propose that a significant purpose of negative advertisements may be to hold the opponent in contempt; not just to make voters feel anxious or angry, but to make them essentially dismissive of the opponent.

The literature on intergroup relations, like the basic science research on contempt, already shows a significant connection between perceptions of low competence and contempt. Research on the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007) indicates that contempt is felt toward groups perceived as low in both competence and warmth, where warmth refers to a dimension of goal conflict (the target group is seen as less warm in that it is competitive with one's own group, e.g., for resources). Groups perceived as incompetent and cold elicit contempt and disgust (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) and these groups are perceived to be the targets of behavioral responses of active harm (e.g., fighting and attacking) and passive harm (e.g.,

demeaning and excluding). Romani, Grappi, and Bagozzi (2013) found that whereas anger felt in response to perceived corporate wrongdoing predicted actions designed to penalize but maintain a relationship with corporations, contempt predicted actions designed to discredit or hurt the company and ultimately disengage from it.

Thus, insofar as negative advertising and other political communications (e.g., claims and emotion displays in presidential debates) evoke feelings of contempt toward opposing candidates, they could significantly lessen the candidate's support among potential voters. Indeed, insofar as the specific actions prompted by contempt include making negative remarks that discredit the object of contempt to other people (Romani et al., 2013), especially members of one's social group (Roseman, 2002), engendering contempt can have ramifying, exponential effects upon its target's reputation and support among a wider public.

Attempts to elicit contempt in the voting public may well be increasing, and perhaps achieving their objective. Analyzing national survey data from 2000 to 2008, Sood, Iyengar, and Dropp (2015) report that Republicans and Democrats are increasingly willing to ascribe negative traits to members of the opposing party, and that the degree of partisan affect varies as a function of the amount of negative advertising in survey respondents' media market at the time that they were interviewed.

People may be well aware that being objects of contempt can be quite damaging. Hutcherson and Gross (2011) found that (undergraduate) participants said they would prefer to be recipients of another person's anger rather than recipients of contempt. On the group level, Matsumoto, Hwang, and Frank (2013) found that leaders' speeches associated with subsequent political aggression contained a greater number of appraisals of inferiority (as well as appraisals

of intolerability) and a greater amount of contempt (as well as disgust) than speeches not associated with subsequent group aggression.

Most directly relevant to the work on contempt to be presented here, we have found in prior research that anger and contempt have distinct patterns of relationship to evaluations of Democratic vs. Republican presidential candidates in two different elections. In a sample of college students who watched excerpts from the 2008 presidential debates, Roseman et al. (2013) found that, in addition to anger, experienced contempt partially mediated relationships between perceptions of Barack Obama's negative qualities and favorability toward Obama; among the negative emotions studied, only anger mediated the perceptions to favorability relationship for McCain.

Analyzing data from a national sample surveyed in the 1996 American National Election Studies (ANES) pilot study--the last time contempt was included on the ANES--Johnston, Roseman, and Katz (2014) found that contempt, in addition to anger, partially mediated relationships between perceptions of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's leadership and favorability toward Clinton; again, among negative emotions, only anger mediated the relationship between perceptions of Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole and favorability toward Dole.

| Negative Advertising

| Note – need some neg ad literature here....

We investigate the role of contempt in assessments of U.S. Senate candidates in a highly competitive and an assumed relatively non-competitive Senate race in 2014. Our expectation is that the way candidates talk about each other, in negative ads and in their speeches, will be perceived by voters to include contempt, and that contempt generated by candidates will condition voting intentions. However, we also expect that this will be conditional on the nature of the campaign: an intensive competitive campaign is likely to result in more contemptuous ads/speeches by candidates than a non-competitive campaign where the leading candidate may rarely even take note of the trailing opponent, and where negative ads may be at a minimum. Voters in such non-competitive campaigns may feel less contempt for either candidate and contempt may be less likely to influence their vote intentions. At the same time, as this is exploratory research, we choose not to develop formal hypotheses in this paper, but to use our data as an initial attempt to understand this little-studied emotion in politics. We do so through two online surveys focused on Senate races, one in New Jersey and one in Iowa in the run up to the 2014 U.S. midterm elections.

Data and Methods

Data: In late October/early November 2014, we conducted an online survey examining whether emotional responses to U.S. Senate candidates in New Jersey and Iowa predict voting intentions. We obtained diverse samples of adults in each state through SSI, a reputable panel provision company whose pre-recruited adults do surveys in return for incentives such as cash, redeemable points, or sweepstakes entry.

We received survey results from 607 respondents in Iowa and 731 in New Jersey. Of those who reported their sex, 50.8% of respondents in NJ and 55.7% in IA were female. Data were

gathered from 10/23 to 11/3/14, with the election held on 11/4/14. An initial analysis of the data (including data indicating how much time respondents spent viewing the videos that were embedded in the survey) revealed that a number of respondents either failed to complete the survey, or failed to watch one or more of the videos in their entirety. For Iowa this resulted in dropping 206 of the initial respondents, leaving 401 complete responses. For New Jersey, 243 respondents were dropped, leaving 488 completes.¹ These completed respondents are the basis of the analyses in this paper.²

Iowa was chosen due to its intensely competitive U.S. Senate election between Democratic Congressman Bruce Braley and Republican State Sen. Joni Ernst. Throughout most of the campaign this race was thought to be highly competitive, as indicated by the level of outside interest group spending on behalf of the candidates: more than \$60 million according to Opensecrets.org, ranking third in the nation. Although after this hard-fought campaign, 53% of registered voters turned out and Ernst ended up winning by nearly 9 points, earlier polling had shown the race too close to call (see www.realclearpolitics.com). As a consequence of the race's competitiveness, many negative ads were run by both sides, and by outside groups. We chose four ads, two on each side of the campaign, all of which were attacks on the opponent.

¹ Of these, a small number of cases were removed for other reasons, including failure to recognize candidate names or parties in the feeling thermometer questions (23 in New Jersey, 9 in Iowa), a rating over 100 on the FT (a system error, accounting for 2 Iowa cases), and missing data for one candidate on a feeling thermometer (8 in NJ, 9 in Iowa).

² The remaining respondents in NJ were 49% male, 82% white, 14% Black, 39% Democrat, 20% Republican, and 41% independent. 18% were 65 years old or over, 30% were 50 to 64, 35% were 30 to 49, and 17% were 18-30. Partisanship, gender and age reasonably match the New Jersey population, but the NJ sample skews significantly whiter. The remaining respondents in Iowa were 45% male, 95% white, 3% Black, 30% Democrat, 26% Republican, and 44% independent. 20% were 65 years old or over, 33% were 50 to 64, 31% were 30 to 49, and 16% were 18-30. The Iowa sample is slightly more female and less elderly, but otherwise tracks well with the population.

Respondents were randomly assigned to view one ad on each side in random order. Analyses below generally combine data from both groups of respondents.

The two ads on the Republican side attacked Democrat Bruce Braley (1) for missing votes in Congress [Missed Votes] and (2) for airing a “demeaning” comparing his female opponent to a “chick” ad and for threatening to sue a neighbor whose chicken had crossed into Braley’s property [Chicks]. The two Braley ads included one accusing Ernst of being too extreme because she opposed any federal minimum wage [Wage] and another saying “we didn’t hear a peep” from Ernst on fighting pork spending [Peep]. The full ad transcripts are in the appendix.

As a counterpoint to Iowa, in order to investigate the role of contempt in a low salience U.S. Senate election, we chose New Jersey, where Democratic Sen. Cory Booker was running for a full term against Republican Jeff Bell, a little known challenger in an election in which it was assumed Booker would win easily. Unlike Iowa, outside spending in New Jersey was extremely limited by national standards; Opensecrets.com reports just \$2 million in outside group spending. Voters responded accordingly, with turnout at a record low 36 percent. Booker went on to win by more than 13 points. As it turned out, the New Jersey campaign was so low key we were unable to identify any televised ads at the time the survey was constructed (unlike Iowa where ads were legion). So we created two videos, from NJTV news programming in which each candidate talked about his opponent. All respondents in the New Jersey survey saw both videos.³

The video we created for Republican Jeff Bell use news footage in which he attacked Democrat Cory Booker for being superficial, rather than working hard, focusing on Booker as

³ All videos are available on request from the first author.

celebrity [Bell]. The video for Booker used an excerpt from his campaign launch speech, in which he attacked Bell for being an ideologue, unwilling to compromise to get things done [Booker].

Predictors: *Emotions toward candidates* [Ever-Felt Emotion] were measured by asking “Has [Candidate], because of the kind of person (s)he is or because of something (s)he has done, ever made you feel [angry, anxious, contempt, hope, enthusiasm, admiration]?” (ANES, 2014). The order of the emotions was randomized, with three positive and three negative discrete emotions. Respondents who said *yes* were then asked “How [angry, etc.] would you say [Candidate] makes you feel?” (extremely angry [4], very angry [3], somewhat angry [2], not too angry [1], or not at all angry [0])“ Those saying *no* were also scored as [0]. These questions were asked near the end of the survey, following all videos and measures of emotions towards the videos, vote intentions, and feeling thermometer ratings of the candidates and political parties. Analyses below use the scale for each emotion.

Emotions towards the videos [Ad-Emotion] were measured immediately after each video was viewed, and the same emotions were measured by asking “How much [emotion] was expressed about [candidate] in this video?” with options [1] a large amount, [2] a moderate amount, [3] a small amount, and [4] none at all. For analyses, data were recoded so that 1=none at all and 4=a large amount.

We should note that the first time when the emotions of Anger and Contempt were queried, we provided a definition, in order to ensure that respondents would not conflate the two in their responses. We defined anger as “feelings of hostility that people may have toward someone” while contempt was defined as “feelings of scorn that people may have toward someone when they have a very low opinion of that person.”

Outcome variable: *Voting intentions* were measured by asking “If the U.S. Senate election were being held right now, would you vote for [Candidate A], [Candidate B], someone else, or would you not vote (cf. ANES, 2008)?” This measure of vote intentions was repeated at the outset of the study and after each video; the one used in this paper is the final measure following all videos and emotional responses to the videos but before the measures of the ever-felt emotions.

Results

In this exploratory analysis, we first examine the extent to which our respondents perceived emotions in the videos that they watched (Ad-Emotion) and felt emotions toward the candidate generally (Ever-felt Emotion). We then examine the impact of ever-felt emotion on voting intentions. In order to determine the extent to which the videos we used could be expected to generate emotional responses, two members of the research team independently examined each video and assessed levels of Anger and Contempt expressed in the video towards the other candidate. The consensus ratings of Anger and Contempt between the two coders and actual respondent assessments of these two emotions are high - .86 for Anger and .72 for Contempt, and .84 when both emotions are combined. The somewhat lower correlations for Contempt may reflect the difficulty of accurately assessing when personal qualities (alternately referred to as “traits” by some personality psychologists and “dispositions” by some social psychologists) should be inferred from actions. For example, Booker said that Bell “literally wrote the book – I’m not exaggerating – making the case for political polarization.” Some may perceive this more as an action, and perceive Booker expressing anger regarding what Bell had actually DONE, while others may perceive this statement as implying that Bell is the epitome of partisanship

(something he IS), and perceive more contempt. In any case, our assessment is that (a) our naïve respondents perceived anger and contempt in the ads reasonably accurately, compared to expert coding and (b) it is possible to (fairly objectively) specify the bases for coding anger and contempt.

Do Campaign Ads and Candidate Speeches Evidence Contempt?

Perceptions of Contempt in Videos

One of our contentions is that Contempt may be perceived by voters as they view negative campaign ads, as candidates try to get voters to feel less positive about opponents. One of the means of making voters less positive so should be by the use of the specific emotion of Contempt. Of course, there can be no effects for Contempt if voters do not perceive it in the first place. Accordingly, we first examine the extent to which our respondents perceived the candidates as expressing Contempt toward their opponents in the videos we selected. Again, we selected these videos *because* we anticipated they would be perceived as contemptuous. We are not arguing that all negative ads are necessarily contemptuous of the opponent (although they might be), rather that when ads do contain expressions of contempt, voters pick up on those expressions.

Table 1 displays the means levels of Ad-Emotions perceived by respondents upon viewing each video.⁴ The results show that of the six emotions studied, Contempt toward the opposing candidate was the emotion MOST perceived in every video (speeches about the

⁴ Not surprisingly, viewers of the videos perceive little to no positive emotion expressed toward the opponent in these videos. Given that 1="none at all", the fact that the means of the positive emotions come close to 1 in many cases suggests we can ignore any likely role for positive emotions. Given that our focus here is on Contempt, we will not spend any significant time in this section on Enthusiasm, Hope, and Admiration. We do included them in the models below and consider their effects there.

opponent in NJ; campaign ads in Iowa). This is strong prima facie evidence of the importance of the understudied emotion of contempt in political communications. The means indicate that the understudied emotion of contempt is at least as much perceived as much more widely studied emotions such as anxiety and anger. These data strongly argue for a return to measuring contempt in national election surveys (such as the ANES) where Contempt was last included in the 1995 pilot study. In an analysis of data from that national survey, Johnston, Roseman, and Katz (2014), found that, in addition to anger, contempt independently and significantly mediated the relationship between perceptions of Bill Clinton's leadership and feeling thermometer favorability to Clinton. Here we find that Contempt is also perceived in videos that are produced by campaigns.

[Insert Table 1 about Here]

Levels of perceived contempt are significantly lower overall for the NJ candidates than for the Iowa candidates, although perceived Contempt expressed by Booker towards Bell is much higher ($m=2.90$, $sd=.97$) than by Bell about Booker ($m=2.47$, $sd=.93$; $p<.01$.) But in both cases, the level of perceived contempt expressed by the candidates is higher than either of the other two emotions, Anger and Anxiety. In the New Jersey videos, which are speeches rather than campaign ads, respondents who view them perceive significant levels of contempt toward the opponent.

For both Iowa candidates, mean levels of perceived contempt toward the other candidate were above 3 on the 1 – 4 point scale where 3= “a moderate amount” and 4 = “a large amount” for all of the ads examined. As in NJ, Contempt was the most perceived emotion expressed toward the opponent, more so than either anger or anxiety, with some variation by ad. T-tests of differences between the means for the Iowa ads shows that the Ernst “missed votes” ad resulted

in the perception of more Contempt toward Braley ($m=3.291$, $sd=.0617$) than did the second ad (“Chicks”; $m=3.12$, $sd=.0654$; $p<.1$). For Braley, both ads generated similar perceptions of contempt toward Ernst; the minimum wage ad at $m=3.072$, $sd=.0683$ while the “peeps” ad mean was 3.01 ($sd=.0597$). Overall Ernst’s ads were perceived to exhibit more contempt toward Braley ($m=3.206$, $sd=.0453$) than Braley’s were towards Ernst ($m=3.0514$, $sd=.0451$; $p<.01$.)

Perceptions of Contempt by Party

An initial examination of differences between Democratic and Republican partisans shows expected differences in the perceptions of Contempt express in the videos toward the other party’s candidate. In New Jersey, Republicans are more likely to perceive Contempt toward Bell in the Booker video (3.04, $sd=.88$) than are Democrats (2.52, $sd=.98$; $p<.01$); Democrats see more contempt in the Bell video (Democrats $M=2.59$, $sd=.96$, Republicans $M=2.32$, $sd=.66$; $p<.05$.) We see similar results for the other negative emotions, Anger and Anxiety. Partisans see the opposing party candidate as more negative toward their candidate, than do the attacking candidates’ co-partisans.

Only one of the four ads used in the Iowa survey shows similar results by party. For the Barley [Wage] ad, the mean level of contempt toward Ernst perceived by Republicans is 3.32 ($sd=.84$) while for Democrats it is significantly lower at 2.92 ($sd=1.02$; $p<.01$). But for the other Braley ad [Peep], differences in perceptions are not statistically significant, but in the same direction with Republicans at 3.08 ($sd=.90$) and Democrats at 2.86 ($sd=.81$; ns.) Likewise, both Ernst ads attacking Braley show no partisan differences ([Missed Votes] Democrats $M=3.21$, $sd=.66$; Republicans $M=3.29$, $sd=.76$; ns.; [Chicks] Democrats $M=3.19$, $sd=.93$; Republicans $M=3.08$, $sd=1.01$). Our tentative conclusion from this is that in New Jersey, where the race was not intense, partisans could readily apply their party filter and perceive greater contempt against

their own candidate than against the other side. But in the intensity of the highly competitive U.S. Senate race with extensive negative advertising, perhaps partisans simply recognized (reasonably) that both sides were equally likely to be expressing contempt about the other, and this could not fool themselves into thinking their candidate was less contemptuous than the other side.

In any case, regardless of the differences (or lack therefore) in perceptions of contempt by partisans, a consistent finding for our videos is that regardless of the party of the candidate, partisans of all stripes – Republicans, Democrats, and independents – all perceived more contempt expressed than they did anger or anxiety.

Contempt towards Candidates: Ever-Felt Emotions

We turn next to the expressions of emotions towards the candidates that we refer to here as “ever-felt” emotion. These come from the standard questions as regularly asked (for some discrete emotions) on ANES studies. As noted earlier, in this study these questions were asked toward the end of our survey and after the videos were viewed. But rather than focusing on perceptions of emotions in the videos, the questions asked respondents to tell us if they had ever felt each of the six emotions towards each *candidate*. Table 2 presents the summary results by candidate. It is notable that in the competitive Iowa senate race, negative emotions in general are stronger than positive emotions toward both Ernst and Braley. For Braley, the means of all three negative emotions – Anger (2.02 on a 0-4 scale), Contempt (1.83), and Anxiety (1.76) – are higher than the means of any of the ever-felt positive emotions (Hope, 1.73; Admiration, 1.52; Enthusiasm, 1.51). While the Anxiety-Hope comparison is not statistically significant, others Anger and Contempt are both significantly higher than the positive emotions expressed toward Braley. A similar, and somewhat stronger, dynamic occurs for Ernst. Across all respondents,

negative emotions dominate the positive ones (Anger, 2.24; Contempt, 2.02; Anxiety, 2.05 versus Hope, 1.77; Admiration, 1.72; and Enthusiasm 1.61). The key point we wish to emphasize here is that while Anger appears to be the stronger negative emotion towards both of the candidates, Contempt is also clearly felt; not only do our respondents see the candidates in Iowa as expressing Contempt towards each other in their ads, but the respondents themselves say the candidates have made them somewhat contemptuous toward them. Interestingly, in our sample, there is more Anger and Contempt toward Ernst than Braley, even though in the end Ernst won the election.

The New Jersey race is different – here respondents were less likely to express strong negative emotions toward either candidate. In the case of Booker it is probably because he was quite popular statewide; in the case of Bell it may simply be that a larger percentage of voters actually knew little or nothing about him. For Booker, positive emotions (Hope, 2.23, Admiration, 2.16, and Enthusiasm, 2.05) are all significantly higher than any negative ever-felt emotions: Anger (1.54), Contempt (1.44) and Anxiety (1.48). Respondents evidenced much weaker emotional responses to Bell overall, with positive emotions ranging from 1.39 to 1.50 and negative from 1.42 to 1.50. There are no significant differences across any of the ever-felt emotions towards Bell.

These data suggest that, among negative emotions, contempt toward a candidate is FELT less intensely than anger and typically less intensely than anxiety (though the differences between emotions are fairly small). Even so, Contempt toward candidates was reported nearly as much as Anger toward and Anxiety about them, supporting our basic argument that a focus on Contempt in campaigns would be valuable, especially highly competitive campaigns.

Ever-Felt Emotions by Party

Table 3 displays the expression of emotions toward the candidates by partisan strength. Given our overall sample sizes, these results are tentative at best, since many of the cells have relatively few cases. But nonetheless we think they can be instructive in an exploratory analysis such as this. Most ever-felt emotions follow a predictable pattern toward own party and opposing party candidates. Positive emotions toward a candidate increase (and negative emotions decrease) as we move from respondents who are strongly identified with the opposing party to respondents who are strongly identified with the candidate's party.

But this progression is not linear. Strongly identified respondents (in comparison to those whose party affiliation is "not very strong", labeled as "weak" partisans) generally report feeling much more intense positive emotions toward candidates from their own party, and much more intense negative emotions toward candidates from the opposing party. This difference was most striking in Iowa, where strong Republicans were nearly twice as enthusiastic about Joni Ernst than weak Republicans, and strong Democrats were considerably more contemptuous of and angry toward Joni Ernst than weak Democrats.

Another departure from linearity is that strong Democrats appear just as contemptuous toward and somewhat more anxious about Cory Booker than weak Democrats (in NJ), and more angry at and anxious about Bruce Braley than weak Democrats in Iowa. This greater negativity of strongly identified partisans to own party candidates was not seen among Republicans.

In New Jersey, the difference between strong vs. weak partisans in negative emotions was largest for anger, intermediate for contempt, and smallest for anxiety. In Iowa, the difference was largest for contempt, intermediate for anger, and smallest for anxiety. Though these differences were small, they may provide a further indication that contempt becomes more prominent especially among strong partisans in contentious races.

Effects of Contempt

We believe we have established the presence of Contempt both in terms of perceptions of how candidates talk about the other side in speeches and negative ads, and in the overall emotions voters feel towards candidates in the midst of the campaign.

Effects of Viewing Videos

Immediately after viewing each video, respondents were asked to whether the video had made them feel more favorable, less favorable, or had no effect on how they felt about the candidates~~give a favorability rating to the candidates. An initial favorability rating taken before the videos allows us to look at the effects of perceived emotions within the videos on change in favorability ratings across all respondents.~~ Table 4 displays the results of a model predicting favorability change from perceived emotions, controlling for partisanship, gender, and (in New Jersey only) the race of the respondent. Table 5 displays the same model for Iowa (without race of respondent.)⁵

[Insert Tables 4 and 5 about Here]

Turning first to New Jersey (Table 4), we first note that the party control variables work as expected, with Democrats feeling more favorable toward Booker and Republicans more favorable toward Bell after viewing each video. Likewise in general, women become more favorable toward Booker and less toward Bell in all cases. This fits the profile of voters in New Jersey, where woman are much more likely than men to support Democratic candidates. The four models represent change in favorability for each candidate after viewing the two videos, modeled independently.

⁵ Given how few non-white respondents there are in the Iowa sample, adding this indicator creates quasi-complete separation in the data.

Columns 1 and 2 display results from viewing the Booker video (in which he attacks Bell). To the extent that respondents perceive the positive emotions of Hope and Admiration expressed by Booker toward Bell, they become more favorable toward Booker. But when respondents perceive Booker expressing contempt toward Bell there appears to be what we might call a backlash effect, as favorability toward Booker – the messenger – actually declines. Favorability toward Bell is not exactly the flip side, however. The operative positive emotions are Hope (which works in the direction expected) and Enthusiasm, which does not. Respondents who perceived greater Enthusiasm toward Bell in the Booker video, reported a decline in their rating of Bell. This effect is weak, however, and thus may be an anomaly. Contempt does seem to be the mirror effect – the more contempt perceived in the Booker video attacking Bell, the more positive his favorability rating becomes. Contempt toward Bell as perceived in the Booker video clearly plays a backlash role reducing Booker’s rating while increasing Bell’s.

When we turn to the Bell video, in which he attacks Booker, we see less going on – in fact, emotions perceived in the video have no influence on changing Booker’s rating post-viewing (Column 3). Bell, however, suffers a clear backlash as well: respondents who perceive Bell as Angry towards or Contemptuous of Booker reduce their favorability rating of Bell (Column 4). But, to the extent that Bell generates anxiety about Booker, he improves his rating significantly. This result suggests a clear difference in the effects of Contempt compared to Anxiety. Overall, the picture as a whole for New Jersey is that expressing perceived Contempt toward the other candidate is risky at best, generating a potential backlash in favorability ratings. We should note, as we turn to Iowa, that given the low-key nature of the campaign in New Jersey, this may have been the only exposure many of our respondents had even had to Booker or Bell, at least in terms of campaign videos at the time of our study.

The story in Iowa appears to be very different (Table 5). Here we have two videos for each candidate, and thus we examine the change for each candidate after each video is viewed. Taken as a whole, all eight models show few independent effects for Ad-Emotion, as perceived by respondents. There are a smattering of effects for positive emotions; directions of the effects are inconsistent, with perceived positive emotions toward the opponent sometimes helping the campaign who sponsored the ad, while other times helping the opponent. More importantly, for our purposes, there are virtually no effects for negative emotions. There is a hint of a backlash against Ernst in her MISSING ad, where those who perceive greater anger toward Braley in the ad reduce their favorability rating for Ernst. Likewise there is a similar backlash on Anger for Braley when respondents perceive his PEEP ad as expressing Anger towards Ernst. But we see no effects for Contempt in any of the models. There seem to be two logical possibilities. The first is that unlike New Jersey, where Contempt plays a significant backlash role, respondents in Iowa were no doubt far more familiar with the candidates given the intensity of the campaign (and the ultimate voter turnout level) and in fact since we used real campaign ads may well have already seen each ad many times. The New Jersey videos were probably new, and thus we were getting an initial reaction. A second possibility is that Contempt is just not all that important a predictor of favorability in an intensive campaign where each side's contempt for the other may be offsetting. Our data do not really allow us to get at these possibilities.

Vote Intentions

However, we do have our broad ever-felt measures of emotions, which rather than focused on the ads, are focused on the candidates. We also have a vote intention measure. To examine the effects of ever-felt emotions on vote intention, we developed multinomial logistic regression models predicting the vote as a choice between the Republican, the Democrat and

voting for neither (which combined not vote, don't know, and someone else), as measured after respondents had viewed and answered questions about the videos. The "vote for neither" option is the baseline in our models. We estimate the vote using all 12 of our ever-felt emotions measures (6 for each candidate), as well as party identification, gender, and (in New Jersey only) an indicator for white respondents.

New Jersey Model

The model for New Jersey is presented in Table 6. A total of 414 cases with no missing data are included in the analyses. The model predicts the probability of a vote for Bell versus the baseline and a vote for Booker versus the baseline, with a Nagelkerke pseudo r-square = .562). There are two measures of contempt (as well as the other six emotions); feelings of contempt toward Bell and toward Booker. Each measure is entered for both the Bell and Booker equations, so there could be up to four effects for each emotion. In general we would expect negative emotions ever felt toward a candidate would lower the probability of voting for that candidate and increase the probability of voting for the other candidate. Likewise, ever-felt positive emotions should increase the odds of voting for that candidate and decrease the odds of voting for the other side.

Before we turn to the ever-felt emotions measures, we can look at the control variables to ensure the models at least seem reasonable. As we expect, being Republican increases the likelihood of a vote for Bell over the baseline of voting for neither ($b=2.19$, $se=.54$) while being Democrat increases the odds of voting for Booker, again versus the baseline ($b=.95$, $se=.39$), both exactly what we would expect. Women in our sample, however, are more likely than men to register the baseline of not voting for either: $b_{\text{Bell}}=-.95$, $se=.47$; $b_{\text{Booker}}=-.88$, $se=.37$. But white

respondents in our sample are no more or less likely to vote for either candidate over the baseline, controlling for emotional responses.⁶

[Insert Table 6 about Here]

Turning first to the ever-felt emotions in the predicted vote for Bell we find that the positive emotions of Hope and Admiration toward Bell predict a vote for the Republican, but Enthusiasm has no effect. On the other hand, feeling the same positive emotions about Booker has no direct effect on the probability of a vote for Bell over the baseline. Negative emotions matter only in a limited way in predicting a voter for Bell; Contempt toward Bell reduces the chances for voting for him (but as we should note, without increasing the chances of voting for Booker.) But Anger toward Booker increases the chances of voting for Bell, although only at the $p < .1$ level. No other negative emotion discriminates a vote for Bell over the baseline.

Turning to Booker, as with Bell, Admiration and Hope ever-felt toward the Democrat increase the likelihood of a vote for him over the baseline. Again, Enthusiasm has no effects. Rather than the effect for Contempt that reduces the vote for Bell, for Booker the primary negative emotion is Anger, which when felt toward Booker strongly reduces the likelihood of voting for him (while slightly increasing the odds of a Bell vote). Contempt toward Booker plays no role, and Anxiety is marginally effective ($p < .1$) but the sign is in the wrong direction, suggesting more anxiety toward Booker increases the odds of voting for him over the baseline (or Bell).⁷

⁶ It is well established that non-white voters – especially Black and Hispanic – are significantly more likely to vote for Democrats, something also visible in the actual NJ Senate vote. We speculate that that effect is subsumed into both the partisan measure and the emotional responses to the candidates in our models.

⁷ It is interesting to speculate on whether Booker, as an African-American candidate might have generated anger related to his race. We have no way to assess that here, but it is telling that anger is the negative emotion that appears both strongly against Booker and also weakly

Interpreting the substance of significant coefficients in a multinomial regression is challenging. The model tests two possible outcomes against a baseline, and ever-felt emotions can influence a vote in the direction of one or the other candidate or in the direction of neither (the baseline here.) Accordingly, Figures 1 and 2 display the predicted probabilities of a vote for Bell or Booker (versus the baseline) at varying levels of contempt for either candidate since contempt is the focus of this paper.⁸ The solid lines represent the probability estimate for the effects of Contempt holding all other predictors at their means and varying Contempt from its lowest to highest level. Dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals of the estimates. The figures reinforce the findings of the models; for three out of the four cases the change in effects cannot be distinguished at any level of contempt. However, Contempt ever-felt for Bell, as Contempt increases, the probability of the vote for Bell is significantly reduced (Figure 1, Top Panel), from just under 30% likelihood at the lowest level of Contempt, to just 10% at the highest levels. But as the bottom panel shows, the probability of a vote for Booker does not show a concurrent increase, rising from 51% to 61% as contempt for Bell increases, a change that cannot be distinguished from zero. Indeed, while contempt decreases support for Bell, not all of those voters go to Booker; some simply opt out of voting for either candidate, suggesting at least some possible demobilizing effect when candidates attack one another.

Turning to Contempt toward Booker (Figure 2), as the model indicates, relatively little change is seen in the likelihood of voting for Booker as Contempt toward him grows. At the lowest levels of Contempt, the predicted probability of a vote for Booker is 52%; at the highest levels it declines to 42% - a non-significant difference, given the width of the confidence

increases a vote for Bell, an underfunded and all-but-certain to lose candidate. Banks (2014) has shown evidence that anger is an emotional driver of racial resentment.

⁸ Predicted probabilities for the other emotions are available from the authors on request.

interval. Bell's support goes up a non-significant 10 points, from 26% to 36%, suggesting perhaps a direct connection between the two, although this connection is not strong.

Summarizing the models, on average, the marginal effect of ever-felt Contempt toward Bell, on voting for the Republican is -0.07 (SE=.03), while the effect on the vote for Booker is +0.04 (.03). The average marginal effect of ever-felt Contempt toward Booker, on voting for the Democrat, is -0.02 (.03), while the effect on the vote for Bell is +0.02 (.02).

Iowa Model

As we have noted, the U.S. Senate race in Iowa was much more competitive and intense than the race in New Jersey. The results suggest that there was also a great deal more Contempt expressed toward the candidates and that Contempt played a more significant and consistent role in vote intentions. The model for Iowa is presented in Table 6. A total of 353 cases with no missing data are included in the analyses. The model predicts the probability of a vote for Ernst versus the baseline and a vote for Braley versus the baseline, with a Nagelkerke pseudo r-square = .748, significantly better than the model for New Jersey, and driven, we suspect by the more intensive nature of the race. As with the New Jersey model, we include two measures of contempt (as well as the other six emotions); feelings of contempt toward Ernst and toward Braley, with each entered for both equations.

Before we turn to the emotions measures, as with New Jersey we find that partisanship plays a significant role in the vote, with Republican respondents much more likely to vote for Ernst over the baseline (b=2.60, se=.81) (as well as over Braley) with the opposite being true for Democrats (vote for Braley, b=1.77, se=.51). Obviously we expect this result. Gender is our other control variable, and in this particular race does not appear to condition results.

[Insert Table 7 about Here]

Looking first at the predicted vote for Republican Ernst, we see that as in New Jersey ever-felt Admiration is a key positive emotion. As Admiration toward Ernst increases, so does probability of a vote for her. Unlike New Jersey, however, Hope plays no significant role. Instead, we find ever-felt Enthusiasm toward Ernst increases the likelihood of voting for her. But no positive emotion toward Braley is significant in predicting (presumably in a negative way) a vote for Ernst. Negative emotions, however, play a key role in predicting Ernst support; with ever-felt Anxiety toward her reducing the predicted probability of a vote for her. But Contempt is the key negative emotion here: Contempt felt toward Ernst significantly reduces her vote probability well Contempt felt toward Braley significantly increases it. Unlike New Jersey, Contempt appears to be an important – if not the important – negative emotion influencing vote intentions.

The Braley equation does not quite parallel that for Ernst. On the side of positive emotions, ever-felt Enthusiasm toward Braley predicts an increased likelihood of supporting the Democrat versus the baseline (although enthusiasm toward Ernst does not significantly change the odds of a Braley vote over the baseline.) But rather than Admiration, which directly influences a vote for Ernst, Hope is the other positive emotion predicting Democratic vote intentions, as Hope felt toward Braley improves his vote likelihood. But as with the Ernst model, positive emotions felt toward the opposite candidate do not directly influence voting for the Democrat over the baseline. Turning to negative emotions, for the Braley vs. baseline model, Anger toward Braley reduces the likelihood of a Democratic vote, without increasing Ernst's vote. Anger would appear to work against the Democrat in Iowa as it did in New Jersey, although there is no increase in support for Ernst based on Anger felt toward Braley.

But even so, as with Ernst, it is ever-felt Contempt toward both candidates that plays the most significant negative emotion role in the model. Increasing Contempt toward Braley drives respondents away from voting for him, while increasing Contempt toward Ernst increases the likelihood of a Braley vote intention. Compared to New Jersey, where we see only one significant effect for Contempt across both candidates, in the intense, highly negative, campaign for Senate in Iowa, all four Contempt coefficients are strongly significant and in the expected directions.

Figures 3 and 4 display the predicted probabilities of a vote for Ernst or Braley (versus the baseline) at varying levels of contempt for each candidate.⁹ The solid lines represent the probability estimate for the effects of Contempt holding all other predictors at their means and varying Contempt from its lowest to highest level. Dotted lines represent the 95% confidence intervals of the estimates. The difference between New Jersey (Figures 1 and 2) could not be more distinct. Increasing Contempt toward Ernst (Figure 3) drives down the probability of a vote for her, all else equal, from 41% to 21%, cutting the odds in half as it increases from the lowest to highest levels. Likewise, that same feeling of Contempt toward the Republican candidate increases Braley's vote probability from 37% to 53%, a 16-point increase, very close to the negative effects on Ernst's vote. Contempt in this case appears to be not so much demobilizing as mostly directing support away from the candidate about whom contempt is expressed.

The predicted probabilities look very similar for ever-felt Contempt toward Braley. Voters expressing low levels of Contempt toward the Democrat are 43% likely to vote for him, all else equal, while 34% likely to vote for Ernst. But at the highest levels of Braley Contempt,

⁹ Predicted probabilities for the other emotions are available from the authors on request.

The probability of an Ernst vote rises to 54%, up 20 points, while the Braley probability drops to 14%, down 29 points.

Summarizing the Iowa models, on average, the marginal effect of ever-felt Contempt toward Ernst, on voting for her is -0.08 (SE=.02), while the effect on the vote for Braley is +0.05 (.02). The average marginal effect of ever-felt Contempt toward Braley, on voting for the Democrat, is -0.09 (.03), while the effect on the vote for Ernst is +0.04 (.01). All of these effects are statistically significant and substantively important.

Discussion

The negative emotion of contempt is understudied in political science, as the focus has been almost entirely on anxiety and anger as negative emotions most relevant to politics. While those emotions are no doubt important, campaigns – especially through attacks on opponents – may well generate feelings of contempt, at least when the campaign is intense and negativity is high. It would seem to be necessary to understand what happens when feeling of contempt are generated. Is it demobilizing? Is it advantageous to one candidate to work to generate feelings of contempt for another? Our data – limited as it is to two cases and somewhat limited respondent panels – suggests that Contempt may play a role that is often different from other negative emotions, influencing both favorability ratings through a backlash when candidates are seen to generate it (in a low-salience campaign at least) affecting voting intentions when general feelings of Contempt toward a candidate are present (at least in a high-salience campaign).

We examine Contempt (and other emotions) from two perspectives: emotions voters perceive candidates raising in their attacks on each other, and the more general emotions that voters have towards the candidates themselves. In doing so we find different effects; but effects

that could well be linked. It is possible, for example, that when voters see candidates attack each other in what they feel is a contemptuous way, they are turned off by the attacker, and positive feelings toward that attacker decline (the backlash effect.) However, it may also be that sensing that a candidate is contemptuous toward an opponent may seep into the voter's own sense of that attacked candidate. If so, even with a backlash in favorability, when it comes time to vote, Contempt "ever-felt" toward the candidate seems to turn the voter away from that candidate as we would expect a negative emotion to do. Perhaps, then, candidate can risk some favorability backlash in being contemptuous to the opponent as long as they also in the end make voters feel more contempt themselves. We do not really have the data to test this idea, but it seems a logical conclusion from the data we do possess. Further research is needed to determine whether Contempt in particular, and the other emotions we test are merely correlated with voting behavior, or actually have a causal impact on voting (see Lau & Redlawsk, 2014, and Mattes & Redlawsk, 2015, for examples of experimental methods that can shed light on causality).

Also still to be determined is whether the ads are successful: Do respondents who perceive contempt in the ads then actually feel increased contempt toward the target candidates? This is likely to vary depending on the party affiliation of the respondent, along with other individual difference variables. However, we may note that there appears to be a recent increase in negative partisan affect, which Sood, Iyengar, and Dropp (2015) have found to be correlated with the number of campaign ads broadcast within particular campaign time windows (their proxy measure for actual ad exposure).

Regardless of the answers to these and other questions, our claim here is ultimately simply that Contempt deserves something more than contempt from political scientists. A serious

effort to examine its influences on politics seems overdue, even as a great deal of research has moved forward on other emotions.

Table 1: Mean Levels of Perceived Emotions in Videos

Perceived Emotions toward Other Candidate						
Video	ANGER	CONTEMPT	ANXIETY	ENTHUSIASM	HOPE	ADMIRATION
Booker	2.69 (.97)	2.90 (.97)	2.63 (1.06)	1.57 (.97)	1.33 (.69)	1.32 (.71)
Bell	1.98 (.93)	2.47 (.93)	2.21 (.98)	1.48 (.74)	1.40 (.70)	1.54 (.74)
Braley Ad Wage	2.68 (.99)	3.07 (.95)	2.66 (1.08)	1.16 (.44)	1.21 (.54)	1.14 (.45)
Braley Ad Peep	2.45 (.98)	3.01 (.84)	2.56 (.94)	1.18 (.53)	1.18 (.50)	1.12 (.45)
Ernst Ad Missed Vote	2.78 (.93)	3.29 (.83)	2.65 (.99)	1.16 (.54)	1.18 (.51)	1.11 (.46)
Ernst Ad Chicks	2.73 (.97)	3.12 (.95)	2.50 (1.00)	1.23 (.56)	1.13 (.39)	1.10 (.36)

Notes: Entries are Means, Standard Deviation in parentheses.

Question: How much [EMOTION] was expressed toward [OPPOSING CANDIDATE] in this video? [4] a large amount, [3] a moderate amount, [2] a small amount, and [1] none at all.

Table 2: Mean Levels of Ever-felt Emotions towards Candidates

Ever-felt Emotions						
Candidate	ANGER	CONTEMPT	ANXIOUS	ENTHUSIASM	HOPE	ADMIRING
Booker	1.54 (1.08)	1.44 (1.01)	1.48 (1.06)	2.05 (1.38)	2.23 (1.42)	2.16 (1.38)
Bell	1.47 (1.02)	1.42 (1.02)	1.50 (1.10)	1.41 (1.00)	1.50 (1.07)	1.39 (.98)
Braley	2.02 (1.35)	1.83 (1.34)	1.76 (1.26)	1.51 (1.05)	1.73 (1.20)	1.52 (1.07)
Ernst	2.24 (1.50)	2.02 (1.46)	2.05 (1.46)	1.61 (1.18)	1.77 (1.26)	1.72 (1.22)

Notes: Entries are Means, Standard Deviation in parentheses.

Questions: Has [CANDIDATE], because of the kind of person s/he is or because of something s/he has done, ever made you feel [ANGRY/CONTEMPTUOUS/ANXIOUS/ENTHUSIASTIC/HOPEFUL/ADMIRING] (yes/no)? (If yes:) How [ANGRY/CONTEMPTUOUS/ANXIOUS/ENTHUSIASTIC/HOPEFUL/ADMIRING] would you say [candidate] makes you feel? 0=not at all (or never made me feel); 1 = not too [ANGRY/...] 2=somewhat [ANGRY/...], 3=very [ANGRY/...], 4=extremely [ANGRY/...]

Table 3: Mean Levels of Ever-felt Emotions towards Candidates by Respondent Party

Ever-felt Emotions						
Candidate	ANGER	CONTEMPT	ANXIETY	ENTHUSIASM	HOPE	ADMIRATION
CB StrDem	1.15 (.60)	1.26 (.85)	1.31 (.94)	3.09 (1.46)	3.35 (1.37)	3.26 (1.38)
CB WkDem	1.27 (.82)	1.24 (.72)	1.29 (.79)	2.32 (1.41)	2.53 (1.38)	2.31 (1.36)
CB Ind	1.55 (1.05)	1.41 (.94)	1.39 (.94)	1.89 (1.28)	2.06 (1.31)	1.96 (1.26)
CB WkRep	1.75 (1.28)	1.56 (1.18)	1.71 (1.20)	1.71 (1.24)	1.80 (1.23)	1.86 (1.23)
CB StrRep	2.51 (1.53)	2.22 (1.50)	2.35 (1.59)	1.18 (.74)	1.37 (1.00)	1.43 (1.10)
JB StrDem	2.10 (1.44)	1.97 (1.43)	1.91 (1.42)	1.23 (.82)	1.16 (.71)	1.15 (.71)
JB WkDem	1.40 (.96)	1.39 (.90)	1.64 (1.18)	1.24 (.76)	1.20 (.70)	1.19 (.73)
JB Ind	1.45 (.99)	1.29 (.85)	1.47 (1.05)	1.23 (.81)	1.39 (.94)	1.34 (.86)
JB WkRep	1.09 (.36)	1.32 (.93)	1.27 (.89)	1.50 (.98)	1.82 (1.11)	1.36 (.86)
JB StrRep	1.08 (.34)	1.18 (.74)	1.06 (.42)	2.57 (1.50)	2.88 (1.53)	2.57 (1.51)
BB StrDem	1.38 (.93)	1.25 (.83)	1.29 (.79)	2.46 (1.52)	3.07 (1.41)	2.61 (1.51)
BB WkDem	1.17 (.52)	1.24 (.71)	1.21 (.66)	1.53 (1.02)	1.88 (1.21)	1.49 (1.02)
BB Ind	2.11 (1.31)	1.81 (1.29)	1.79 (1.22)	1.44 (.91)	1.54 (1.01)	1.34 (.86)
BB WkRep	2.28 (1.29)	1.96 (1.37)	1.91 (1.30)	1.09 (.41)	1.28 (.75)	1.15 (.51)
BB StrRep	3.29 (1.47)	3.10 (1.61)	2.94 (1.61)	1.04 (.27)	1.09 (.49)	1.04 (.27)
JE StrDem	3.48 (1.45)	3.25 (1.68)	3.23 (1.56)	1.07 (.43)	1.06 (.49)	1.09 (.54)
JE WkDem	2.28 (1.46)	2.04 (1.38)	2.19 (1.53)	1.13 (.49)	1.09 (.41)	1.11 (.43)
JE Ind	2.23 (1.46)	1.95 (1.39)	1.89 (1.35)	1.49 (1.00)	1.65 (1.12)	1.62 (1.07)
JE WkRep	1.62 (1.09)	1.35 (.90)	1.61 (1.00)	1.65 (1.10)	2.22 (1.23)	2.11 (1.29)
JE StrRep	1.23 (.78)	1.27 (.87)	1.42 (1.08)	3.21 (1.53)	3.50 (1.32)	3.17 (1.52)

Notes: Entries are Means, Standard Deviation in parentheses.

Questions were: Has [CANDIDATE], because of the kind of person s/he is or because of something s/he has done, ever made you feel [ANGRY/CONTEMPTUOUS/ANXIOUS/ENTHUSIASTIC/HOPEFUL/ADMIRING] (yes/no)? (If yes:) How [ANGRY/CONTEMPTUOUS/ANXIOUS/ENTHUSIASTIC/HOPEFUL/ADMIRING] would you say [candidate] makes you feel? 0=not at all (or never made me feel); 1 = not too [ANGRY/...] 2=somewhat [ANGRY/...], 3=very[ANGRY/...], 4=extremely [ANGRY/...]

CB=Cory Booker. JB=Jeff Bell.

BB=Bruce Braley. JE=Joni Ernst. StrDem=Strong Democrats. WkDem="Not very strong" Democrats.

Table 4: Effects of Viewing Videos on Changes in Candidate Favorability – New Jersey

	Booker Change after Booker Video		Bell Change after Booker Video		Booker Change after Bell Video		Bell Change after Bell Video	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	1.847***	.182	1.690***	.156	1.309***	.150	2.284***	.178
Perceptions of Emotions toward Opponent								
Enthusiasm	.110***	.040	-.062*	.037	.028	.047	.042	.056
Hope	-.106	.067	.151**	.063	.067	.049	.013	.059
Admiration	.119*	.068	.063	.062	.024	.045	-.054	.054
Anger	-.002	.041	-.029	.038	-.010	.037	-.126***	.043
Contempt	-.080**	.040	.084**	.037	.016	.035	-.082**	.041
Anxiety	.007	.033	-.014	.031	.016	.031	.072**	.036
White Respondent	-.039	.084	-.073	.073	.160**	.070	.069	.084
Democrat	.175**	.070	-.162***	.062	.146**	.061	-.059	.072
Republican	-.337***	.082	.299***	.072	-.277***	.071	.458***	.085
Gender: Female	.135**	.062	-.117*	.055	.173***	.053	-.090	.064
Adj r ²	.147		.116		.102		.135	
N=	403		405		425		429	

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 5: Effects of Viewing Videos on Changes in Candidate Favorability – Iowa

	Braley Change after Braley MINIMUM		Ernst Change after Braley MINIMUM		Braley Change after Ernst MISSING		Ernst Change after Ernst MISSING	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	2.455***	.285	1.312***	.268	1.666***	.274	2.064***	.263
Perceptions of Emotions toward Opponent								
Enthusiasm	-.091	.114	.244**	.109	.090	.128	.112	.129
Hope	.236**	.109	.118	.103	-.102	.125	-.043	.126
Admiration	-.322**	.141	-.103	.133	.166	.171	-.142	.171
Anger	-.048	.051	.055	.048	.005	.051	-.099*	.052
Contempt	-.035	.053	-.029	.050	.042	.059	.034	.060
Anxiety	-.038	.050	.024	.047	-.068	.046	.073	.046
Democrat	.245**	.099	-.234**	.093	.164*	.095	-.139	.096
Republican	-.256**	.105	.319***	.099	-.213**	.105	.265**	.106
Gender: Female	-.001	.086	.058	.081	-.053	.083	-.022	.083
Adj r ²	.127		.136		.051		.063	
N=	179		178		170		171	

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 5 Continued: Effects of Viewing Videos on Changes in Candidate Favorability – Iowa

	Braley Change after Braley PEEP		Ernst Change after Braley PEEP		Braley Change after Ernst CHICKS		Ernst Change after Ernst CHICKS	
	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
Constant	2.314***	.246	1.859***	.222	1.902***	.251	1.715***	.239
Perceptions of Emotions toward Opponent								
Enthusiasm	.021	.098	-.135	.092	.033	.077	-.044	.073
Hope	-.223*	.117	.248**	.107	.036	.139	-.093	.123
Admiration	-.024	.127	-.158	.118	.062	.140	.190	.127
Anger	-.146**	.049	.114**	.045	-.059	.050	.010	.046
Contempt	.026	.058	-.051	.053	-.023	.051	-.027	.048
Anxiety	.071	.046	.020	.043	.001	.047	.027	.044
Democrat	.084	.096	-.099	.090	.272***	.096	-.293***	.091
Republican	-.167*	.095	.017	.088	-.243***	.092	.345***	.087
Gender: Female	.023	.078	-.099	.073	-.045	.079	.079	.075
Adj r ²	.105		.063		.098		.153	
N=	176		177		186		188	

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$

Table 6: Effects of Ever Felt Emotions on 2014 New Jersey Senate Race

	Vote for Bell (Republican)		Vote for Booker (Democrat)	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Jeff Bell Emotions				
Enthusiasm	-.13	.43	-.15	.48
Hope	1.14***	.37	.05	.44
Admiration	.78**	.39	-.66	.51
Contempt	-1.16**	.57	.15	.30
Anger	.73	.52	-.06	.28
Anxiety	.09	.56	.54*	.32
Cory Booker Emotions				
Enthusiasm	-.52	.40	.18	.21
Hope	.45	.32	.63***	.20
Admiration	-.18	.30	.59***	.19
Contempt	.27	.29	-.20	.37
Anger	.45*	.26	-1.37***	.43
Anxiety	.15	.27	.33	.33
Republican	2.19***	.54	-.11	.56
Democrat	-.09	.59	.95**	.39
Female	-.95**	.47	-.88**	.37
White	.26	.75	.09	.49
Constant	-2.27**	.95	-.61	.75

Baseline: Vote for neither Bell nor Booker; N=414; Nagelkerke r-square = .562

* p<0.01 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Table 7: Effects of Ever Felt Emotions on 2014 Iowa Senate Race

	Vote for Ernst (Republican)		Vote for Braley (Democrat)	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
Joni Ernst Emotions				
Enthusiasm	5.97*	-3.44	-.53	.81
Hope	.49	.47	-1.09	.89
Admiration	1.19**	.52	.36	.61
Contempt	-3.09***	.88	.53*	.25
Anger	.29	.44	-.17	.23
Anxiety	-1.11*	.63	.12	.23
Bruce Braley Emotions				
Enthusiasm	-.44	1.45	1.28**	.54
Hope	.75	.64	.82**	.36
Admiration	-1.58	1.62	.03	.43
Contempt	1.32**	.49	-1.36**	.55
Anger	-.11**	.38	-1.03**	.41
Anxiety	-.64	.54	-.24	.39
Republican	2.60***	.81	-.20	.79
Democrat	-7.88	6.04	1.77***	.51
Female	-.34	.75	-.49	.51
Constant	-6.40***	2.37	.87	1.42

Baseline: Vote for neither Bell nor Booker; N=353; Nagelkerke R-square = .748

* p<0.01 ** p<0.05 *** p<0.01

Figure 1: Predicted Probabilities of Vote by Ever-Felt Contempt for Bell

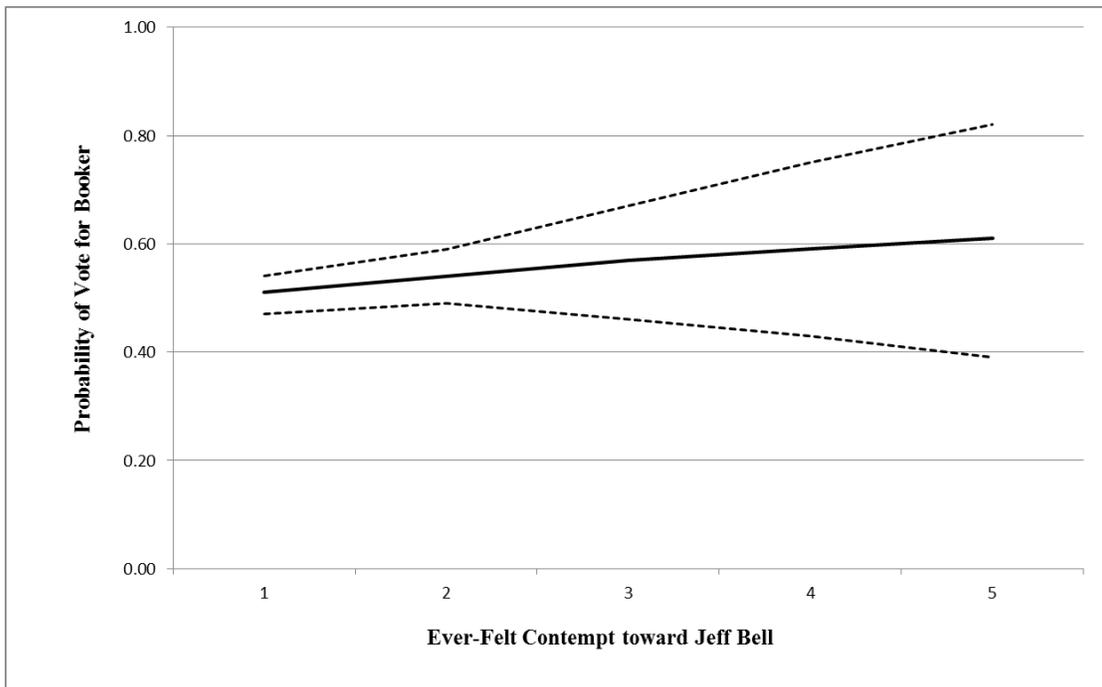
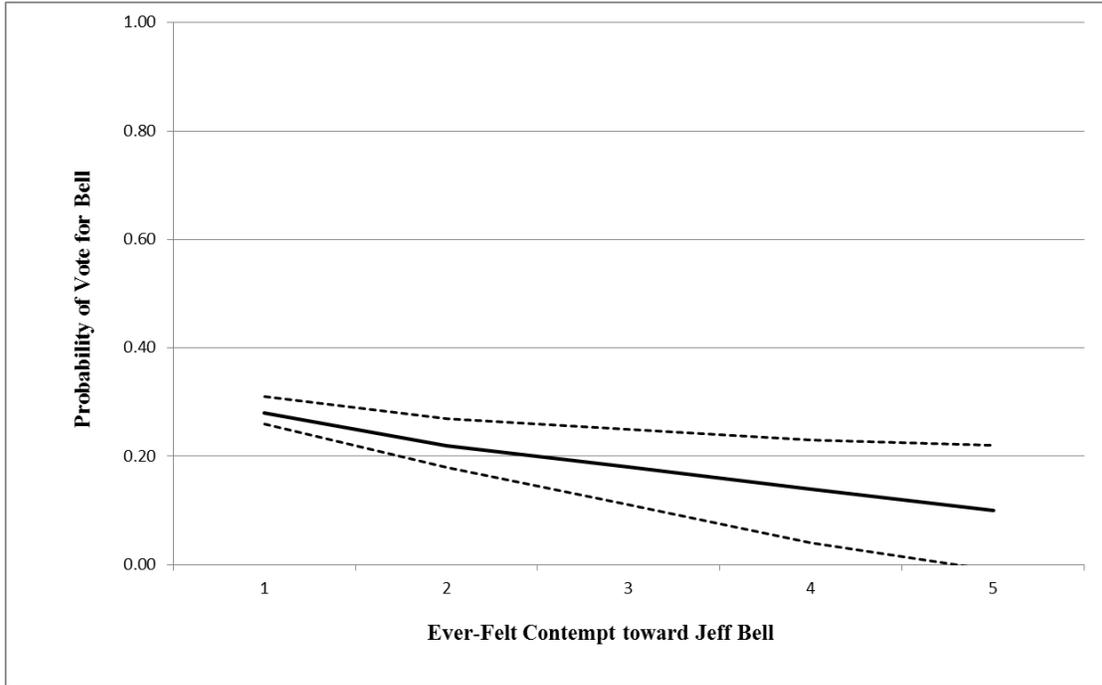


Figure 2: Predicted Probabilities of Vote by Ever-Felt Contempt for Booker

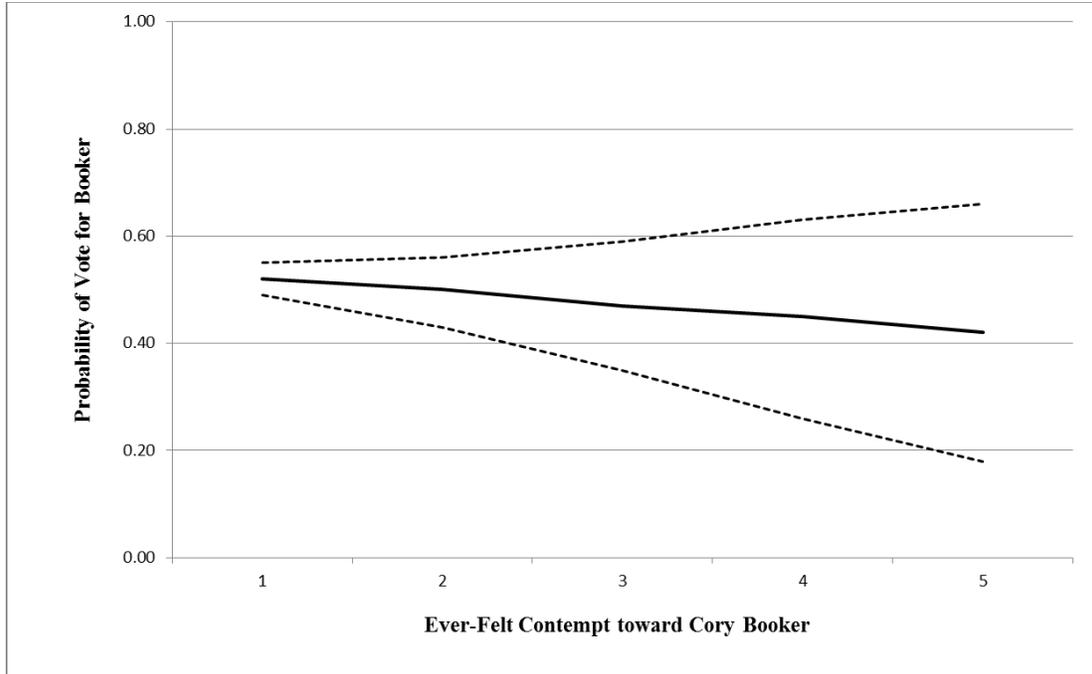
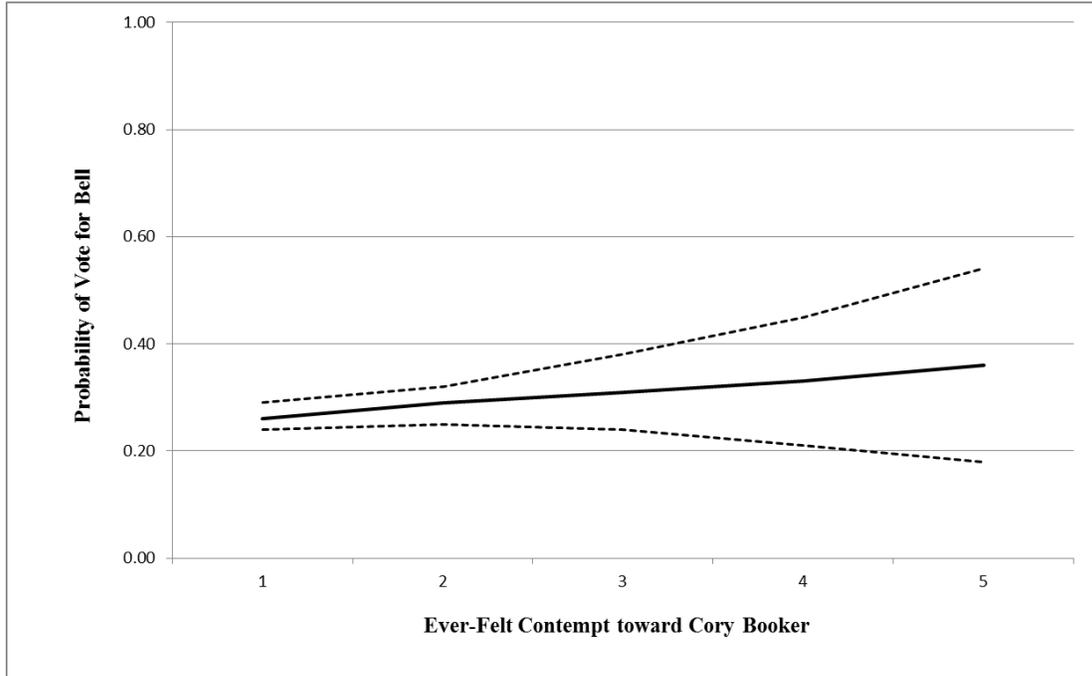


Figure 3: Predicted Probabilities of Vote by Ever-Felt Contempt for Ernst

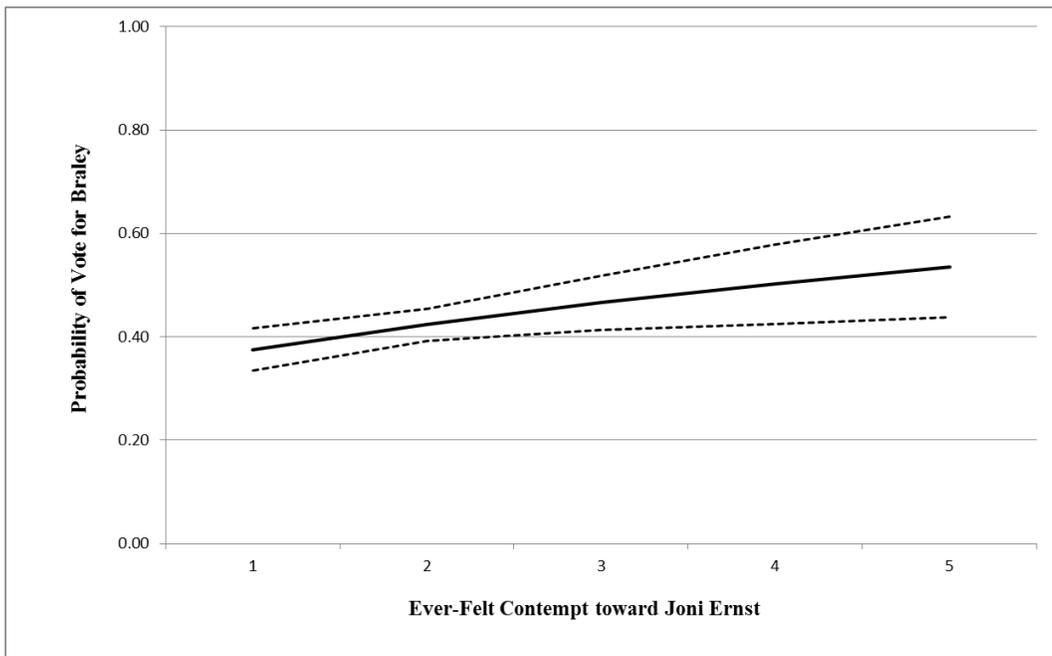
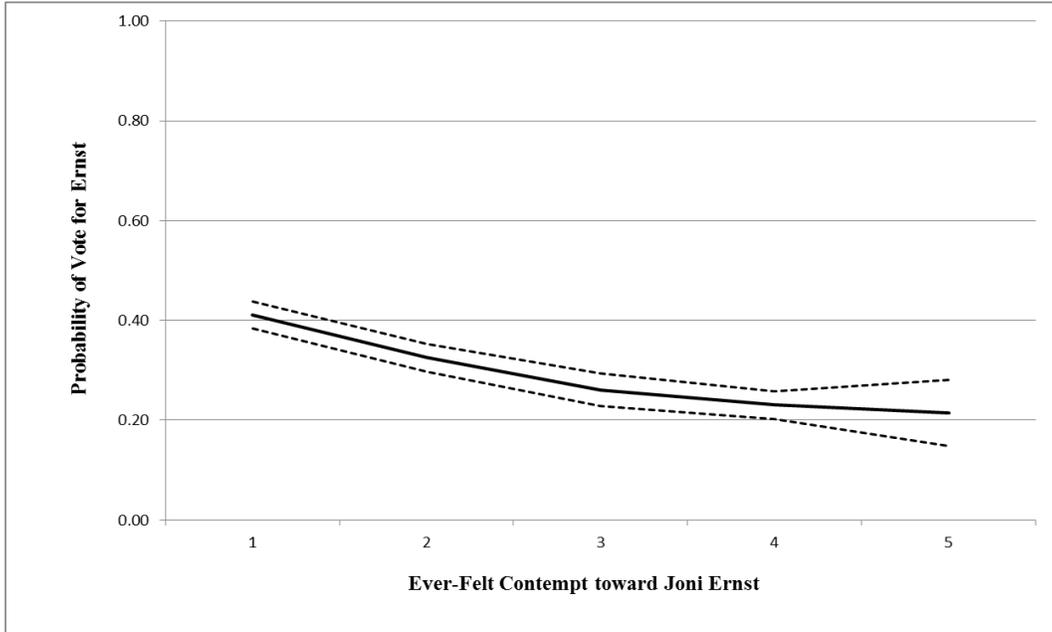
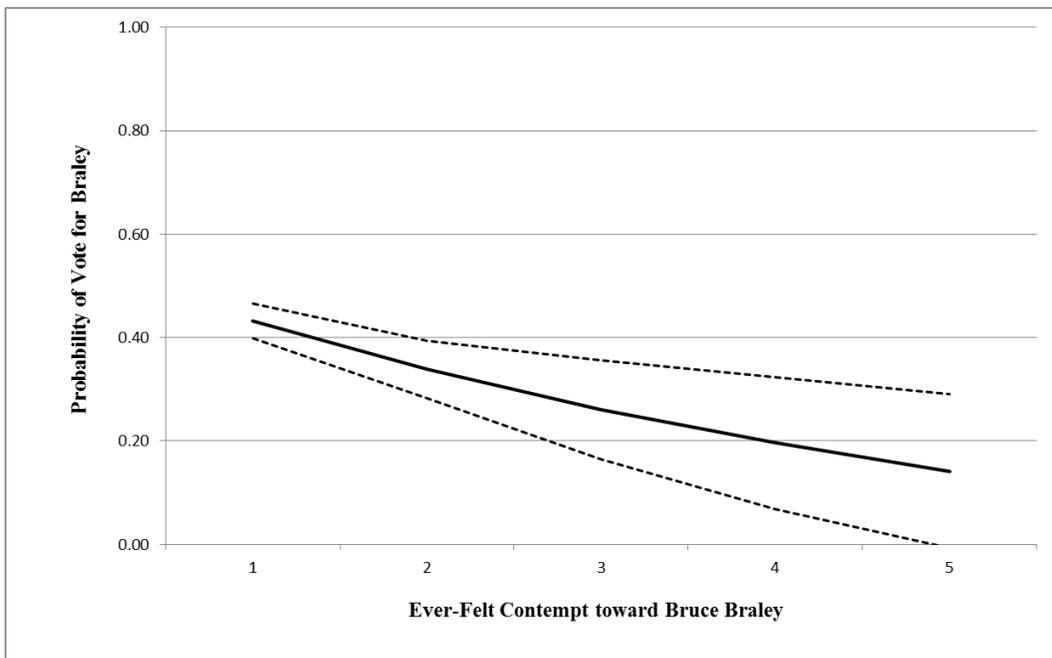
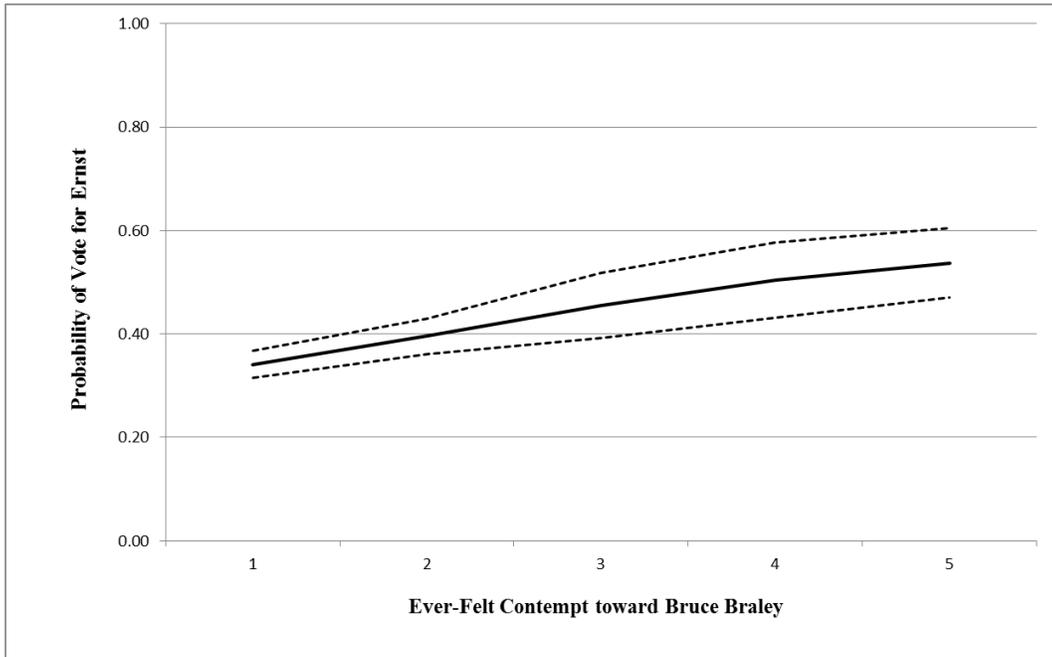


Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities of Vote by Ever-Felt Contempt for Braley



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Appendix – Ad/Video Text

New Jersey

Booker Video text attacking Bell: https://youtu.be/Ao7sR_KRiF8

(*Newscaster:*) In a surprisingly pointed attack on the underdog, Booker accused Bell of abandoning New Jersey, and being an obstacle to progress. “He is not about creating bipartisan compromise. He is not about reaching across the aisle and getting things done. He literally wrote the book—I’m not exaggerating—making the case for party—for political polarization; making the case that we should be rigid in our ideology and not compromise to get things done.”

Bell Video text attacking Booker:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E9IwCP6SYbw&feature=youtu.be>

“He’s like a kid in a candy store. The U.S. Senate is one of the most famous and respected institutions in our society or in any democratic society. And I think it’s kind of charming that he wants to kind of validate that by having a picture of himself with 99 other people who serve there. On the other hand, as charming as that is, I don’t think we’re at a time when just cosmetics and surface things are going to suffice. I think the American people want a choice—they sense that what President Obama and all of his supporters, including Mr. Booker, have been doing for five and a half years is not working.”

Iowa

Braley “minimum” ad attacking Ernst:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nEtpLZuNCvs&authuser=0>

(*Bruce Braley:*) I’m Bruce Braley and I approve this message.

"Is Joni Ernst too extreme for Iowa? On the minimum wage."

(*An audio clip of Ernst on Iowa Public Radio in June:*) "I do not support a federal minimum wage."

(*Narrator:*) "Joni Ernst doesn't think there should be a national minimum wage. And what does she think is right for Iowa?"

(*A video clip of Ernst at a GOP primary forum:*) "I think \$7.25 is appropriate for Iowa."

(*Narrator:*) "That's right. Ernst believes Iowans can survive on \$15,000 a year. Joni Ernst. Extreme ideas, wrong for Iowa."

Braley “peep” ad attacking Ernst: <https://youtu.be/b3lwSSTEvNU>

(*Bruce Braley:*) I’m Bruce Braley and I approve this message.

(*Female Voiceover:*) We’ve all heard the one about pigs squealing but when Joni Ernst had the chance to do something in Iowa, we didn’t hear a peep. In the state senate Ernst never sponsored a bill to cut pork, never wrote one measure to slash spending. In fact the Iowa Republican says

she backed measures to actually increase spending. Joni Ernst's ads are hard to forget, but her record just doesn't cut it.

Ernst "Missed Votes" ad attacking Braley:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IAajSUcqMSU>

Politician Bruce Braley loves Washington. He just doesn't like to work there. In Congress, Braley has skipped twice as many votes as any other Iowa congressman. And when he sat on the Government Oversight Committee, Braley skipped 68 percent of the hearings—even missing important hearings on Obamacare, while supporting medicare cuts for Iowa seniors. Bruce Braley isn't showing up for Iowa.

Ernst "Braley's War on Chicks" ad attacking Braley: <https://youtu.be/pLAvszudbq4>

We all know how Washington politician Bruce Braley compared his female opponent to a chick. Now he's taken his war on "chicks" too far. After a chicken crossed into his Iowa vacation property, Braley threatened to sue his neighborhood. A true Iowan would have just talked to his neighbors. But not trial lawyer Bruce Braley. (*Braley in video:*) You might have a farmer from Iowa, who never went to law school, serving as the next chair of the Senate Judiciary Committee." Why did the chicken cross into Bruce Braley's property? It might just be coming home