

# **The Emotional Politician - An Empirical Study of Effects of Expression on Vote Intention**

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Political campaign spending on marketing has been on the rise since the early 2000s. Simultaneously, campaigns are becoming increasingly focused on individual politicians rather than the parties they represent. Unfortunately, marketing research on political communication is failing to keep up, especially in terms of investigating effects of diversity among political candidates in relation to different types of non-verbal communication. This thesis addresses this gap of incompleteness in the literature by examining the impact of emotional display by politicians on attitude, identification and vote intention. A 2(male vs. female) gender x 2(majority vs. minority) ethnicity x 3(anger vs. sadness vs. happiness) emotion displayed experimental research design carried out with a nationally representative sample of the Swedish population demonstrates that both gender and ethnicity function as determinants for voters' evaluation of emotional displays. The results demonstrate that gender have a main effect on attitude and that negative emotions are superior to positive in terms of generating favorable attitudes towards and intention to vote for a politician, irrespectively of gender. It is further demonstrated that the positive effects for female politicians are amplified by an interpretive prerogative from female voters, arguably caused by in-group activation. Finally, in relation to ethnicity, it is also shown that vote intention for minority representatives are significantly lower than for majority representatives when anger is displayed; indicating that anger functions as an activating cue for xenophobic stereotypes of individuals perceived as foreign as more aggressive. This bias only holds true for male politicians.

**Keywords:** political communication, emotional display, gender, ethnicity

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# 1. Introduction

Political campaigns are becoming increasingly focused on individual candidates as media coverage shifts attention away from political parties and the agendas that they represent to individual politicians' characteristics and personalities (Karvonen 2010, McAllister 2007). Simultaneously, campaign spending on political advertising has been on the rise since the early 2000s, with the 2012 US presidential election setting the record with a total of 6.3 billion USD in cost of campaigns (Center for Responsive Politics 2013). With advertising considered a key element of political marketing strategies (Chaffee and Choe 1980, Kaid and Tedesco 1999, Kaid 2004) and its importance for electoral outcomes well-documented (e.g. Evarts and Stempel 1974, Sheinkopf et al. 1972, Soley and Reid 1982) combined with the shifted media focus, it can be argued that voting-decisions, to an increasing degree, are being formed based on voters' perceptions of individual candidates. Given this, it becomes important for campaign managers, political analysts and researchers alike to understand how individual aspects of candidates' impact voters' evaluations of politicians.

Unfortunately, the rise in spending has not been reflected in the attention given to political marketing in academic research. Political communications represent a fairly young area of research within marketing and despite the growing body of literature published in recent years it has been argued that it still represents an under-researched area by marketing scholars (e.g. Van Steenburg 2015). Explanations presented for the literature lagging highlights problems with measuring the effectiveness of political marketing as distinguished from other factors influencing voters, such as business cycles and security policy climate (Scammell 1996). This indicates a need for focused studies, preferably in the form of controlled experiments, aimed at isolating effects from specific marketing efforts.

Over the years, several calls for research have been put forth. In particular, effects of political persuasion (Kim, Rao and Lee 2009) and the use of non-verbal communication have been identified as highly relevant avenues for future research (Van Steenburg 2015). Given that traits elicited by politicians have been demonstrated to add significant explanatory power over political preference, above that from traditional measures such as party identification, ideology or issue position (Abelson et al. 1980) and research outside of a political context showing that emotional display can function as a highly trustworthy mean to communicate personality traits (Hochschild 1983) the impact of emotional display by politicians on voter's evaluation of individual candidates warrants further investigation. General consensus in the literature is that candidate trait judgment falls into three broad categories; competence, warmth and trustworthiness (Funk 1996), but there is no wide-spread agreement on the specific nature and content of these categories (ibid). Neither has it been proven which types of emotions are most effective in increasing support for a politician, as a majority of the research has either focused solely on negative emotions' effect on vote intention (e.g. Tiedens 2001) or only measured the effects of positive emotions on vote intention indirectly by documenting affect towards the politician (e.g. Lanzetta et al. 1980).

Moreover, it can be argued that a perspective of greater diversity is essential to complement and further the current marketing literature on political communications. This, especially when investigating emotional displays as Ekman and Friesen (1972) demonstrate that audiences' judgments of the same are governed by display rules, which are functions of the expresser's culture, gender and ethnic background (Ekman

and Friesen 1972, Matsumoto 1993). Arguably, accounting for diversity has become even more important in a political context over time due to increasing personalization, a recent trend that is considered to increase focus on personal aspects of politicians (Garzia 2011) as a result of shifting focus in media coverage (Van Aelst et al. 2011, Garzia 2011) parallel to attempts by individual politicians to appeal to voters by emphasizing perceived similarities (Garzia 2011).

Personalization, has been conceptualized with distinction between *individualization* and *privatization* (Van Aelst et al. 2011), with the former representing a focus on individual politicians and their ideas rather than the political party they represent, and the latter representing a portrayal of politicians as private person beyond their public role as party representatives (Van Aelst et al. 2011, Rahat and Sheafer 2007, Holtz-Bacha 2004, Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha 2000). The definition by Van Aelst et al. (2011) of privatization consists of two aspects; *personal characteristics*, which refers to focus on non-political traits; and *personal life* referring to private life and personal interests. This thesis focuses on the impact of *personal characteristics* in voters' expectations on and identification with and, through that, the attitude towards a politician when emotions are displayed. However, it could be argued that the two concepts of *personal characteristics* and *personal life* are entwined in the sense that one can signal information about the other. Thus, beyond the direct effect one aspect has on voters' evaluations of politicians it can additionally provide indirect effects via information signaled about the other aspect. E.g. information communicated about a politician's personal life, such as marital status or ethnic background could signal information about that individual's personal characteristics such as religious values, loyalty or moral and vice versa to an audience. Any such indirect effects are not further considered in this thesis. Important to note is that the literature does not suggest that personalization is rendering the professional role of politicians non-important for voters' evaluations. Rather that politicians come to hold a wider range of roles simultaneously. The intricacies of such role-interaction lie beyond the scope of this thesis. It will here simply be acknowledged that any display may simultaneously be conforming and nonconforming to various degree in relation to any of the multiple roles one politician is perceived to have.

## **1.1. Purpose**

This thesis aims to investigate effects of emotional displays by politicians with respect to three main variables; attitude, identification and vote intention. In addition, effects of gender and ethnicity will be taken into account. Moreover, emotional displays will here be limited to three types of emotions; happiness, sadness and anger. For further details please refer to section 3.1.1. *Selection of Stimuli*.

## **1.1. Expected Contributions**

With inconclusive theoretical support for any one strategy for employing emotions in political marketing (Van Steenburg 2015), the actual pay-offs for the above-mentioned spending on efforts either promoting or targeting individual candidates are difficult to determine. Thus, studies like this thesis focused on understanding how certain emotions displayed by politicians affects voters' attitudes towards, identification with and ultimately intention to vote for individual politicians has the potential to provide guidance that is of both great relevance and value. These contributions can be divided into a theoretical and a practical part.

### **1.1.1. Theoretical Contributions**

The academic contribution of this thesis is twofold. Firstly, it addresses a gap of incompleteness, following the definition by Locke and Golden-Biddle (1997), in the political communication literature on emotional appeals by contrasting multiple dimensions [valence (positive versus negative) and arousal (low versus high)] of emotional displays in the same study design. Dillard and Wilson (1993) notes that political communication research employing emotion as an independent variable has tended to focus on the effects of only one dimension, namely negative to positive valence. This focus has remained dominant to date, with the success factors for negative ads as one of the most popular topics for research within political advertising (e.g. Chou and Lien 2010, Dermody and Scullion 2005, Garramone 1984). Several researchers have also investigated effects of emotion and tone (e.g. Masterson and Biggers 1986, Meirick and Nisbett 2011, Ridout and Franz 2008) including those in fear-based ads (e.g. Biocca 1991) but without explicitly addressing emotional displays, rather focusing on covered emotional appeals. In short, the focus on (negative) ad type has come at the expense of lacking distinction between different types of negative emotions displayed. As a result, it has not been thoroughly investigated if and when different emotions of the same valence differ in their effects on voter's evaluation of political candidates (Lerner and Keltner 2000).

Secondly, this thesis illuminates a general oversight by incorporating a perspective of diversity in terms of gender and ethnicity. As of today, effects of ethnicity in relation to emotional display is to the best knowledge of the author of this thesis left largely unexplored, especially in a Swedish context. Likewise, the general body of work can be argued to fail in including gender as an independent variable. Tiedens (2001) points out that her results, as well as those of most other scholars (author's remark), may very well merely be a documentation of how men's displays of emotions result in increases in vote intention, rather than more general results applying to members of different genders. E.g. results of studies like Tiedens (2001) demonstrating that anger is superior in generating vote intention may be challenged by including female politicians in the sample; because anger is not considered typical or normative for women (Lerner 1980) and because inappropriate norm-breaking can inhibit status attainment (Warren and Campbell 2014). Thus, in order to cement previous results demonstrating that emotional display serve to increase vote intention primarily via status conferral resulting from display of negative emotions rather than attitude, aspects of the individual politician that affect behavioral norms must be considered. This is especially crucial given increasing personalization seen to activate a wider perspective for voter evaluation of the politicians; they are no longer primarily viewed as party representatives but also as private individuals fulfilling multiple roles such as those of a husband/wife, father/mother etc. (e.g. Van Aelst et al. 2011, which impacts which display rules that comes into play).

Combined, these two inclusions (comparing emotions of different arousal and valence as well as allowing for diversity in terms of gender and ethnicity) let this thesis contribute to the development of more comprehensive frameworks for the effects of emotional displays in political communication in general; and in relation to effects of personalization in particular.

### **1.1.2. Practical Contributions**

This thesis provides information about effects on attitudes, identification and vote intention of displaying different types of emotions, taking into account both emotional

valence and arousal. From this, it can be determined which type of emotions will be most beneficial for a specific candidate to display to increase support from voters. As spending is high (Center for Responsive Politics 2013) and robust theoretical support for any one tactic currently is lacking (Van Steenburg 2015) this contribution can be of great financial importance in the process of developing campaigns, either for positively promoting candidates or for negative targeting of opponents' communication efforts.

Moreover, the main study, employing an experimental design using written vignettes (as described in detail in section 3. *Methodology* below), demonstrates that emotional displays can be effectively communicated via text stimuli. As such, it gives credit to alternative designs for conducting experiments involving stimuli for emotional displays beyond facial expression, as the most frequently used approach. Alternative designs like this have potential to further solidify or challenge previous research findings generated via facial expressions stimuli.

## 1.2. Report Outline

In the introduction to this thesis, gaps in the literature were identified along with presentation of purpose and expected contributions.

The following section, 2. *Theory and Hypothesis Generation*, offers a brief account of emotional display, including definitions and relation to trait evaluation. Relevant literature on audience responses to emotional displays, both within and outside of a political context is also presented here. This theory is complemented with relevant literature on psychological principles guiding behavior in evaluation processes. Hypotheses to be tested on empirical data are generated at the end of this section.

The section that follows: 3. *Methodology* offers a thorough description of the research design and crucial choices are motivated and discussed, specifically relating to the quality of the empirical data collected. The pilot-studies conducted to determine the optimal design of the main study are also presented and the results discussed. This includes information about design of research stimuli and questionnaire for the main study.

In section 4. *Results and Analysis* findings from the main study are presented. Results from the statistical analysis performed with the empirical data are provided along with results from testing of the hypotheses introduced in the theory section.

Under section 5. *Discussion and Conclusion* more in-depth analysis of the empirical findings is provided, including the relation to and possible implications for previous research. Practical implications for both campaign managers and researchers are also presented and discussed here.

Finally, a critical review of this thesis and suggestions for future research are offered in the section 6. *Limitations and Future Research*.



## 2. Theory and Hypothesis Generation

### 2.1. Emotional Displays and Trait Evaluation

At the very basic level emotions can be defined as: *"a psychological state that involves three distinct components: a subjective experience, a physiological response and a behavioral or expressive response."* (Hockenbury and Hockenbury 2007). It is these expressive responses that are in focus of this study in terms of public displays by higher-level politicians.

Several scholars (e.g. Hochschild 1983) have argued that displays of emotion function as subtle ways for individuals to communicate personality traits to observers and further; that it is the subtleness that yield it power as an effective communication tool. This is because emotional displays, as compared to explicit statements, are perceived as more spontaneous and trustworthy expressions of traits and thus validity is less often questioned (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990). Moreover, different emotions have been found to communicate different traits. At this point it should be noted that there is a lack of unity in emotional classification within affective sciences as argued by several scholars (e.g. Ekman 1992). However, most often emotions are conceptualized along dimensions of valence (contrasting positive and negative affect) and arousal (contrasting high and low excitement). Generally, studies focusing on these dimensions have found sadness (as a representation of a low arousal emotion of negative valence) to primarily signal warmth and weakness whereas anger (a high arousal emotion of negative valence) primarily communicates strength and competence (e.g. Labott et al. 1991). Happiness (a low arousal emotion of positive valence) is most often seen to communicate warmth and/or can be a sign of good health when expressed via laughter (ibid).

### 2.2. Attitude Towards the Politician

Positive affect is a strong predictor of support for political candidates (Abelson et al. 1980) and researchers like Lanzetta et al. (1980) have demonstrated that emotions displayed by a politician can influence the affective response by an audience, in the sense that voters feel more positively about a politician when positive emotions are expressed rather than negative ones. This leads to the first set of hypotheses:

**H0<sub>A</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on type of emotion displayed.

**H1<sub>A</sub>:** There is a significant difference in attitude based on type of emotion displayed.

Furthermore, to offer truly comprehensive modeling of the effects from emotional displays in a political context, it has been argued in the introduction to this thesis that individual differences among politicians should be taken into account.

Role congruity theory states that an individual perceived to be a member of any given group will be more positively evaluated when possessing characteristics perceived as aligning with the social roles that members of that group are associated with (Eagly and Karu 2002). A social role is defined as a set of behaviors, rights, obligations and norms (ibid) under which display rules per definition as *"...culture-specific prescriptions about who can show which emotions, to whom, and when"* (Ekman 1993) should be included. Following that different display rules apply to different individuals based on demographic aspects (Ekman and Friesen 1972), such as gender and ethnicity (Matsumoto 1993) it could be expected that it is not only the type of emotion displayed but also who is displaying it that determine voter-held attitudes.

Rules for adherence to social roles are usually instilled from early childhood and remain prominent throughout adulthood with little alteration. (Birnbaum et al. 1980, Kelly et al. 2002). The reason for their maintenance is awareness among individuals that different types of emotional displays affect the establishment and maintenance of social relationships (Campos et al. 1994), i.e. deviation occurs at a cost.

### **2.2.1. Gender-Biased Evaluations**

The impact of gender on the evaluation of emotional displays is well documented. In fact, Hess (2015) claims: “*stereotypes about the emotional lives of men and women are among the best documented stereotype.*”. Despite this, in the field of political marketing related to emotional displays, effects of gender has as a rule been neglected, as addressed in the introduction to this thesis. However, within the realm of sociology, a plethora of studies analyzing variations in perceived and actual displays of emotion among men and women have been published. From these publications, it can be concluded that each individual appears to possess certain stereotypical emotions that are deemed more or less socially acceptable to display dependent on their gender. Women are considered to be more emotionally expressive beings than men (e.g. Campos, et al. 1994). This leads to the second hypothesis:

**H0<sub>B</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on a politician’s gender.

**H1<sub>B</sub>:** There is a significant difference in attitude based on a politician’s gender.

Beyond being associated with emotional expressions in general women have also been linked to display of warmth and weakness in particular, whereas men have been linked to display of anger and pride to a greater extent than women (Plant et al. 2000). Thus, type of emotion and gender may interact to effect voters’ attitudes:

**H0<sub>C</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician’s gender on attitude.

**H1<sub>C</sub>:** There is a significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician’s gender on attitude.

### **2.2.2. Ethnicity-Biased Evaluations**

A second important basis for role-based evaluation of behavior is ethnicity. Several studies of political campaign communication have demonstrated that subtle cues can activate racial attitudes among an audience (e.g. Valentino et al. 2002). In particular, these studies show that increased compassion can be evoked by candidates’ minority status (Sigelman et al. 1995). Thus, attitudes towards politicians may differ dependent on their ethnicity.

**H0<sub>D</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on a politician’s ethnicity.

**H1<sub>D</sub>:** There is a significant difference in attitude based on a politician’s ethnicity.

Stereotypes, often by definition, are generally assumed to affect impressions of all members of the stereotyped group (Brigham 1971). However, others such as Bruner (as cited in Sagar and Schofield 1980) have stressed the importance of category accessibility. He argues that a given category, such as ethnicity, will be elicited only by relevant perceptual events. Several scholars have found evidence to support the prevalence of racial stereotype among a primarily Caucasian audience towards Afro-Americans individuals as more aggressive and angry (e.g. Sagar and Schofield 1980). These types of studies have primarily focused on skin-color. However, Rokeach’s belief-congruence model of prejudice suggests that prejudice towards members of other ethnic groups is mediated primarily by perceived dissimilarity rather than any

specific ethnicity per se (Rokeach, as cited by Mackie and Hamilton 2014). Considering this it could be expected that perceptions about aggressiveness are more universally applicable to individuals perceived as foreign beyond expressions of ethnicity-specific discrimination and that display of anger may give rise to less favorable attitudes towards minority representatives .

**H0<sub>E</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on attitude.

**H1<sub>E</sub>:** There is a significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on attitude.

## 2.3. Identification

Thus far, the theory section in this thesis has focused on the type of emotion and the individual who displays the emotion to influence evaluation of the display. However, it should also be considered who is to evaluate the display. Allowing for diversity among politicians implies that perceived similarity and thus the level of identification may vary for voters between different politicians. This is important as identification (or the lack thereof) is known to cause bias in interpretation of cause for behaviors, and thus individuals perception of and thereby willingness to vote for a politician. The rationale for this relationship will be discussed more in detail in the following two sections.

### Membership Groups

According to Kelman (1961, p. 62) identification is “...*the process of social influence in which an individual adopts a behavior derived from another person or group because this behavior is associated with a self- defining relationship to this person or group... Accepting influence through identification, then, is a way of establishing or maintaining the desired relationship to the other and the self-definition that is anchored in this relationship.*” Research on persuasion has shown that any characteristic or trait that is perceived as desirable and possessed by a source of a message fosters identification. Since similarity is liked, source similarity can act as an important mediator for identification (Kiesler and Corbin 1965). Within sociology and social psychology an in-group is commonly defined as any social group that an individual identifies as a member of. In contrast, an out-group is any social group that an individual does not identify with, or by a stricter definition: actively strive to distinguish oneself from. Thus, in-group activation per definition requires identification with members of a certain group. Overall, from a perspective of diversity, gender and ethnicity is expected to represent too wide groups, i.e. containing too high levels of perceived variety to foster identification. However, with the possible exception of women. Since women tend to favor direct display of emotion over emotional management, i.e. that feelings are managed (controlled and often hidden) as preferred by men (Campos et al. 1994) women are, on average, likely to identify more strongly with female than male politicians when they display emotion considering that likability fosters identification. This leads to the following set of hypotheses:

**H0<sub>F</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for female voters.

**H1<sub>G</sub>:** There is a significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for female voters.

**H0<sub>H</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for male voters.

**H1<sub>H</sub>:** There is a significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for male voters.

**H0<sub>I</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as majority representatives.

**H1<sub>I</sub>:** There is a significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as majority representatives.

**H0<sub>J</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as minority representatives.

**H1<sub>J</sub>:** There is a significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as minority representatives.

### **Casual Attribution**

As noted above, the primary reason why voter identification is of importance to this thesis is that it can affect voter's attribution of cause. It is well documented that when evaluating the behavior of others, humans seek to understand motives for the behavior. Attribution of causes for an individual's behavior is considered to be a three-stage process (Weiner 1972). Firstly, a behavior is observed. Secondly, the behavior is evaluated to be either deliberate or not deliberate by the actor. And finally, the behavior is attributed to internal or external causes, also termed dispositional and situational factors respectively, the former pertaining to the individual and the latter to the surroundings. However, this process can be subject to more or less bias. The *actor-observer asymmetry*, also termed the *actor-observer bias*, is present whenever an individual evaluates the behavior of another individual (Jones and Nisbett 1971). The reason for this is considered to be that individuals are more familiar with the situational factors affecting their own decisions; thus, one is more likely to take into account how the situation affects one's own behavior in any given situation. Simultaneously, the lack of information about these factors for individuals other than oneself causes individuals to overestimate the influence of personality in determining the behavioral outcome for others. Of specific relevance for this thesis is the *ultimate attribution error* (UAE) introduced by Pettigrew (1979). UAE, of which the actor-observer asymmetry is a component, is "*a group-level attribution error that offers an explanation for how one person views different causes of negative and positive behavior in in-group and out-group members*". I.e. members of a group are considered to have a greater understanding of the causes for action of other individuals within the same group due to perceived similarity. Similarity enables inference from one's own experiences to causes for another individual's behavior. More favorably evaluated in-groups are seen to have more dispositional attributions made for their positive behavior and more situational attributions made for their negative behavior than the less favorable out-groups, as a self-serving bias. Favorable, but unexpected (thus, incongruent) behavior by out-group members are generally attributed to sources that make the individual an exception rather than the rule in relation to the group he or she is considered to represent (ibid). Thereby, allowing for preservation of held expectations and reduction of cognitive dissonance.

## **2.4. Vote Intention**

As presented above, attitude, driven by positive emotional display, has been demonstrated to be a strong predictor of vote intention (Lanzetta et al. 1980).

However, other scholars have found negative high arousal emotions, to be superior in affecting vote intention. Tiedens's (2001) work indicates that voters' decisions to attribute power to politicians are based on perceived competence, driven by negative high-arousal emotions, rather than a positive attitude towards them. She argues that this dynamic is present in a political context due to the expected lack of personal contact between voters and elected political leaders. I.e. it matters less to voters if politicians are unlikable and cold as long as they are competent, as voters will not expect to engage in any personal contact with them. Tiedens (2001) argues that this distinguishes politics from other social contexts such as a business environment where the leader, i.e. the manager, will interacted directly more or less frequently with the staff after being appointed. Moreover, she demonstrates that that higher status and power is attributed to individuals who express anger than to those who express sadness, but also that an angry individual is considered less likable.

This highlights a key question, when examining emotional displays in a political context, namely, is vote intention primarily affected by attitude towards the politician or by perceived competence? Existing literature at the time of Tiedens (2001) study was inconclusive on this issue. The author of this thesis argues that it still is, post Tiedens (2001). Her work, as it is limited to display of negative emotions is not sufficed to conclude that competence is superior to attitude in this regard. As noted above, positive emotions are seen to have an advantage over negative emotions in terms of generating positive affect (Lanzetta et al. 1980). The indirect effects from positive emotions on vote intention may or may not exceed the effects from negative emotions via status conferral. Thus, the outcome from a comparison between anger, sadness and happiness is unknown prior to empirical testing, as effects from attitude versus status may work in opposite directions for different types of emotions.

**H0<sub>K</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on type of emotion displayed.

**H1<sub>K</sub>:** There is a significant difference in vote intention based on type of emotion displayed.

Moreover, as previously discussed, it is not the type of emotion in isolation but rather in relation that to expected behavior as stipulated by display rules that is of interest to this thesis. Vote intentions are promoted by attitudes (Abelson et al. 1980), in turn expected to be favored by role-congruent behavior as an expression of the human preference for consistency. In fact, the strive for appearing consistent with expectations in thought and action is well documented in academic psychology literature as a fundamental principle guiding human action. Festinger (1957), Heider (1946) and Newcomb (1953) all view the desire for consistency as a central motivator for action. The reason for this is that consistency is generally valued as a character trait and forms the basis of other valued traits such as stability and trustworthiness fostering a positive attitude towards the politician. From this perspective, inconsistent behavior is perceived as less desirable and seen to communicate confusion and erratic or undisciplined behavior. According to Cialdini (2007) there are two main sources of the desire to be consistent, in addition to it being valued by society as a character trait. Firstly, it functions as a means to avoid troubling realization by the use of automatic responses rather than careful thought. Secondly, it aids in the process of information processing because it functions as a cognitive shortcut in evaluation processes. The last part is often termed automatic consistency and safe-guards against cognitive dissonance, defined by Festinger (1957) as: *“the mental stress or discomfort experienced by an individual who holds two or more contradictory beliefs, ideas, or*

*values at the same time performs an action that is contradictory to their beliefs, ideas, or values; or is confronted by new information that conflicts with existing beliefs, ideas or values.*” An individual who experiences inconsistency experience a sense of being uncomfortable and is motivated to reduce the dissonance, as well as actively avoid situations and information likely to increase it (Festinger 1957). Following this, individuals should have a preference for behavior displayed by others that fit with the roles they expect these other individuals to have. Consistent behavior offers fewer contradictions for the individual to achieve fit with already existing expectations and thus reducing the cognitive burden of evaluating that behavior, i.e. offering a short-cut for evaluation minimizing cognitive dissonance.

However, in order to properly investigate the effects of emotional displays on vote intention the possible effects resulting from non-conforming in addition to those from conforming behavior should be taken into consideration. This should be especially relevant in the light of previous research indicating that competence is prioritized over attitude in voter evaluations (Tiedens 2001) as discussed above, and consumer marketing research demonstrating that inference of status and competence is effectively mediated by perceived autonomy resulting from non-conformity (Warren and Campbell 2014, Bellezza et al. 2013). Autonomy is in this context defined as self-government or self-direction and the cause of the mediating effect is that autonomy represents a form of conspicuous consumption (ibid). This is because deviation from the norm is associated with social costs for the non-conforming individual. Therefore, it is inferred by an audience that when the deviating act is deliberate it will only be carried out by actors that perceive that they can afford the associated cost, i.e. individuals that are successful. (ibid)

Further, Warren and Campbell (2014) argue that individuals will infer that a spokesperson (or a brand) is positively autonomous when behaviors diverge from a norm that is acceptable to defy (ibid). From a role-congruity perspective it is reasonable to assume that the perception of which norms are acceptable to break will not only depend on the actor’s motives and the observers need for uniqueness and their familiarity with the context (as identified by Bellezza et al. 2013) but also on attributes of the norm-breaking individual. Especially in terms of gender and ethnicity, given the known biases addressed in sections 2.2.1. *Gender-Biased Evaluations* and 2.2.2. *Ethnicity-Biased Evaluations* above.

Given human preference for consistency (Festinger 1975) and prevalence of gender stereotypes of women as more emotionally expressive beings (e.g. Campos, et al. 1994), it is hypothesized that female politicians should be considered more favorably evaluated in terms congruity-based trait and thus also more likable than male politicians when emotions are displayed. This should result in higher vote intention for female than male politicians as positive affect fosters support for a political candidate (Abelson et al. 1980).

**H0<sub>K</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on a politician’s gender.

**H1<sub>K</sub>:** There is a significant difference in vote intention based on a politician’s gender.

As addressed above different types of emotions are considered typical for individuals based on their gender and should as such foster positive attitudes resulting from consistency. Displays of anger, signaling strength and force of action (Lerner 1980), and superior in communicating competence (Tiedens 2001) is not considered typical or normative for women (Lerner 1980) and because inappropriate norm-breaking can

inhibit status attainment (Warren and Campbell 2014), it may be a less successful strategy for women than men in order to increase vote intention.

**H0<sub>L</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's gender on vote intention.

**H1<sub>L</sub>:** There is a significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's gender on vote intention.

Further, racial cues and priming in a political context have been demonstrated to elicit doubt about candidates' competence, however without significant effects on vote intention (Valentino et al. 2002). This has been explained by the perceived lack of competence being offset against increased compassion evoked by candidates' minority status (Sigelman et al. 1995).

**H0<sub>M</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on a politician's ethnicity.

**H1<sub>M</sub>:** There is a significant difference in vote intention based on a politician's ethnicity.

Further, given known bias in evaluation of competence for political candidates without significant effects on vote intention and evidence supporting the need for clues to activate stereotype evaluation (Bruner, as cited in Sagar and Schofield 1980) in combination with known prejudice based on aggressiveness (e.g. Sigelman et al. 1995) linked to individuals perceived as foreign rather than a specific ethnicity (Rokeach, as cited in Mackie and Hamilton 2014) anger can be expected to function as an activating cue of ethnicity-bias with significant effect on vote intention. This leads to the final set of hypotheses:

**H0<sub>N</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on vote intention.

**H1<sub>N</sub>:** There is a significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on vote intention.

## **2.5. List of Null-Hypotheses**

### **Attitude**

**H0<sub>A</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on type of emotion displayed.

**H0<sub>B</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on a politician's gender.

**H0<sub>C</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's gender on attitude.

**H0<sub>D</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on a politician's ethnicity.

**H0<sub>E</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on attitude.

### **Identification**

**H0<sub>F</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for female voters.

**H0<sub>G</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for male voters.

**H0<sub>H</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as majority representatives.

**H0<sub>I</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as minority representatives.

**Vote Intention**

**H0<sub>J</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on type of emotion displayed.

**H0<sub>K</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on a politician's gender.

**H0<sub>L</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's gender on vote intention.

**H0<sub>M</sub>:** There is no significant difference in vote intention based on a politician's ethnicity.

**H0<sub>N</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on vote intention.



### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1. Scientific Approach and Research Design**

This thesis primarily takes on a deductive approach following the definition by Bryman (2002) to test theories. Post review of existing theory, hypotheses were generated, empirical data collected and based on the results the hypotheses were either considered to be supported or rejected. However, as the results presented below provide implications for existing theory, this thesis also includes an element of induction to refine current models in the discussion and implications sections.

Because the research questions in this thesis are focused on relating existing constructs to each other and to empirically verify theorized moderators (in terms of gender) a quantitative approach to data collection was used, as per recommendation by Locke and Golden-Biddle (1997). A self-completion survey was chosen as the preferred method for distributing the stimuli and collecting response data, due to two main reasons. Firstly, it offers a suitable method for collecting unobservable data, as are voters' perceptions of politicians and their personality traits. Secondly, it allows for data collection from a large sample of respondents in a time- and resource efficient manner (Bryman 2002).

Moreover, this study employs an experimental research design, where the independent variables of gender, ethnicity and type of emotion (positive versus negative valence and low versus high arousal level) were manipulated to determine their effect on attitude, identification and vote intentions, which represents the main dependent variables in this study. A 2x2x3 between groups design was used to test for differences in response to emotional displays based on gender, ethnicity and three different types of emotions. This was carried out via the use of vignettes<sup>1</sup> in the form of written text (including 1 out of the 12 possible combinations of the three independent variables) randomly presented to respondents, followed by a questionnaire. Vignettes were chosen because of the superiority to direct question-based surveys in terms of greater realism (Bryman 2002, Wason et al. 2002) and the high level of controllability over external variables compared to using a non-fiction pre-existing case as stimuli.

##### **3.1.1. Selection of Stimuli**

Below follows an account for the process of selecting and defining stimuli to represent the three main independent variables in the empirical study.

##### **Emotional Display**

The emotions communicated by the politicians were selected to allow for comparisons both between high and low arousal as well as positive and negative valence. As noted in section 2.1 *Emotional Displays and Trait Evaluation* above emotional classification, dimensions along which to distinguish and group emotions, is an issue with little unity. The early work by Ekman and Friesen (1972) define six basic emotions that are universal throughout human cultures: fear, disgust, anger, surprise, happiness and sadness. Since then the list has grown, but additional emotions

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<sup>1</sup> Defined as stimuli presented to respondents with the purpose to selectively display aspects of reality that respondents subsequently are asked to supply their views or opinions of (Wason et al. 2002)

could all be viewed as a mixture of the primary ones. Considering the documented biases based on gender and ethnicity respectively as basis for the hypotheses generated above, three emotions were selected to enable testing; anger, sadness and happiness. In relation to the six basic emotions happiness is the only unambiguously positive one, and anger and sadness are arguably the two that differs most significantly in arousal. Thus, a low arousal, negative emotion was in this study represented by sadness, displayed by shedding a tear. A high arousal, negative emotion was represented by anger, displayed by slamming a fist onto a table. Finally, a positive emotion was represented by happiness, displayed through smiling and embracing a fellow politician. For more details on presentation of stimuli to respondents see section 3.2. *Vignette Design* below.

### Gender and Ethnicity

Both ethnicity and gender was manipulated via the name of the politicians. For this, two typically Swedish names (one female and one male) and two typically non-Swedish names, (again one female and one male) was selected. Gender was further emphasized by the use of pronouns to refer to the politician throughout the text, i.e. variations of him and her respectively. The names were chosen to represent typicality without interfering with names of any politicians well known to the mainstream public. Via the use of national name statistics from SCB, common names were identified. The registry on the Swedish parliament website was searched to rule out names not suitable as stimuli in the survey. This was complemented with a general web search to control for other public figures outside the Swedish parliament with a political association. The highest-ranking names, that were not matched to a well-known politician or other public figure was selected. The non-typically Swedish names were chosen to represent minority status rather than a specific ethnicity. The names resulting from this procedure is presented in table 1 below.

Gender/Ethnicity	Majority	Minority
Male	Anders Eriksson	Ahmed Ali
Female	Anna Eriksson	Amira Ali

**Table 1 - Manipulations of Gender and Ethnicity**

*Names selected to communicate gender and ethnicity minority or majority status on a Swedish national market..*

### 3.2. Vignette Design

Each respondent was exposed to 1 out of 12 scenarios describing a fictitious speech held by a fictitious politician before the Swedish parliament, either on the topic of deficiencies in the elderly care or on a new agreement for national fiscal policy. The choice of speech topics was made after previous testing had rendered use of the same topic for all emotional displays unsuitable by resulting in significant differences in perceived party association for the politician and attitude towards the message. Both topics of health-care, fiscal policy and environmental policy were tested. Each scenario included a manipulation of the politician's gender, ethnicity and emotional display (either anger or sadness for the former topic and happiness for the latter). Examples of the vignettes used, including manipulations can be found in Appendix A (in original language as used in the study) and in Appendix B (translated into English for purpose of presentation in this thesis).

For construction of the vignettes the recommendations outlined by Wason et al. (2002) was followed to ensure that the text...

1. ...was believable
2. ...was adequately but not overly detailed
3. ...had a tone consistent with the research questions
4. ...made manipulations obvious
5. ...guarded against framing effects

Achievement of these strives were confirmed via subsequent pilot-studies and consultation with the thesis supervisor. Specifically, believability was tested via measures for scenario realism in Pilot-study 1, the level of detail was confirmed as adequate by the respondents' ability to form an opinion of the politician based on the text in terms of overall attitude and specific trait evaluation. However, in relation to tone the recommendations for making manipulations more obvious were not strictly followed. Wason et al. (2002) notes that manipulations of gender are made more easily recognized by respondents when gender-specific epithets such as "X mother to Y" or "X sister to Y" are used in combinations with pronouns. However, it was not desirable in this study to provide reference to any specific gender-based roles as that may cause activation of roles to systematically vary across manipulations. Rather, focus was on precise wording, avoiding attachment of value to any of the manipulations, there among gender roles.

Finally, in order to minimize framing effects of perceived party association phrasing of individual statements were sampled from real speeches held by members of the Swedish parliament accessed via the parliaments online registry of documents from both sides of the political spectrum (i.e. members from both the left-wing and the right-wing party coalitions) and altered to fit the topics of the fictitious speeches.

### **3.2.1. Controlling for Party Representation**

Considering the above discussion of consistency, it becomes important to control for party association of the politician as perceived by respondents. A prior commitment to support a certain party may steer evaluation of the politician perceived to be representing that same party in a positive direction because it fits with previous evaluations and thus offer consistency with held ideals. Likewise, negative bias should occur for perceived non-supporting party representatives. The effects of commitment reinforcing consistency have been found to be especially prominent if self-image is closely tied to the evaluation (Escalas and Bettman 2005). This can be argued to be the case for politics, a matter closely related to personal beliefs about one's life and the world-order and often a strong basis for identification, however not always willingly publicly disclosed. This reinforces the need to control for variations in perceived party association among the 12 scenarios.

## **3.3. Pilot-study 1: Vignette Design**

Two pilot-studies were carried out; the main purpose for the first pilot-study was to ensure that the manipulations were recognized by the respondents and that the written text was rich enough as a basis for respondents to form an opinion about the politician upon. Further, it was also designed to test whether the scenarios did unintentionally communicate any signs, such as values or opinions by the described politician that would be associated with any specific political party or movement. This could, as

addressed above, potentially distort or override the effect of the intentional manipulations of emotion in combination with gender and ethnicity.

### 3.3.1. Design and Distribution

60 students from a Swedish university (58% female,  $M_{age} = 22$  years) were randomly assigned to a 2 (male versus female) gender X 2 (majority versus minority) ethnicity between subjects design. Each participant was presented with one out of six scenarios depicting a speech either on the topic of healthcare deficiencies (to be used in the main study for negative emotional displays) or a cross-coalition agreement for fiscal policy (to be used in the main study for positive emotional displays). The manipulations tested with ten respondents each are presented in table 2 below.

Ethnicity	Gender	Emotion	Topic of Speech
Majority	Male	-	Elderly-care
Majority	Male	-	Fiscal policy
Majority	Female	-	Elderly-care
Majority	Female	-	Fiscal policy
Minority	Male	-	Elderly-care
Minority	Male	-	Fiscal policy

**Table 2 - Vignette Scenarios in Pilot-study 1**

*List of the combinations of ethnicity, gender and topic of speech depicted in the written vignettes as tested in Pilot-study 1.*

Participants read the vignette text and immediately afterwards provided their reactions to the scenario and the described politician by completing a short paper survey. Before reading the text, the participants were given the following information: "Imagine that a person you follow on social media has re-posted a video clip. You think that the clip looks interesting so you decide to click on the link. This is what you see:"

### 3.3.2. Measures and Scales

Immediately after exposure to one out of the six scenarios, participants provided evaluations in terms of scenario realism on three scale items ("The described situation is believable," "The described situation is credible," "The described situation is realistic", = .91) and their evaluations of typicality on three scale items ("I believe that the way the politician communicates in is representative of politicians in general", "I believe that the politician acted like a typical politician", "I believe that the politician was more emotional in his/her display than a typical politician", = .91), where of the last item was reversely scored. A control for message consistent of two scale items was also included: ("I like the message conveyed by the politician", "I feel positively about the message conveyed by the politician", = .90). All responses were measured on seven- point scales, ranging from: "1= Strongly disagree" to "7=Strongly agree". Odd scales were used to allow for neutral answers. Next, participants were asked to answer four manipulation checks regarding the politician's emotional display, political orientation, gender and nationality as a proxy for ethnicity respectively. Finally, respondents provided demographic information about their own age, gender and ethnicity.

### 3.3.3. Results

Realism for both topics of speech was deemed sufficiently high ( $M_{\text{positive scenarios}} = M_{\text{negative scenarios}} = 5.00$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) as was typicality of politician without emotional manipulation ( $M_{\text{positive scenarios}} = M_{\text{negative scenarios}} = 5.10$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ). A 1-way between subjects ANOVA revealed no significant differences between the two topics, either in terms of realism [ $F(5, 54) = .47$ ,  $p = .80$ ], typicality, [ $F(5, 54) = .45$ ,  $p = .81$ ] or attitude towards the message [ $F(5, 54) = .53$ ,  $p = .76$ ]

Altering the politicians name was considered to be successful as a means to manipulate gender and ethnicity as 90% of respondents correctly identified the manipulations of gender and 85% of respondents correctly identified the manipulations of ethnicity. More specifically, all respondents correctly identified minority representatives and 70% of all respondents correctly identified majority representatives, whereas 30% chose the option: "do not know". A chi-square test revealed no significant differences in distribution across the six scenarios tested.

In terms of perceived party association there was a bias towards left-wing parties. 57% of all respondents indicated that they perceived a party association. The left-wing coalition of parties was over-represented with 42% of respondents perceiving a connection with the politician as described in the scenario versus 7% for the right-wing coalition of parties and 8% for other parties outside of any coalition. However, a chi-square test demonstrated that the distribution did not differ significantly across the scenarios. Thus, the author decided to move forward with the selected topics of speech.

## 3.4. Pilot-study 2: Questionnaire

The aim of the second pilot-study was to ensure that the questions posed were understandable and sufficiently comprehensive whilst minimizing the risk of fatigue causing respondents to provide rushed answers or abandoning the questionnaire before completion. It also served to test that manipulations of emotional displays were recognized by respondents.

### 3.4.1. Design

For the overall design of the questionnaire recommendations outlined by Rowley (2014) were followed in an attempt to maximize comprehensibility, while minimizing respondents' fatigue as it could reduce quality of answers. This meant designing the questions in such a way that they...

1. ...were not invasive or asked the respondent for information he or she may be unwilling to supply
2. ...were as short as possible
3. ...were not too vague or general
4. ...were not leading or had implicit assumptions
5. ...did not include two questions in one
6. ...only on exception invited to "yes/no" answers
7. ...did not use double negatives

Attempts, in relation to the first point were secured by including an option for respondents to answer: "do not wish to disclose" for questions of more sensitive

nature, such as political party preference, as suggested by Malhotra and Birks (2005). The second through fourth points were secured via test-person feedback. Specifically, by respondents completing the survey in the presence of the author, encouraging a dialogue about the perception of the survey specifically in relation to these points as well as any additional input they wished to provide. Only minor wording adjustments were made as a result of this, for specifics refer to section 3.4.4. *Results and Adjustments* below. The final three points were secured via careful phrasing of the questions and proofreading by five individuals.

### 3.4.2. Distribution

In the second pilot-study, a vignette along with the full questionnaire was distributed to 30 respondents (from the same population as in Pilot-study 1). The respondents (63% female,  $M_{age}=20$  years) were randomly assigned to one out of the three scenarios presented in table 3 below.

Ethnicity	Gender	Emotion	Topic of Speech
Majority	Male	Sadness	Elderly-care
Majority	Male	Anger	Elderly-care
Majority	Male	Happiness	Elderly-care

**Table 3 - Vignette Scenarios in Pilot-study 2**

*List of the combinations of ethnicity, gender, emotion and topic of speech depicted in the written vignettes as tested in Pilot-study 2.*

Since the manipulations of gender and ethnicity was confirmed to be noticed by respondents in the first pilot-study, the scenarios for the second pilot-study was chosen to test recognition of each of the emotional displays rather than replicating tests for gender and ethnicity.

Out of the thirty distributed surveys, ten (three per scenario) were completed in the presence of the author, allowing and encouraging the respondents to comment on the design, understandability and perceived level of fatigue throughout completion. These respondents were selected to include both individuals well familiar with more advanced marketing knowledge and survey design (students with a BSc. degree in marketing) and individuals with only general knowledge of marketing (students with a BSc. degree in engineering, no marketing education on university level).

The respondents answered a total of twenty-three questions. The questions were the same independent of the scenario displayed to the respondent and all were written in Swedish, translation is provided of selected parts in section 3.4.3 *Measures and Scales* below. The full questionnaire, with questions in order as distributed can be found in Appendix C.

### 3.4.3. Measures and Scales

The response scales were seven-item Likert-scales ranging from "1 = Strongly disagree" to "7 = Strongly agree" for all questions, unless otherwise stated. Odd numbered scales of items were chosen because it allows the respondent to give a neutral response by choosing the option in middle, "4 = Does neither agree nor disagree". This was desirable in this study because it could not be determined beforehand that the stimuli would give rise to either negative or positive opinions about all personality traits included, attitude and vote intention. The alternative of using an even number of response choices would have forced the respondents to take

a stance regarding each statement presented, however this was not considered suitable as this study seek to investigate which specific traits are affected by the type of manipulations uses here rather than the degree of effect for each trait. Below follows a complete account of the concepts included, in order as presented to respondents. N.B. Reported Cronbach's alphas ( $\alpha$ ) refer to levels based on analysis of empirical data in the main study of this thesis unless otherwise noted.

### **Attitude Towards the Politician**

The first question featured in the survey, following vignette exposure, was designed to capture the respondents' immediate impression of the politician described in the text unaffected by later questions. It was comprised of three items. ("My impression of the politician is good", "I find the politician to be attractive", "My impression of the politician is positive"  $\alpha = .91$ ).

### **Vote Intention**

Respondents' intention to vote for the candidate was measured via level of agreement with the following statement: "I would be willing to vote for the candidate in the next general election".

### **Personality Traits**

To gain further insight into how vote intention is affected by congruent versus non-congruent behavior a measure designed to capture the perceived image of a political candidate developed by Sanders and Pace (1977) was adopted. The original measure with 12 bi-polar adjectives was slightly adjusted to include traits that were expected to vary across the manipulations in this study. Specifically, the items passive/active and sophisticated/unsophisticated was excluded from the original measure in favor of rational/irrational as a known congruity-based trait (Cialdini 2007). Previously reported alphas for the original measurement range from .82 to .89, here:  $\alpha = 0.943$ . However, this measurement was not intended to be used as a measure of over-all image in this study, rather the items were evaluated separately to investigate trait specific effects of the independent variables.

1. Qualified / unqualified
2. Honest / dishonest
3. Sincere / insincere
4. Successful / unsuccessful
5. Trustworthy/ not trustworthy
6. Attractive / unattractive
7. Calm / excitable
8. Aggressive / unaggressive
9. Strong / weak
10. Friendly / unfriendly
11. Rational/ irrational

All negative response items (e.g. "unqualified") were places on the left side of the scale and the positive items (e.g. "qualified") on the right side to make it sufficiently comprehensive and logical to the respondents. The intent was to avoid confusion or misleading responses by organizing all questions with high level for indicated agreement with proposed statements to the right and low levels to the left. This

matched the format of the types of other questions included, where agreement with a statement was from one to seven with low agreement to the left and high agreement to the right.

### **Identification**

A measure for identification with the politician was included to capture subjective classification by the respondents of the self in relation to the politician as an in- or out-group member. Individuals could objectively be divided into in-groups and out-groups based on gender and ethnicity, however as noted above in section 2.3.

*Identification* this represents very wide groups that as such may be weak as source of identification. Any one representative of such a group may be perceived to have little in common with any given member of that same group. Therefore, it was important in this study to allow for subjective membership groups as seen from voters' perspectives as identification (or lack thereof) with an individual is required for in-group (out-group) activation to occur.

The measure used for identification was adopted from a measure of self-brand connection developed by Escalas and Bettman (2005) and adjusted by the author to better fit a political context. The study by Escalas and Bettman (2005) feature a self-selection by respondents of products representing various degree of identification. One item related to the use of a product included in the original measurement was excluded, as usage is not directly applicable in this context. Consumption is here rather represented by voting for a certain politician. This resulted in a four-items measure,  $\alpha = .96$ . The items were phrased to include options for both membership groups ("I identify with the politician", "The politician suits me") and aspirational groups ("The politician represents who I am or wish to become", "I admire the politician") to cover different basis for identification and thus different types of in-groups.

### **Causal Attribution**

Attribution of cause does not represent an independent nor dependent variable for the hypotheses generated above but was theorized to influence voter evaluations as a result of identification with politicians. Therefore, a design to measure causal attributions was adopted from Kempf and Lacznia (2001), complemented with measures developed by Russell (1982) to include perception of cause (in regard to locus of control, stability and controllability). The purpose for including this measure was twofold. Firstly, to understand how positive behavior by out-group members is explained (away) and to determine if respondents are more or less prone to attribute dispositional rather than situational causes to politicians' behavior in relation to different combinations of manipulation of the independent variables.

Respondents were asked: "What do you perceive as the reason for the politician to express emotions?". Responses were provided by rating agreement with the following seven statements: "The politician wanted to affect the audience", "The politician is the kind of person who often tends to do so", "The politician lacked experience", "The situation called for it", "The severity of the problem", "The politician had received instructions from someone else to do so". As for a majority of the questions in the questionnaire the responses were measure on an interval scale. Alternatively, a single or multiple-choice question type, generating responses on a nominal scale could have been employed. However, theory states that causes of behavior are often considered to be multiple and present together in various degrees (Weiner 1972).



Thus, this type of scale was considered more suitable to capture the concept as intended.

The original design by Russell (1982) is an even more comprehensive measure for attribution of behavioral causes. However, in discussion with the thesis supervisor this measure was deemed too complicated to achieve a desired level of comprehensibility for respondents. I.e. the risk that respondents would experience confusion or fatigue upon completing this section of the questionnaire was deemed too high. This could have been mended by guidance by interviewer, but as such it was also deemed less appropriate for a large-scale distribution of self-completion questionnaires.

### **Autonomy**

Autonomy do not represent an independent nor dependent variable in the hypotheses generated above but was theorized as affected by causal attribution and as a pre-requisite for effects to result from non-congruent behavior. Thus, it could help explain variations across different groups of voters and strengthen support that observed effects in terms of non-congruity based traits are a result of voter's favorable impressions of non-congruent behavior or not.

Three different measures for covering the construct of autonomy were included in the questionnaire. First, a measure of autonomy adopted from Bellezza et al. (2013) asking participants for their level of agreement with the following statements: "The politician can afford to do what he or she wants", "The politician is in control over his/her action". Secondly, a measure to determine how favorably any non-conformity was perceived ("the politician deviates in a good way", "the politician deviates in a bad way") adopted from Warren and Campbell (2014). Finally, a manipulation check for autonomy adopted from the same source as the measure of autonomy used (i.e. Bellezza et al. 2013) was included. ("the politician..."; "...does things just to fit in or to please others", "...does not care about conventional norms or rules", "...breaks rules when he/she feel like it").

### **Controlling for External Variables**

To increase the level of certainty that any differences observed in the dependent variables across scenarios result from the manipulations of the independent variables it was important to control for variations of other known influencing variables across groups. Below follows a complete account of the external variables tested as well as the rationale of their selection.

### **Voter Savviness**

As familiarity with a context can be considered a pre-requisite for understanding the norms in that same context (Bellezza et al. 2013) it is expected to affect respondents' interpretation of the motives (or lack thereof) behind an individual's action within that same context. Therefore, a control measure of respondents' involvement in politics was used as a proxy for voter savvies and a measurement design by O'Cass (2002) was adopted. The measurement was reduced from six to two items, after advice from the thesis supervisor as a part of the process to balance comprehensibility in relation to respondent fatigue. The items included were: "Politics means a lot to me" and "I am knowledgeable about Swedish politics",  $r = .72$ .

## **Cynicism**

Cynicism is often treated as an antonym to trust in the academic literature covering political communications (Abramson 1983 as cited in Hetherington 1998) and is found to correlate with more negative evaluations of trust and thus negatively impacts the evaluation of politicians (Funk 1996). Moreover, other studies have demonstrated that political cynicism is affected by several individual differences e.g. media habits (Hanson et al. 2010). Hence, a measure for political cynicism was deemed necessary and included by combining measures developed by Kaid (2002) and Pinkleton et al. (1998). The following three-item measure was used to measure cynicism among voters: “Weather I vote or not has no influence over politicians’ actions.”, “Most politicians only serve themselves or their interest.” “Politicians can be trusted”,  $\alpha = .71$

## **Typicality of the Politician**

To distinguish effects elected by congruity or non-congruity with the professional role as a politician from those inherent from displays of certain emotional arousal or valence independent of any individual roles, a measure for typicality was included. The measure consisted of three items, with the last one reversely scored (“The politician is representative of politicians in general in terms of the way they communicate”, “The politician acted like a typical politician”, “The politician was more emotional than a typical politician”) ( $\alpha = .75$ ), with final item excluded ( $\alpha = .86$ ), thus index created for typicality was based on two first items.

## **Political Preference**

Respondents were asked to select from a list which political party they voted for in the last general election. The list included all parties currently present in the Swedish parliament. An option for other parties where the respondent was asked to specify the party on his/her own was also included as well as an option not to respond by checking the box “Do not wish to disclose”. The latter part due to the sensitive nature of the question in line with recommendations from Malhotra and Birks (2005) as addressed more in detail in section 3.5. *Design of Main Study* below. A similar question asking respondents to specify which political alliance they voted for in the last election was included to aid in the process of data analysis by grouping respondents into clusters dependent on broader political preferences than mere party supporter, e.g. right- versus left-wing sympathizers. Again, an option for parties outside of the alliances was included as well as a no-disclosure option.

The measure was matched to perceived party association of the politician by respondents to control for any differences across the 12 scenarios based on respondents’ personal political preferences and identification with party representatives.

## **Manipulation Checks**

Questions regarding type of emotion displayed, the politician’s gender and ethnicity (as indicated by their names) were included to confirm that manipulation of the three independent variables worked as intended and exhibited in the pilot-studies. Additionally, a question regarding which party (if any) the politician was perceived to represent was included to control for any unintentional connections communicated via the scenarios.

## **Demographic Data**

The final block of questions in the survey featured questions about respondents' demographics; including age, gender and nationality as a proxy for ethnicity.

### **3.4.4. Results and Adjustments**

Results of the ten surveys conducted with the more in-depth approach, i.e. in the presence of the author, revealed a higher degree of uncertainty about party association than indicated by the responses in Pilot-study 1. The participants expressed that they perceived no spontaneous party association after reading the vignette text, however that was not reflected in their response to the manipulation check. When asked by the author, the participants explained their responses by an unwillingness to respond: "Do not know", as they perceived that it signaled that they had missed something they should have perceived by the text, i.e. a failure due to their rush or inability to remember. With this knowledge, the formulation of the response option was altered to "Did not perceive any party association", in order to more accurately capture respondents' impressions of the politician in the main study.

Further, all respondents correctly identified the positive emotion. 90% correctly identified anger and sadness respectively. The remaining 10% identified shedding a tear as a display of anger rather than sadness and slamming a fist into the podium as sadness rather than anger. Thus, no respondents reported a perceived lack of clear emotional display resulting from either one of the manipulations. The misidentification of emotions could have been due to phrasing of the question. Hence, this was adjusted before the main study by including an additional check to test for both emotions expressed and means of display (e.g. sadness and crying respectively).

To conclude, the test rendered satisfactory result of scales. Thus, the same design was used without modification in the main study.

## **3.5. Design of Main Study**

Self-completion questionnaires were chosen as means for data collection because of its suitability for qualitative inquiries directed towards a large number of respondents. This since several respondents can supply data simultaneously, making the process time efficient (Bryman 2002). In addition, it is also a method with high perceived respondent anonymity (Malhotra and Birks 2005) as individual identities will not be discerned due to the lack of face-to-face interaction with the questioner. This also aid in limiting the effects of the social desirability bias on respondents' answers, which is the tendency of respondents to give answers that they perceive to be acceptable in front of others, including an interviewer (Malhotra and Birks 2005). The distance to the questioner created via this method should thus limit such effects.

Self-completion questionnaires are also suitable for obtaining sensitive information, again due to the distance of the respondent and the researcher caused by the lack of face-to-face interaction. Political party preference is often considered to be private information. To encourage answers further, a reminder of the respondents' anonymity was therefore provided before the question block regarding political preferences. These questions were placed towards the end of the survey also due to their sensitive nature as recommended by Malhotra and Birks (2006). The option to respond, "do not wish to disclose" was also added to further encourage survey completion.

### 3.5.1. Sampling and Distribution

The survey was distributed via an external research company to a nationally representative sample including respondents over fifteen years of age. All respondents came from a panel that previously had been recruited by the firm via phone through a random selection of the Swedish population. For this specific survey, a stratified random sample was drawn from this population, considering demographic composition, separates surveys and distribution days. Anonymous web links were distributed via emails to members of the sample and the first 1200 to complete the survey up until the deadline were recorded<sup>2</sup>. Any participants attempting to access the survey via the link after that were notified that the survey had been closed and that answers were no longer being recorded.

As a total of twelve groups were required to test all possible combinations of the three independent variables, all respondents were assigned randomly to one of the twelve conditions. The stimuli were presented in the form of a short text describing a speech held by the fictitious politician, either on the topic of Elderly-care deficiencies for display of negative emotions or on the topic of a Fiscal policy agreement for positive emotional display. See table 4 below for a complete list of all scenario manipulations.

Scenario	Ethnicity	Gender	Emotional Display
1	Majority	Male	Sadness
2	Majority	Female	Sadness
3	Minority	Male	Sadness
4	Minority	Female	Sadness
5	Majority	Male	Anger
6	Majority	Female	Anger
7	Minority	Male	Anger
8	Minority	Female	Anger
9	Majority	Male	Happiness
10	Majority	Female	Happiness
11	Minority	Male	Happiness
12	Minority	Female	Happiness

**Table 4 - Vignette Scenarios in the Main Study**

*Complete list over all the combinations of the three main independent variables featured in the main study.*

### 3.5.2. Measures and Scales

The measures used in the main study were as presented in 3.4.3. *Measures and Scales* above, with the following exception. Initially, questions regarding the respondents age was placed at the end but was ultimately moved before the main study was conducted to be the first question presented right before the scenarios. The purpose of this was to

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<sup>2</sup> The data collection was carried out between the 24th and 31th of November 2016.

screen out under-aged respondents and re-direct them out of the survey before starting to answer any questions based on requirements from the company distributing the survey.

## **3.6. Quality of Data**

### **3.6.1. Reliability**

To ensure that measurements were consistent and consequential throughout the questionnaire, established scales with high documented levels of reliability were used to measure the primary data collected as described above. Only on exception were these complemented with customized measures to fit the research design, see section 3.4.3. *Measures and Scales* above for scale-specific levels of reliability and further details on selection of measurements.

As all the pre-existing measures used were translated from English into Swedish by the author, all were tested to confirm that the reliability did not suffer from any unintentional alterations of meaning. No negative effects on reliability were found via this process. For scores relating to specific measures used, please refer to 4.4.3. *Measures and Scales*. Further, all multi-item measures were tested for reliability and combined into indexes if fulfilling the requirement for sufficiently high reliability as recommended by Malhotra and Birks (2005); a 0.8 Cronbach's alpha for measures with 3 or more items and a 0.5 Pearson's coefficient for 2-item measures.

Furthermore, as described in section 3.4. *Pilot-study 2: Questionnaire* the questionnaire was tested prior to execution of the main study to ensure that the questions were sufficiently comprehensive and understandable for participants to provide answers that best reflected their perceptions. All manipulations of the three independent variables (gender, ethnicity and emotion displayed) were checked via questions to ensure that they were perceived correctly by respondents.

For secondary data, reliability was secured via careful selection of sources. All journal articles referred to in this thesis come from well-respected, peer-reviewed journals. To screen out journals from probable predatory open access publishers a website search tool provided via Scholarly Open Access was used. Relevant literature was initially identified via use of the Scopus database; searches focused on marketing literature covering political communications and the use of emotional displays. Initial searches served to identify review articles to allow for overlooking the current state of the literature, later searches focused specifically on literature published after the review articles to complement them with recent findings not included therein. The following search phrases were used; "political marketing" + "emotional display\*", "election marketing" + "emotional display\*", "political marketing" + "gender" + "emotion\*", "political marketing" + "ethnicity" + "emotion\*", "political marketing" + "emotional appeals", where the term marketing was also substituted in additional searches by advertising. The most frequently quoted articles with the highest relevance that fit any of the above search criteria were reviewed. Additional literature relevant for this thesis was identified with help from the thesis supervisor. Literature on how to design vignettes for the empirical study was selected after consultation with Professor Magnus Söderlund. All other literature for this thesis, consistent of methodology books, was either selected from the course literature list of the thesis methodology course or previous SSE courses given within the Marketing Master or Bachelor program.

### 3.6.2. Validity

The greatest challenge in terms of validity of this study concerned the balance between internal validity and ecological validity, due to the experimental design setting. Thus, this section focuses primarily on that trade-off.

#### Internal Validity

Internal validity relates to causality, to the strength of the link between the independent and the related dependent variable. To achieve high levels, manipulation checks securing that the manipulations of gender, ethnicity and emotion displayed were recognized by respondents, manipulation checks of the same was included (as presented in section 3.4.3. *Measures and Scales* above). Respondents who did not correctly identify all three were excluded from analysis, as described more in detail in section 4.1. *Manipulation Checks and Response Exclusion* below. Furthermore, according to Bryman (2002), experimental research designs often lead to strong internal validity. This is because it allows for creation of a setting which controls for all but the manipulations, thus providing stronger support for conclusions that the changes in the responses are a result of the different manipulations of the stimuli. Written vignettes, as compared to other media types, involve an especially high degree of control for external variables as fewer senses are involved in processing the stimuli, e.g. no sound, or background visuals. However, this also adds challenges in creating an engaging setting and thus an implicit trade-off with realism. Efforts to manage this is discussed more in detail in the section *Ecological Validity* below.

Moreover, it could be argued that same topic of speech for all scenarios would have further reduced external influence and thus strengthened the link between the three independent variables and the dependent ones. But as presented above testing using same topic introduced a party bias or significantly impacted the attitude towards the message.

#### Ecological validity

Experimental designs per definition include an artificial setting. Thus, the concept of realism becomes important to secure ecological validity. Söderlund (2010) highlights the importance by contrasting two different types of realism: *mundane realism* and *experimental realism*. The former referring to the degree that the experimental setting can be considered to depict a realistic situation and the latter to the degree that participants perceive the setting as realistic, in terms of being engaging and taken seriously. Söderlund (2010) argue that the latter is of greatest importance. It is not crucial for the main study in this thesis that respondents believe that a politician in real-life would realistically express emotions in the depicted way, it is more important that the stimuli is distinct enough to elicit trait attribution and attitudinal differences to enable investigation the effects of different types of emotions if they were expressed. Therefore, realism was tested in the Pilot-study 1 only in relation to politicians' speeches without presence of emotional display, to establish a base-line of typical communication, ensuring that no differences was created by the topic or content of speeches rather than the intended manipulations. But, as the results from Pilot-study 1 demonstrates both speeches were considered equally realistic.

In an attempt to increase experimental realism, respondents were told to imagine that they were exposed to the scenarios via the use of social media, providing a realistic explanation of how the respondents got access to the speech. Today, a majority of people access news via social media; as many as 50% of all internet users get access

to news via Facebook and other social media, making it the single most important channel for news (Reuters Institute, 2016).

It should here also be noted that the survey design itself may impede realism. According to Bryman (2002), using questionnaires as a research method puts respondents in an unnatural situation, as they would not normally be asked to answer questions about their experiences, thus reducing the ecological validity of the research.

It is also possible that the presentation form of the stimulus causes the evaluation results by respondents to differ from stimulus via other media (such as a video-clip). However, several sources argue for the high validity also for written vignettes, (e.g. Bryman 2002, Wason et al. 2002). For this study, it was not possible to use moving visual media, i.e. recording an actual video of a speech in the plenisal inside the Swedish parliament and distribute to respondents as a link to the recorded clip. This due to obvious constraints of access, financing and time. However, even if these limitations did not exist written vignettes would still be the preferred choice by the author because of benefits in controlling the independent variables. With other media types such as video, control over external variables is complicated by the multiple senses involved. For these reasons, written vignettes were considered to present the most attractive outcome of the trade-off between experimental validity and internal validity.

### **External Validity**

External validity, referring to whether the results are generalizable beyond the specific research context (Bryman 2002), is deemed to be high for this study. The concept highlights the importance of a representative selection, as one can only make inference about the results to the population the sample is drawn from. In the main study the stratified sample of respondents in combination with the random selection of respondents out of that same sample and the randomized assignment of respondents to the various scenarios serves to secure generalizability to the Swedish national population and thus increase external validity.

### **3.6.3. Analytical Procedures**

All empirical data, from all three studies was analyzed using the software IBM® SPSS® (version 23). All moderation and mediation analyses were conducted via use of the PROCESS® macro (version 2.16). For the two pilot-studies, respondent-provided data was entered manually into the program as that data was collected via paper surveys. The data from the main study was downloaded from the online questionnaire software Qualtrics® directly into the program, avoiding manual input of large-scale data that increase the risk of miss-entry. Prior to analysis the answers were screened for missing values and other errors; no errors were found and thus no answers were excluded from the final sample on this basis. Results in the following sections are referred to as statistically significant with a 95%- confidence level.

## 4. Results and Analysis

### 4.1. Manipulation Checks and Response Exclusion

A total of 1198 respondents (49% female)  $M_{age} = 51$  years (min 16, max 94) answered the main survey, resulting in a range from a maximum of 101 to a minimum of 96 respondents per scenario, well above the commonly used limit of  $N = 30$  for assumption of normal distribution following the central limit theorem, and as such affecting the applicability of different statistical test procedures. Chi-square test for association between scenarios and respondents' demographic profiles showed that there were no statistically significant differences in distribution of gender  $\chi^2(22) = 24.95, p = .30$ , ethnicity  $\chi^2(33) = 22.50, p = .92$  or age  $\chi^2(781) = 767.27, p = .63$  across scenarios.

After exclusion of respondents who did not perceive any clear emotional display the total sample size correspond to  $N=1038$ . Excluding those who did not correctly identify the type of emotion displayed leaves a total sample of 990 respondents.

For the purpose of analyzing differences in the dependent variables on the basis of gender 291 respondents, as they did not correctly identify the gender of the politician, were excluded from the data. Taking into account correct identification of emotional display as mentioned above, this leaves a sample of 798 respondents in total.

In relation to ethnicity, 477 respondents were excluded from the data as they did not correctly perceive the manipulation of ethnicity of the politician. The total sample size after this exclusion corresponds to 568 respondents, taking into account recognition of type of emotion displayed and gender.

Moreover, the proportion of exclusions made based on all three manipulation checks did not differ across the 12 scenarios  $\chi^2(11) = 19.98, p = .05$ , as revealed by chi-square test for association between scenarios and exclusions. Thus, the random probability of respondents' assignment to groups is not considered to have been affected by the exclusions. Neither did the exclusions affect the representability of the sample in each group. Chi-square test for association between scenarios and respondents' demographic profiles showed that there were no statistically significant differences in distribution, after response exclusion, of gender  $\chi^2(22) = 15.19, p = .17$ , ethnicity  $\chi^2(33) = 25.24, p = .83$  or age  $\chi^2(759) = 767.27, p = .31$  across scenarios.

Further implications of these reductions to the sample will be discussed in section 6. *Limitations and Future Research* below.

### 4.2. Controlling for External Variables

A chi-square test for association between scenarios and external variables of: voter savviness, cynicism and party preference of the voter matched to perceived party association of the politician showed that there were no statistically significant differences in distribution of either of the three variables across the 12 scenarios. Neither before data exclusion based on any manipulation checks [cynicism  $\chi^2(187) = 165.38, p = .87$ , voter savviness  $\chi^2(132) = 122.62, p = .71$ , perceived party connection  $\chi^2(11) = 14.29, p = .22$ ] nor after [cynicism  $\chi^2(187) = 188.44, p = .46$ , voter savviness  $\chi^2(132) = 131.21, p = .50$ , perceived party connection  $\chi^2(11) = 5.92, p = .88$ ]. Thus, any differences observed in the dependent variables across the



scenarios are assumed to be a direct result of manipulation of the three main independent variables of gender, ethnicity and emotion displayed.

### 4.3. Hypotheses Testing

Below follow results from testing of hypotheses, presented in the order of generation in section 2. *Theory and Hypothesis Generation* above.

#### 4.3.1. Attitude

##### Emotion Displayed

The first hypothesis pertaining to voters' attitudes towards the politician is:

**H0<sub>A</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on type of emotion displayed.

The selected approach for investigating the hypotheses related to attitude was a 3-way between subjects ANOVA. This allowed for examining effects both of type of emotion displayed, gender and ethnicity separately but also of interaction effects from emotion displayed and gender or ethnicity simultaneously. In addition, interaction effects from all three variables could be tested. Such effects were not hypothesized but could possibly offer refined insights into the relation between the three variables.

Post hoc comparisons using the Scheffe test,  $F(2, 556) = 3.53, p < .05$ , indicated that the mean score for happiness condition ( $M = 4.35, SD = 1.39$ ) differed significantly from the anger condition ( $M = 4.70, SD = 1.33$ ). However, the sadness condition ( $M = 4.61, SD = 1.46$ ) did not significantly differ from the happiness or anger conditions. These results suggest that type of emotion displayed have an effect on attitude. Specifically, the results suggest that when happiness is displayed voters form less positive attitudes towards the politician than when either anger or sadness is displayed. However, between anger and sadness no significant differences could be observed. This means that **H0<sub>A</sub> could be rejected in favor of H1<sub>A</sub>: There is a significant difference in attitude based on type of emotion displayed.**

These results warranted further investigation to explain why display of positive emotions rendered less favorably attitudes for displays of positive emotions, as the main body of literature suggests the opposite (e.g. Abelson et al. 1980). Testing the personality traits featured in the survey, via a 1-way between subjects ANOVA, revealed a significant effect for the three conditions on trustworthiness [ $F(2, 565) = 11.91, p = 0.000$ ]. Post hoc comparisons using the Scheffe test indicated that the mean score for the happiness condition ( $M = 3.98, SD = 1.50$ ) was significantly lower than the anger condition ( $M = 4.70, SD = 1.50$ ) or the sadness condition ( $M = 4.60, SD = 1.63$ ). Between the anger and sadness conditions there were no significant differences.

##### Gender

The second set of hypotheses pertain to effects of gender and emotion displayed on attitude:

**H0<sub>B</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude based on a politician's gender.

**H0<sub>C</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's gender on attitude.

A significant simple main effect of gender could be observed  $F(1, 556) = 4.37, p < .05$ . The means score for women ( $M = 4.68, SD = .08$ ) was significantly higher than for men ( $M = 4.43, SD = .08$ ). Thus, **H0<sub>B</sub> could be rejected in favor of H1<sub>B</sub>: There is a significant difference in attitude based on gender.**

However, no significant interaction effects of gender and emotion displayed  $F(2, 556) = .56, p = .57$  could be observed. Thus, **H0<sub>C</sub> could not be rejected.**

Moreover, it was also tested if the displays were seen as typical behavior in relation to the professional role of politicians to determine if effects from non-conformity in addition to those from conformity could explain the difference between genders. An independent samples t-test,  $t(566) = 2.13, p < .05$  showed a significant effect of the presence of any emotional display, regardless of type, on typicality. Typicality was significantly lower in the presence of either sadness, anger or happiness ( $M = 3.47, SD = 1.45$ ) as compared to no perceived emotional display ( $M = 4.10, SD = 1.55$ ). Further, a significant effect of type of emotion displayed was also found, via a 1-way between subjects ANOVA,  $F(2, 565) = 17.48, p < .05$ . Voters perceived candidates to be significantly less typical in relation to the role as politician when sadness was displayed ( $M = 3.11, SD = 1.36$ ) compared to when anger ( $M = 3.78, SD = 1.45$ ) or happiness ( $M = 3.92, SD = 1.46$ ) was displayed. No significant effect was found for happiness in comparison with anger. It should here also be noted that no significant simple main effects of either gender [ $F(1, 556) = .68, p = .41$ ] or ethnicity [ $F(1, 556) = .71, p = .40$ ] could be found via a 3-way ANOVA. Neither could any interaction effects from the two demographic variables and emotional display; gender [ $F(2, 556) = 1.35, p = .26$ ], ethnicity [ $F(2, 556) = 1.13, p = .32$ ], gender and ethnicity [ $F(2, 556) = 1.29, p = .27$ ]. However, men were seen as more un-Swedish and more foreign than women, independently of their ethnicity as demonstrated by an independent samples t-test. Typically Swedish [ $(M_{woman} = 4.38, SD = 1.44), (M_{man} = 3.91, SD = 1.34), t(566) = 3.95, p < .05$ .] Foreign [ $(M_{woman} = 4.35, SD = 1.23), (M_{man} = 4.06, SD = 1.19), t(566) = 2.84, p < .05$ .] And the same was negatively correlated with attitude; [un-Swedish ( $r = .13, p < .05$ ), foreign ( $r = .30, p < .05$ )].

### **Ethnicity**

The final set of hypothesis related to attitude are as follows:

**H0<sub>D</sub>:** There is no significant difference in attitude intention based on a politician's ethnicity.

**H0<sub>E</sub>:** There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and the politician's ethnicity on attitude.

For ethnicity no significant simple main effects on attitude could be observed  $F(1, 556) = .14, p = .71$ . Thus, **H0<sub>D</sub> could not be rejected.**

Finally, no significant interaction effects of either ethnicity and emotion displayed  $F(2, 556) = 2.80, p = .06$  or all three independent variables  $F(2, 556) = .03, p = .98$  on attitude was found. Thus, **H0<sub>E</sub> could not be rejected.**

### **4.3.2. Identification**

The hypotheses pertaining to voters' identification with the politician and are as follows:

**H0<sub>F</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for female voters.

**H0<sub>G</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's gender, for male voters.

**H0<sub>H</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as majority representatives.

**H0<sub>I</sub>:** There is no significant difference in identification based on a politician's ethnicity, for voters as minority representatives.

An independent samples t-test revealed significant effects of gender matched between respondents and politicians when male and female respondents were evaluated separately. Women reported significantly higher levels of identification with female politicians ( $M = 4.01$ ,  $SD = 1.65$ ) than male politicians ( $M = 3.60$ ,  $SD = 1.65$ )  $t(262.93) = 2.02$ ,  $p < .05$ . Thus, **H0<sub>F</sub> could be rejected in favor of H1<sub>F</sub>: There is a significant difference in identification for female voters based on politicians' gender.** For male voters, no significant differences were found comparing identification with male and female politicians,  $t(300) = .02$ ,  $p = .98$ . Thus, **H0<sub>G</sub> could not be rejected.**

Moreover, an independent samples t-test revealed no significant effects of ethnicity matched between respondents and politicians, either for majority [ $t(491.47) = .75$ ,  $p = .45$ ] or minority representatives [ $t(68.34) = .57$ ,  $p = .57$ ]. Thus, **neither H0<sub>H</sub> nor H0<sub>I</sub> could not be rejected.**

It could also be noted that in order to confirm that no further differences concealed by aggregating respondents into groups based solely on gender or ethnicity separately, differences across groups with consideration to both gender and ethnicity simultaneously were tested for. A 2-way between subjects ANOVA revealed no significant effects of ethnicity matched between respondents and politicians, neither for male nor female respondents.

### **Causal Attribution Bias**

Since female voters were shown to differ in terms of identification, it was expected that they would also differ in their evaluation of cause for the emotional display, if in fact membership-group activation occurred as result of identification. An independent samples t-test confirmed that they did differ in attributed cause, in terms of: "the politician had received instructions from someone else to do so" which differed for male ( $M = 3.84$ ,  $SD = 1.55$ ) and female ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ) politicians.  $t(259.91) = 3.189$ ,  $p < .05$ . Male respondents, on the other hand displayed no significant differences between male ( $M = 3.83$ ,  $SD = 1.58$ ) and female ( $M = 3.81$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ) politicians.  $t(293.34) = .07$ ,  $p = .94$ , which was expected as they did not differ in identification.

### **4.3.3. Vote Intention**

#### **Emotion Displayed**

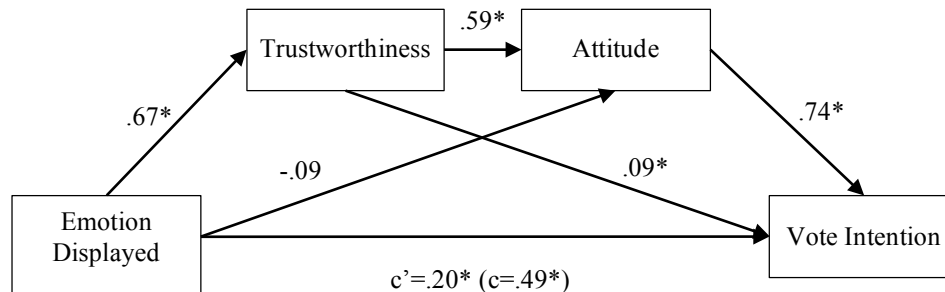
The first hypothesis for effects on vote intention is as follows:

**H0<sub>J</sub>** states that: There is no significant difference in vote intention based on type of emotion displayed.

A 3-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the effects of emotion displayed, gender and ethnicity on vote intention. Simple main effects analysis for type of emotion via post hoc test Scheffe  $F(2, 556) = 6.28$ ,  $p < .005$ , indicated a significant difference between happiness ( $M = 3.33$ ,  $SD = .12$ ) and sadness ( $M = 3.76$ ,  $SD = .12$ ) or anger ( $M = 3.91$ ,  $SD = .12$ ). However, there were no significant differences in vote intention between displays of sadness and anger. These results suggest that when emotions of negative valence are expressed, rather than positive, vote intention increases. Whereas emotions of same valence but different arousal causes no significant differences in vote intention. Thus, **H0<sub>J</sub> could be rejected in favor of**

**H1<sub>j</sub>: There is a significant difference in vote intention based on type of emotion displayed.**

Considering that these results mirror those presented above in terms of attitude and trustworthiness, the relationship between these three variables were investigated further via regression analysis.



**Figure 1 - Mediated Effects of Emotion Displayed on Vote Intention via Trustworthiness and Attitude**

*Standardized regression coefficients for the relationship between emotion displayed (here coded as: 0=positive emotion, 1=negative emotion) and vote intention as mediated by trustworthiness and attitude. The standardized regression coefficient between gender and vote intention, controlling for trustworthiness and likability is indicated by  $c'$ . \* Indicates significant effects on a 5%-level.*

A significant indirect effect of emotional valence on vote intention via trustworthiness and attitude could be observed. As Figure 1 illustrates, the standardized regression coefficients between politician's gender and trustworthiness, between trustworthiness and likability and between likability and vote intention were statistically significant. The ratio of indirect effect to total effect was  $P_{M\ tot} = (P_{M\ 1} = .13 + P_{M\ 2} = .60 + P_{M\ 3} = -.14) = .59$ , i.e. the mediators accounted for roughly 59% of the total effect. The 95% confidence interval ranged from .09, to .50 confirming statistical significance and all indirect effects presented here were bootstrapped with 5,000 samples. For further details, see tables 5 and 6 below.

Effect	Upper Limit	Lower Limit
Total	.5014	.0899
Ind1	.1490	.0019
Ind2	.1760	.1740
Ind3	.4375	-.2146

**Table 5 - Indirect Effects of Valence on Vote Intention Mediated by Trustworthiness and Likability**

Effect	Upper Limit	Lower Limit
Total	.1414	.0250
Ind1	.0422	.0005
Ind2	.1229	.0500
Ind3	.0225	-.0612

**Table 6 – Standardized Indirect Effects of Valence on Vote Intention Mediated by Trustworthiness and Likability**

Ind1: emotion displayed x trustworthiness x vote intention

Ind2: emotion displayed x trustworthiness x attitude x vote intention

Ind3: emotion displayed x attitude x vote intention

### Gender

The second set of hypotheses for effects on vote intention regard gender and emotion displayed and are as follows:

**H0<sub>K</sub>** states that: There is no significant difference in vote intention based on politicians' gender.

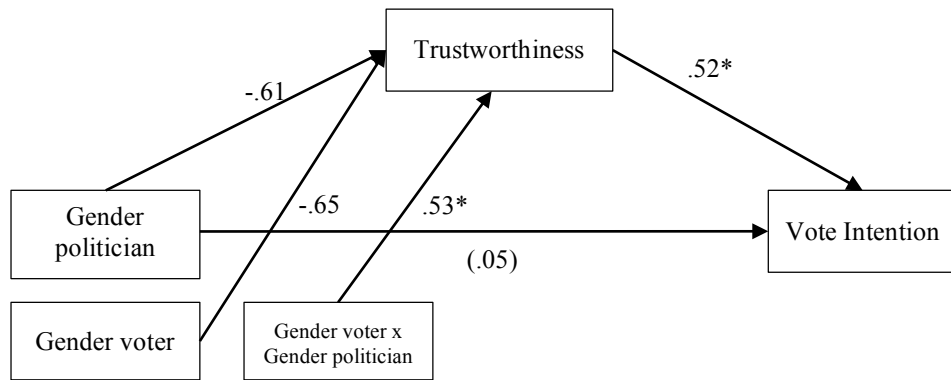
**H0<sub>L</sub>** states that: There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and politicians' gender on vote intention.

No significant simple main effects of gender [ $F(1, 556) = 1.44, p = .23$ ] on vote intention could be observed. Thus, **H0<sub>K</sub> could not be rejected**. There were neither any significant interaction effects from gender and emotion displayed [ $F(2, 556) = .24, p = .79$ ]. Thus, **H0<sub>L</sub> could not be rejected**.

However, considering that:

1. female voters differed significantly in terms of identification with politicians based on their gender
2. female politicians were overall more favorably evaluated in terms attitude
3. attitude was positively correlated with vote intention
4. women have a preference of emotional display over management, controlling and often hiding emotions (Campos et al. 1994)

further testing was conducted to investigate if voters' genders had any direct effects on vote intentions based on politicians' genders. A moderated mediation analysis demonstrated that interaction effects of politicians' and voters' gender did generate significant effects trustworthiness and via that also indirectly significant effects on vote intention. The relationship is illustrated in figure 2 below.



**Figure 2 – Moderating Effects by Voters’ Gender and Mediating Effects by Status Traits on Vote Intention**

Standardized regression coefficients for the relationship between gender of the politician and vote intention as mediated by trustworthiness, in turn moderated by gender of the voter. The standardized regression coefficient between gender and vote intention, controlling for gender of respondents is indicated by  $c'$ . \* Indicates significant effects on a 5%-level. N.B. gender for both the politician and the voter is here coded as: 1= man, 2=woman.

For details regarding significance of interaction effects, please refer to tables 7 and 8 below.

Mediator	Gender respondent	Upper Limit	Lower Limit
Trustworthy	1	.1437	-.2197
Trustworthy	2	.4453	.0496

**Table 7 - Conditional Indirect Effects of Gender on Vote Intention at Value of the Moderator**

Moderator	Index
Trustworthy	.2745

**Table 8 - Indices of Moderated Mediations**

To strengthen the support that these differences based on gender matched between voters and politicians was a result of various degrees of identification rather than other variances between respondents in this survey across genders, the following additional controls were made. An independent samples t-test confirmed that the female respondents exposed to a female politician and those exposed to a male politician did not differ significantly in terms of savviness, cynicism or perceived party connection of the politician match to their own party preferences which could affect vote intention as described in section 3.4.3. *Measures and Scales* above. No significant differences were found; savviness [ $\chi^2(12) = 3.15, p = .99$ ], cynicism [ $\chi^2(17) = 15.97, p = .53$ ], perceived party connection [ $\chi^2(1) = .06, p = .81$ ].

### Ethnicity

The final set of hypotheses regard effects of ethnicity on vote intention are as follows:

**H0<sub>M</sub>** states that: There is no significant difference in vote intention based on politicians’ ethnicity.

**H0<sub>N</sub>** states that: There is no significant interaction effect between the type of emotion displayed and politicians’ ethnicity on vote intention.

A 3-way between subjects ANVOA revealed no significant simple main effect on vote intention between majority and minority representatives,  $F(1, 556) = .21, p = .65$ . Thus, **H0<sub>M</sub> could not be rejected**. Neither could any significant interaction effects be observed based on emotion displayed and ethnicity [ $F(2, 556) = 1.56, p = .21$ ] or emotion displayed, ethnicity and gender [ $F(2, 556) = 1.68, p = .19$ ]. Thus, **H0<sub>N</sub> could not be rejected**.

Given that anger was theorized to function as an activating cue for bias towards minority representatives that has previously been found in studies including only male politicians in their sample (e.g. Valentino et al. 2002), an independent samples t-test was conducted to compare vote intention for male politicians separately, based on ethnicity. This revealed a significant difference in the scores for majority ( $M = 4.16, SD = 1.50$ ) and minority representatives ( $M = 3.57, SD = 1.63$ ),  $F(106) = 1.97, p < .05$ , when anger was displayed. For happiness or sadness no significant effects were present. This difference was also reflected in perceived aggression [ $(M_{majority} = 3.90, SD = .96), (M_{minority} = 4.43, SD = 1.22), t(108) = 2.48, p < .05$ ] and competence, here measured as qualified [ $(M_{majority} = 5.00, SD = 1.25), (M_{minority} = 4.36, SD = 1.41), t(98.49) = 2.68, p < .05$ ] and experienced [ $(M_{majority} = 4.67, SD = 1.35), (M_{minority} = 4.13, SD = 1.23), t(98.64) = 2.18, p < .05$ ]. None of these significant differences prevailed when either sadness or happiness was displayed. For female politicians, for any of the three emotions investigated, no significant differences were present between majority and minority representatives.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusions**

### **5.1. Attitude**

The results presented above demonstrate that both type of emotion displayed and gender of the politician influence voters' attitudes. Negative emotions were superior to positive emotions in generating a positive attitude towards politicians. This is contrary to previous findings suggesting the opposite (Abelson et al. 1980) and supports that attitudes in relation to politicians' emotional displays are driven by trust and that negative emotions are superior in fostering the same. It has previously been demonstrated that political leaders displaying negative emotions are evaluated as significantly more trustworthy, as compared to when displaying positive emotions (Bucy 2000). It should here be noted that no control for message content was included in the main study, thus results could be impacted by the topic of speeches, however such was controlled in the pilot-study to screen out un-suitable topics, thus the risk should be minimized.

Attitude was also affected by gender in terms of female politicians being rated higher than their male counterparts in the presence of emotional display, regardless of type of emotion. This could be explained by wide-held beliefs of women as more emotionally expressive beings (Campos, et al. 1994), and role congruent behavior fostering liking (ibid).

Ethnicity, on the other hand did not trigger any significant effects on voters' attitudes. Contrary to previous findings, in studies using skin-color as stimuli, (Sigelman et al. 1995) minority status did in this study not evoke compassion to cause significant difference in attitude.

### **5.2. Identification**

The results also demonstrate that female candidates benefit from an interpretation-bias in female voters' evaluation of their emotional displays, arguably because of in-group activation as female voters were demonstrated to identify more strongly with a politician of the same gender. With no explicit cause for the emotional display provided to the audience, effects of the ultimate attribution bias appear to affect female voters who in this study systematically differ in their views of which the causes for the display were. Specifically, the source of the behavior is seen to a higher degree be a result of external influence for male than female politicians. I.e. there is a tendency among female respondents to explain (away) the positive behavior of displaying emotions for male politician as they represent out-group members for which such behavior is incongruent with expectations. This allows female respondents to reduce the cognitive burden from dissonance by maintaining their pre-existing views of men, as less emotional expressive beings.

### **5.3. Vote Intention**

Even though women more strongly identified with female than male politicians; gender of the politician was not sufficient alone to increase vote intention. No significant direct interaction effects between respondents' and politicians' gender on vote intention could be observed. I.e. a woman is not more likely to vote for a female candidate simply because they both are women. However, interaction effects of politicians' and voters' gender were demonstrated to lead to significant differences in



perceptions trustworthiness, affecting vote intention. The results presented above pertaining to identification and causal attribution indicate that these effects are due to attribution biases resulting from membership-group activation for female voters.

The lack of statistical significance on vote intention, resulting from any typical non-congruity-based personality, despite emotional displays viewed as non-typical, i.e. non-conforming to the role as a politician, could be explained by voter preferences for familiarity over need for uniqueness following Bellezza et al. (2013). However, this dynamic has not been confirmed to prevail in a politician context, but is supported by the positive correlation between familiarity of politicians and vote intention and the high percentage mediated by trustworthiness as demonstrated by the second regression analysis above.

In relation to ethnicity, it was demonstrated that minority representatives were on average seen as less qualified and more aggressive than majority representatives. This disadvantage for minority representatives only prevailed when anger was expressed. For sadness or happiness no significant effects were present. This can be explained by the lack of cues to evoke xenophobic stereotypes of aggression, when either happiness or sadness is displayed.

## **5.4. Conclusions**

The results of this thesis offer further support to the results of previous research indicating that display of negative emotions (anger or sadness) result in higher vote intention than positive emotions (happiness) also when gender and ethnicity is taken into account. However, it could not be confirmed that high-arousal emotions (anger) are superior to low (sadness) in generating support for political candidates.

It was also demonstrated that female politicians hold an advantage over male in terms of attitude. With no explicit cause for the emotional display provided, female voters perceive that male politicians' behavior is a result of instructions from somebody else rendering them less trustworthy and thus hold a less favorable attitude towards them. Moreover, display of anger, sadness or happiness is seen as equally untypical behavior for both male and female politicians in a Swedish context, but men are seen as less Swedish and familiar than women, irrespectively of their ethnicity.

Finally, display of anger was demonstrated to function as a cue to activate xenophobic stereotypes of aggression against male minority representatives with significant negative impact on vote intention.

## **5.5. Theoretical implications**

The results of this study are aligned with the majority of the literature examining emotions in a political context, demonstrating that negative emotions offer greater effects on vote intention than positive, but it differs in rationale for these observations. It is not due to the absence of significant effects from attitude towards the politician as argued by Tiedens (2001) but rather due to trustworthiness, which is deemed lower in relation to positive emotional display. Especially if the politician is male and the voter female as he cannot mitigate the effect by signaling trustworthiness by conforming to a gender-based role. Thus, this study demonstrates the importance of a diversity perspective, allowing for gender and ethnicity to affect voter identification, expectations on behavior and ultimately attitude and vote intention towards politicians.

The results presented here also demonstrate that previously confirmed biases based on skin-color in relation to anger (e.g. Sigelman et al. 1995) can be evoked also by ethnicity minority status in line Rokeach's belief-congruence model (Rokeach, as cited by Mackie and Hamilton 2014) in a case where ethnicity is communicated via manipulation of the politicians' names. And further, that effects of ethnicity are non-significant for displays of happiness and sadness, arguably because no xenophobic cues are available under such conditions. Thus, these results refine the results of previous research indicating that minority status cause bias interpretation of traits but without significant effect on vote intention. It is here demonstrated that it does, but only for male politicians when anger is displayed.

## **5.6. Practical Implications**

The results from the main study indicate that emotional displays can be beneficial in promoting both male and female political candidates. However, with some caution, especially for male candidates towards female voters, as the behavior is then to a greater degree perceived as a source of external influence and as such less trustworthy and thus effective to increase vote intention. These results highlight importance to communicate internal origin of the emotional display in order to maximize benefits stemming from attribution of non-congruent behaviors. In relation to this, caution is advised due to the implicit trade-off between clarity in motive and subtleness. As Jones and Pittman (1982) points out, the best strategies are those that are not recognized as such, but as demonstrated here, also motivated sufficiently to secure audience interpretation of internal origin.

For women, in particular, opportunities exist to get ahead of the competition via the use of emotional display. If female politicians adopt a more emotionally expressive communication style, this study indicates that voters would hold a more positive attitude towards them than their male counterparts. This correspond to a positive effect for individual politicians, at least in the short run. It could be argued however that adopting a more emotional expressive communication style, conforming to role congruent behavior and thus, to a greater extent stereotypical behavior, can limit politicians in the long-run if it increases the focus on gender-based roles at the expense of professional roles (beyond the effect already present by increased personalization for all individual politicians, irrespectively of gender). Creating a too far detachment from professional and leadership roles, risk contributing to a perception of less competence. It could be noted here that neither one of the different emotions tested did elicit a greater perceived deviance from the norm as a politician (as measured by typicality) based on the politicians' gender (nor ethnicity for that matter); either as a single moderator or via interaction effects from the two. I.e. a woman displaying emotions is not considered any more or less typical as a politician than a man doing the same, neither is a politician representing the majority versus a minority based on ethnicity as of today. However, this may or may not change with increasing exposure over time. Thus, to encourage use of emotional display in practice, further research aimed at determining optimal levels for different types of emotional displays in relation to gender would be beneficial.

## 6. Limitations and Future Research

The main study in this thesis focuses on emotional displays in relation to gender and ethnicity. Other demographic variables, such as age, may add further explanatory power over differences among political candidates. Due to resource restrictions, the number of manipulations included in the main study had to be limited and the demographic aspects with stronger theoretical support for expected effects were prioritized. Adding age as a variable would increase the minimum number of scenarios required for testing all combinations of independent variables. In the simplest case, by adding a binary variable for age, e.g. 0= young, 1= old, the number of scenarios would need to be doubled. Thus, affecting the number of respondents required in each group.

In a time of declining response frequency to surveys, using panel data is an attractive but not always a suitable shortcut to raise external validity. As demonstrated in this thesis, even clear manipulations are not always recognized by respondents, rendering the approach for outsourcing data collection less suitable for stimuli requiring higher levels of cognitive processing. This highlights the importance of including manipulations checks as done in this study to secure data quality. Without such inclusions, the data quality in relation to internal validity cannot be readily confirmed.

It should also be emphasized that no control group in terms of a scenario without any manipulations of emotional display was included in the main study. Still, some respondents did not perceive any emotional display by the politician described. This is most likely explained by the respondents' various experiences of and preferences for emotional displays. The responses provided do not indicate that failure to recognize the intended manipulations was a result of lack of attention to the stimuli. The respondents who chose option 4: "the politician did not express any emotion" to question 14: "The political displayed the following emotion:", did not to a higher degree provide incomplete questionnaires or inconsistent answers as compared to other respondents. Also, they did not fail to correctly identify the other manipulation checks more often than those who recognized emotional display, which would have indicated that they did not read the vignettes. Rather they seem to have dedicated the same level of attention as the average respondent. Moreover, an appearance by a politician, or any human individual for that matter, with a complete lack of emotional display should be considered practically impossible. Thus, a replication of the main study with a control group receiving no treatment of emotional display, would result in low ecological validity in terms of experimental realism and be of little practical relevance.

Finally, the importance of cultural context for the results presented here should be emphasized; not the least considering that men displaying emotions were considered to be less Swedish and more foreign than women and that the same was significantly and negatively correlated with vote intention. Cultural norms, as well as advancement of personalization are likely to vary across geographical markets and thus so should vote intention as a result of different types of emotion displayed. Previous research has found that audiences differ in their perception of emotional appeals by politicians in different countries; e.g. Masters and Sullivan (1989) demonstrate that a French audience evaluates displays of anger more favorably than an American audience, in a comparison of televised political ads. These effects are argued to occur due to different levels of ritualization of political displays across markets (ibid). Therefore, it

would be interesting to replicate this study on different geographical markets to investigate how cultural differences in expected behavior impact the effects presented here.

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## Appendix A - Vignettes

### Scenario 1 – Sadness, Male Politician, Majority Representative

Föreställ dig att en person du följer på sociala medier, re-postat ett videoklipp. Du tycker att det ser intressant ut så du bestämmer dig för att klicka på länken och titta på klippet. Du får se följande.

Riksdagspolitikern Anders Eriksson håller ett anförande i plenisalen om Sveriges äldreboenden. Han inleder med att säga "Herr Talman, de senaste veckorna har vi fått höra personal slå larm om kraftig underbemanning. Samtidigt har antalet äldreboenden som fått kritik av IVO, Inspektionen för vård och omsorg, ökat kraftigt den senaste tiden."

Han fortsätter med: "Vid flertalet tillfällen har larmrapporter skrivits om och förmildrats innan de lämnas vidare till politiker. Att misstänkliggöra personalen är fruktansvärt och avskräcker andra från att påpeka brister. Det innebär att grov vanvård slätas över och svåra brister förblir dolda. Allt för ofta förekommer det att gamla och svaga människor lämnas ensamma utan tillsyn. Det är inhumana förhållanden som resulterar i såväl psykiska som fysiska skador. Vi ska ha en effektiv och ansvarsfull politik som säkerställer ett värdigt liv även på äldre dagar."

Kameran zoomar in för en närbild av politikern. Han är märkbart tagen och har svårt att hålla tillbaka tårarna samtidigt som han med upprörd röst säger "Det är för mig ofattbart att det ser ut så här i Sverige år 2016. Vi kan inte och får inte acceptera att detta sker!" Han gör ett kort uppehåll och stryker bort en tår ur ögat innan han fortsätter. "Vi måste agera för att säkerställa en ökad kvalitet inom äldreboenden". Därefter avslutar han talet med att presentera en åtgärdsplan med tre kritiska områden för att komma tillrätta med problemen. Till sist tackar han för riksdagens tid och lämnar över till nästa talare innan han återvänder till sin plats.

### Scenario 5 – Anger, Male Politician, Majority Representative

Föreställ dig att en person du följer på sociala medier, re-postat ett videoklipp. Du tycker att det ser intressant ut så du bestämmer dig för att klicka på länken och titta på klippet. Du får se följande.

Riksdagspolitikern Anders Eriksson håller ett anförande i plenisalen om Sveriges äldreboenden. Han inleder med att säga "Herr Talman, de senaste veckorna har vi fått höra personal slå larm om kraftig underbemanning. Samtidigt har antalet äldreboenden som fått kritik av IVO, Inspektionen för vård och omsorg, ökat kraftigt den senaste tiden."

Han fortsätter med: "Vid flertalet tillfällen har larmrapporter skrivits om och förmildrats innan de lämnas vidare till politiker. Att misstänkliggöra personalen är fruktansvärt och avskräcker andra från att påpeka brister. Det innebär att grov vanvård slätas över och svåra brister förblir dolda. Allt för ofta förekommer det att gamla och svaga människor lämnas ensamma utan tillsyn. Det är inhumana förhållanden som resulterar i såväl psykiska som fysiska skador. Vi ska ha en effektiv och ansvarsfull politik som säkerställer ett värdigt liv även på äldre dagar."

Kameran zoomar in för en närbild av politikern. Han är märkbart tagen och slår en knuten hand hårt i podiet samtidigt som han med upprörd röst säger "Det är för mig ofattbart att det ser ut så här i Sverige år 2016. Vi kan inte och får inte acceptera att detta sker!" Han skakar långsamt på huvudet, gör ett kort uppehåll och samlar sig

innan han fortsätter. ”Vi måste aktivt agera för att säkerställa en ökad kvalitet inom äldreomsorgen”. Därefter avslutar han talet med att presentera en åtgärdsplan med tre kritiska områden för att komma tillrätta med problemen. Till sist tackar han för riksdagens tid och lämnar över till nästa talare innan han återvänder till sin plats.

### **Scenario 9 – Happiness, Male Politician, Majority Representative**

Föreställ dig att en person du följer på sociala medier, re-postat ett videoklipp. Du tycker att det ser intressant ut så du bestämmer dig för att klicka på länken och titta på klippet. Du får se följande.

Riksdagspolitikern Anders Eriksson håller ett anförande i plenisalen om den svenska arbetsmarknaden. Han inleder med att säga ”Herr Talman, det gläder mig att riksdagen äntligen har nått en bred, blocköverskridande överenskommelse för finanspolitiken. Detta innebär fantastiska förutsättningar för riksdagens fortsatta arbete. Vi är nu ett stort steg närmare målet att nå EU:s lägsta arbetslöshet.”

Han fortsätter med att säga: ”En av de största utmaningarna framöver är skillnaderna i arbetslöshet mellan olika grupper. Att ha ett arbete och en inkomst ger människor makt över sina liv, liksom en känsla av gemenskap och av att vara behövd. Det är bara via en aktiv arbetsmarknadspolitik vi kan säkerställa en hög tillväxt och sysselsättning samtidigt som vi ökar jämlikheten i samhället. Vi kan se till att jobben blir fler, nyföretagandet växer och arbetslösheten pressas ner.”

Kameran zoomar in för en närbild av politikern. Han är märkbart upprymd och ler samtidigt som han säger: ”Med denna blocköverskridande enighet kan regeringen nu fatta de viktiga beslut som krävs för att säkra en fortsatt framgångsrik finans- och arbetsmarknadspolitik. Vi kan och bör vara ambitiösa i vår målsättning, med syftet att stimulera utbildning och entreprenörskap som stärker Sveriges konkurrenskraft.” Därefter sammanfattar han huvuddragen i det nya finanspolitiska ramverket, och framhåller tre områden som kritiska för riksdagens fortsatta arbete.

Han avslutar sedan anförandet med att säga: ”Vi har fortfarande en lång väg kvar att gå men idag har riksdagen tagit ett stort steg framåt för att säkra Sveriges framtida finans- och arbetsmarknadspolitik, tack!”. Därefter går han ned från podiet. Han ler mot sina partikamrater medan han återvänder till sin plats och kramar om sin kollega på platsen bredvid innan han sätter sig ned.

## **Appendix B - Translated Vignettes**

### **Scenario 1 – Sadness, Male Politician, Majority Representative**

Imagine that a person you follow on social media re-posted a video-clip. You think the clip look interesting so you decide to click on the link and watch it. What you see is the following:

A politician, Anders Eriksson, is giving a speech in front of the Swedish parliament addressing deficiencies in the elderly care. He begins his speech by saying: "Mr. Speaker, in the latest weeks we have been seen alarming reports regarding severed staffing shortage unfold in the media. At the same time the number of facilities that receive criticism from the authorities for health care inspection has sharply increased in the latter years.

He continues by saying: "On numerous occasions, reports have been edited and extenuated before delivered to politicians. To discredit the staff is horrible and prevents others from reporting malpractices. It means that severe neglect and deficiencies remain hidden from the public. Much too often elderly and weak people are left alone without any supervision. That are inhumane conditions of living that result in both physical and physical damages. We must secure an efficient and responsible political agenda that secures a decent life also in the later years of life.

The camera zooms in for a close-up of the politician. He is noticeably moved and struggles to hold back the tears as he with upset voice says: "To me, it is unacceptable that this occurs in Sweden 2016. We cannot and must not accept this!" He pauses and wipes away a tear from his eye with the back of his hand before he continues. "We must act now to secure a higher standard within the elderly care."

He thereafter finished his speech by outlaying an action plan with three critical areas for improvement. Finally, he thanks the parliament for the time and hands the word over to the next speaker before he returns to his seat.

### **Scenario 5 – Anger, Male Politician, Majority Representative**

Imagine that a person you follow on social media re-posted a video-clip. You think the clip look interesting so you decide to click on the link and watch it. What you see is the following:

A politician, Anders Eriksson, is giving a speech in front of the Swedish parliament addressing deficiencies in the elderly care. He begins his speech by saying" Mr. Speaker, in the latest weeks we have been seen alarming reports regarding severed staffing shortage unfold in the media. At the same time the number of facilities that receive criticism from the authorities for health care inspection has sharply increased in the latter years.

He continues by saying:" On numerous occasions, reports have been edited and extenuated before delivered to politicians. To discredit the staff is horrible and prevents others from reporting malpractices. It means that severe neglect and deficiencies remain hidden from the public. Much too often elderly and weak people are left alone without any supervision. That are inhumane conditions of living that result in both physical and physical damages. We must secure an efficient and responsible political agenda that secures a decent life also in the later years of life.

The camera zooms in for a close-up of the politician. He is noticeably moved and

pounds a fist onto the podium as he with upset voice says:” To me, it is unacceptable that this occurs in Sweden 2016. We cannot and must not accept this!” He shakes his head slowly and pauses to collect himself before he continues. ” We must act now to secure a higher standard within the elderly care.”

He thereafter finished his speech by outlaying an action plan with three critical areas for improvement. Finally, he thanks the parliament for the time and hands the word over to the next speaker before he returns to his seat.

### **Scenario 9 – Happiness, Male Politician, Majority Representative**

Imagine that a person you follow on social media re-posted a video-clip. You think the clip look interesting so you decide to click on the link and watch it. What you see is the following:

A politician, Anders Eriksson, is giving a speech in front of the Swedish parliament addressing the Swedish labor market. He begins his speech by saying” Mr. speaker, I am pleased that the parliament finally has reached an agreement across the coalitions for fiscal polies. This agreement offers promising conditions for the parliaments future work. We are now one step closer to the goal of reaching the lowest unemployment rate in the EU.

He continues by saying: ”One of the largest challenges going forward are the differences in unemployment rate among different groups in society. To have an employment and an income gives people control over their lives as well as a sense of community and to be needed. It is only via active labor market policies that we can secure high growth and occupation rates while simultaneously increasing the equality in society. We can make sure that the number of jobs are growing, that new business creation growing and unemployment is being brought down.

The camera zooms in for a close-up of the politician. He is taken and struggle to hold back the tears as he with vice says: ”With this across-coalition spanning agreement our government now can make the tough decisions required by them to secure a continuing successful fiscal- and labor market policy. We both can and should be ambitious with our goals/agenda setting, with the purpose to stimulate education and entrepreneurship to strengthen the competitiveness of Sweden internationally.” Thereafter he summarizes the main areas of the new political framework and highlights three areas as critical for the future work of the parliament.

He then finished his speech by saying: “We still have a long way to go, but today the parliament has taken a large step forward to secure the future of Swedish fiscal – and labor market polices. Thank you!” He then steps down from the podium. He is smiling while he is walking back to take his seat. Before he sits down he gives his colleague a hug.

## Appendix C - Survey

Denna undersökning ligger till grund för en masteruppsats inom marknadsföring vid Handelshögskolan i Stockholm. Alla svar kommer att behandlas anonymt och enbart användas i forskningssyfte. Tack för din medverkan!

För att vi ska få ett representativt urval ber vi dig att först svara på en fråga om din ålder.

1 Vänligen ange vilket år du är född: \_\_\_\_\_

Vänligen läs texten på följande sida noggrant och svara på de efterföljande frågorna baserat på ditt intryck av det som beskrivs i texten.

### [Vignette (sluppmässigt tilldelat scenario 1-12)]

2 Hur väl instämmer du med följande påståenden angående ditt intryck av politikern?

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Mitt intryck av politikern är bra	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Jag tycker att politikern är tilltalande	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mitt intryck av politikern är positivt	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3 Hur väl instämmer du med följande påstående?

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Jag skulle kunna tänka mig att personrösta på politikern i nästa riksdagsval	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4 Var anser du att politikern faller på följande skalor?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Okvalificerad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Kvalificerad
Oerfaren	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Erfaren
Oärlig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ärlig
Manipulativ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Uppriktig
Misslyckad	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Framgångsrik
Inte trovärdig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Trovärdig
Oattraktiv	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Attraktiv
Lättretlig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Behärskad
Aggressiv	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Lugn
Svag	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Stark
Ovänlig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Vänlig
Irrationell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Rationell

5 Hur väl instämmer du med följande påståenden?

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Jag identifierar mig med politikern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Politikern representerar mig eller den jag vill vara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Politikern passar mig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jag beundrar politikern	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

6 Vad tror du var anledningen till att politikern uttryckte sina känslor? Politikern gav uttryck för sina känslor eftersom...

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
... politikern ville påverka åhörarna	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern hade en privat koppling till ämnet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern är den typen av person som ofta gör det	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern saknade erfarenhet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... situationen tog överhand	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... problemet var allvarligt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern fått instruktioner av någon annan att göra	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

7 Det verkar som att:

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Politikern kan kosta på sig att göra som hen vill	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Politikern har kontroll över sitt agerande	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

8 Politikern...

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
... avviker på ett bra sätt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... avviker på ett dåligt sätt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

9 Politikern...

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
... gör saker enbart för att passa in eller behaga	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... bryr sig inte om etablerade normer eller	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... bryter regler när hen känner för det	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

10 Politikern framstår som:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Typiskt manlig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Typiskt kvinnlig
Maskulin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Feminin
Osvensk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Svensk
Främmande	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Bekant

Några frågor om dig:

Hur väl stämmer följande påståenden för dig?

11

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Politik betyder mycket för mig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jag är väl insatt i svensk politik	0	0	0	0	0	0	0



	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
Huruvida jag röstar eller inte har ingen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
De flesta politiker tjänar bara sig själva	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Man kan lita på vad politiker säger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Några sista frågor om politikern:

13 Jag tycker att...

	Instämmer inte alls (1)	2	3	4	5	6	Instämmer helt (7)
... sättet politikern kommunicerade på är	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern agerade som en typisk	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
... politikern var mer känslös i sitt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

14 Politikern visade följande känsla:

- ☐ Sorg
- ☐ Ilska
- ☐ Lycka/upprymdhet
- ☐ Annat/ Visade inga tydliga känslor

15 Politikern gav uttryck för sina känslor genom att:

- ☐ Gråta
- ☐ Slå en näve i podiet
- ☐ Le/Krama en kollega
- ☐ Annat/ visade inga tydliga känslor

16 Politikern representerade:

- ☐ De rödgröna
- ☐ Alliansen
- ☐ Ett parti utanför blocken
- ☐ Ingen uppfattning

17 Politikern var:

- ☐ Man
- ☐ Kvinna
- ☐ Vet ej

18 Politikern hade:

- ☐ Ett typiskt svenskt namn
- ☐ Ett utländskt namn
- ☐ Vet ej

Nedan följer några frågor om det förra riksdagsvalet, kom ihåg att dina svar är anonyma.

19 Jag röstade i det förra riksdagsvalet

- ☐ Ja
- ☐ Nej

**[Fråga 20 Visades endast för respondenter som valt svarsalternativ JA för fråga 19]**

20 I det förra riksdagsvalet stödde jag följande politiska block:

- ☐ De rödgröna (Vänsterpartiet, Socialdemokraterna eller Miljöpartiet)
- ☐ Alliansen (Centerpartiet, Folkpartiet/Liberalerna, Moderaterna eller Kristdemokraterna)
- ☐ Röstade på ett parti utanför blocken (Ex. Sverigedemokraterna eller Feministiskt Initiativ)
- ☐ Vill ej uppge

**[Fråga 21 Visades endast för respondenter som valt svarsalternativ JA för fråga 19]**

21 I det senaste riksdagsvalet röstade jag på följande parti:

- ☐ Feministiskt initiativ
- ☐ Vänsterpartiet
- ☐ Socialdemokraterna
- ☐ Miljöpartiet
- ☐ Centerpartiet
- ☐ Folkpartiet/Liberalerna
- ☐ Moderaterna
- ☐ Kristdemokraterna
- ☐ Sverigedemokraterna
- ☐ Annat, vänligen uppge: \_\_\_\_\_
- ☐ Vill ej uppge

Några sista frågor:

22 Jag är:

- ☐ Man
- ☐ Kvinna
- ☐ Identifierar mig varken som man eller kvinna

23 Jag är:

- ☐ Uppvuxen i Sverige med svenska föräldrar
- ☐ Uppvuxen i Sverige med en svensk och en utländsk förälder
- ☐ Uppvuxen i Sverige med utländska föräldrar
- ☐ Uppvuxen utomlands