Taking Campaigns Personally: The Big Five Aspects and Political Behavior

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Dedication

For Melanie, Hazel, and PK.

Abstract

How do political campaigns and personality traits interact to produce differences in political behavior? This dissertation examines this question, demonstrating across a variety of behaviors and traits that political campaigns cannot be understood without considering the influence of personality traits, nor can personality in politics researchers continue to ignore the influence of situational factors such as political campaigns. Working within the structure of the Big Five personality system and using a series of experiments, I show that political campaigns alter the expression of personality traits, changing how dispositions influence voters' likelihood of voting, political participation, attitude polarization, and information seeking. I claim that voter personality cannot be understood in isolation from the political context (or vice-versa); instead, personality effects are heterogeneous contingent on the political situation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

How do we convince citizens that they need to vote? What can we do to drive their interest in learning about candidates? Is there anything we can do to convince them to support one candidate over the other? Political campaigns strive for many of these actions, hoping to convince voters to vote for their candidate, turn out on Election Day, learn about the candidates, and maybe even donate their time and money to the candidate or cause. During the course of a campaign, millions of dollars are spent on communicating with potential voters with these goals in mind. For instance, in 2012, Elizabeth Warren, Scott Brown, and various political action committees spent over eighty million dollars on the Massachusetts Senate race alone (OpenSecrets, 2013).

While campaigns spend exorbitant sums of money to persuade and mobilize voters, social scientists devote equally exorbitant amounts of time and energy to understanding whether these communications are effective. Some scholars focus on the campaigns while others focus on voters, seeking explanations for why some people vote and others do not, for why one candidate gets more votes than the other, for why some people are interested and engaged with politics while others avoid politics completely.

One set of explanations focuses entirely on characteristics of the voter. Some voters are more educated, interested, or civically engaged, leading them to get involved with politics (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Still other voters hold prior attitudes that influence all of their political judgments (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960). These scholars lay out a causal chain that runs from voter qualities to political behavior.

Another set of explanations focuses on characteristics of the campaigns. Perhaps negative campaigns drive behavior, polarizing and demobilizing the electorate (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995) or providing valuable information to voters (Geer, 2006). Voters take a backseat in these approaches, holding on to their own beliefs but reacting strongly to the efforts of candidates.

Recently, a middle ground emerged. This explanation says that some voters are more easily moved by campaigns than others. The cause of this malleability could be ambivalence (Lavine, Johnston, & Steenbergen, 2012), conflicting issue positions (Hillygus & Shields, 2008), or any number of other explanations, but the end result is the same: some voters are more easily persuaded or mobilized than others. Yet the explanation for an individual's campaign susceptibility is rooted in political factors, usually a conflict between personally held political beliefs or between a belief and a stated position from a candidate or political party.

This dissertation challenges the idea that an individual's campaign receptivity is almost entirely political. I will show that campaigns alter something completely apolitical, personality traits, which causes citizens to react differently depending on whether campaigns are seen or not. Personality traits predict political behavior, but the effect of these traits on politics depends on the campaign context. Reactions to political campaigns, therefore, not only alter voting decisions and behavior directly, but also indirectly by changing the effect of personality traits.

This dissertation demonstrates that contemporary political campaigns, with a focus on targeted mobilization and emotionally charged persuasive appeals, leads to a

participatory asymmetry. The currently accepted norms in political campaigns drive one set of voters to participate and evaluate candidates while simultaneously driving another set to disengage and ignore candidates. In other words, the effectiveness of political communications depends on a number of factors including one that is wholly non-political: voter personality.

Political Campaigns, Personality, and Campaign Receptiveness

Political campaigns rely heavily on huge amounts of data collected by the campaigns and parties on the electorate. As the nature of the American voter diversified, political campaigns similarly expanded. While television commercials aired on basic cable and direct mailers sent to the masses used to be the norm, the wealth of information available to candidates led to far more targeted modern campaigns (Sides, Shaw, Grossmann, & Lipsitz, 2012). This information allowed campaigns to micro-target their campaign appeals, focusing on the most persuadable voters (Hillygus & Shields, 2008). However, while previous research suggests that small groups of persuadable voters can be identified by their political characteristics, this dissertation claims that responsive voters can also be identified by their personality characteristics.

In order for campaigns to target voters based on personality, however, they need a measure of the individual's personality. While campaigns clearly will not ask millions of voters to complete a personality assessment, they can infer personality from publicly available information. In particular, reliable personality profiles have been compiled using a range of information, including personal websites (Vazire & Gosling, 2004; Weisbuch, Ivcevic, & Ambady, 2009), Facebook behavior (Back et al., 2010; Gosling,

Augustine, Vazire, Holtzman, & Gaddis, 2011), email addresses (Back, Schmukle, & Egloff, 2008), and even music preferences (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2006). With the enormous amount of consumer information and financial resources available to campaigns, the idea that politicians can divine voter personality and direct advertisements accordingly does not seem particularly far-fetched.

Once personality is inferred and campaign communications are appropriately targeted, personality characteristics interact with campaign communications to produce a variety of political attitudes and behaviors. I examine this interaction, termed the "campaign by personality interaction", and suggest that political campaigns moderate the effects of personality traits on political behavior and public opinion. In essence, voters are not a homogeneous block reacting similarly to campaigns; instead political and apolitical dispositions create different reactions depending on the situation.

In the broadest sense, the term "personality" captures the set of individual traits that influence our attitudes and behaviors. This set of traits is relatively unchanging over the course of our adult lives and can be extremely broad or surprisingly narrow. Personality, no matter what form we use, should be situationally independent; that is, while one situation may make a person express an aspect of their personality more than another, the situation itself does not *cause* an individual to possess a specific personality trait (Ross & Nisbett, 1991). Personality, in this sense, exerts a direct influence (though surely not the only influence) on the behavior of an individual, including their political behavior. However, the effect of personality can also interact with the campaign environment.

Of course, some people are simply psychologically predisposed to be more interested in, involved with, persuaded by, or critical of politics. For these individuals, personality exerts a direct influence over their political behavior. This view of personality in politics broadly reflects early work in personality psychology that focused on the direct influence of personality on behavior (Allport, 1931).

The study of personality, however, took a turn during the latter half of the 20th century. Following the critiques of Mischel (1968), a more comprehensive, interactive view of personality emerged. Dubbed the "person-situation debate", scholars eventually settled on a middle ground; personality was not simply an illusion, a post-hoc explanation for perceived consistency in behavior (Kenrick & Funder, 1988). The effects of personality, however, are not constant either; traits interact with the environment to produce different expressions of the trait in different situations.

An individual's personality, therefore, is not the only potential influence on political behavior and attitudes. The campaign environment also maintains prominence in this theory, playing the important role of the situation. While some aspects of personality undoubtedly make people more or less engaged in politics, other traits interact with the campaign environment. Additionally, different types of campaign communications will be more or less effective depending on the recipient's personality. This leads campaign communications to be more effective for some voters versus others. It is this exhibition of personality traits, moderated by situational factors, that this dissertation is primarily concerned.

Why the Campaign Receptiveness Personality Matters

Before continuing, a logical question is "why should we care that political campaigns moderates personality effects?" Does an examination of this interaction offer us anything over and above what we already know about political campaigns and behavior? Ultimately, this dissertation cannot offer prescriptions for campaign professionals or grand ideas to "fix" the state of political involvement in America. While the findings from this project speak to representational differences in politics, the broader point of the argument is that, no matter what type of campaigns are waged or what restrictions are placed on candidates, there will always be some people who are predisposed to react to that type of campaign. The personality characteristics may change, but the underlying mechanism remains. This dissertation illustrates the apolitical nature of many campaign effects commonly assumed to have purely political roots.

This important distinction provides a lens to view modern political campaigns through. If political campaigns significantly alter an individual's expression of their personality, we are forced to consider the possibility that additional apolitical factors influence political involvement. In no way does this invalidate decades of research on campaign effects and political psychology. Instead, it demonstrates the next development in our understanding of political campaigns. Ultimately, however, our interest must turn back to the implications for the American public.

Political campaigns, often denigrated as nothing more than mud-slinging between out-of-touch politicians, serve a different purpose under this theoretical framework. Campaigns drive some individuals to rely on the personality characteristics more, which in turn produces differences in participation, candidate support, and campaign learning.

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Furthermore, campaigns may reduce participatory differences that were originally driven by personality. Absent a political campaign, individuals may be subject to the whims of their personality, which leads to many of the findings reported by scholars such as Gerber, Huber, and Mondak (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber, Kessler, & Meredith, 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008). Campaigns, however, can drive individuals to consider the persuasive messages put out by candidates, relying on this information rather than their personality traits when making political decisions.

The interaction of campaigns and personality, by suggesting that many of our reactions to political campaigns result from innate differences, actually ameliorates some of the animosity so common in American politics today. It is far easier to denigrate and ignore your political opponent if you believe them to be simply stubborn, stupid, or misinformed. It is significantly more difficult to dismiss them with the knowledge that we all possess certain personality traits that lead us to different reactions to political situations. By altering the focus, shifting it from political traits to psychological traits, this dissertation begins the discussion on what actually leads some individuals to participate in politics.

In addition to shedding light on division in American politics, this research speaks to the representativeness of our current campaign system. If certain individuals are more easily persuaded or mobilized, campaigns possess large incentives to focus their attention on these individuals. However, this leads to an asymmetry in who is asked to participate and who ends up getting involved. Elected officials, rather than responding to all of their

constituents, are driven to respond to those who are most involved. Whether an elected official listens only to their supporters or only to the most extraverted or neurotic voters, addressing the concerns of the most vocal diminishes the representativeness of our system. By identifying which individuals are most affected by contemporary campaigns, this research identifies personality as a possible division between the over- and under-represented in society.

Combining personality psychology with decades of political science research, I demonstrate that political behavior results from direct and interactive individual- and aggregate-level forces. Admittedly, some of these forces are explicitly political. However, others (namely personality) develop and solidify long before an individual understands politics in any real sense. Understanding how these non-political forces interact with a politically charged campaign environment to produce political attitudes and behavior enhances our understanding of campaign effects and can potentially reduce the seemingly intractable lack of understanding and appreciation currently separating political opponents in America.

To this point, the interaction of personality and campaigns has received relatively little attention in the scholarly literature. Primarily, this is a result of the relatively short amount of time that personality has been a part of the discussion in political science. However, this lack of research can also be traced to a tendency in political science and mass communication research on political advertisements to treat audiences as homogeneous. This is not to say that political science does not believe voters possess differentiating characteristics; clearly this is not the case. Instead, I suggest that (most)

political scientists and communication scholars assumes that all individuals react similarly to political advertisements. While recent work suggests the field is opening up to the concept of differential reactions to campaigns (Hillygus & Shields, 2008), the majority of the political communication literature maintains the belief in homogeneous campaign effects (see Kaid (2008) for a collection of political communication works).

Early studies of negative advertisements reflect this belief (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995; Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, & Valentino, 1994) as does the literature on mobilization (Rosenstone & Hansen, 2003). Even recent work on emotional campaign appeals maintains the belief that a television commercial meant to cause fear will produce this emotion in all viewers (Brader, 2006; Valentino, Brader, Groenendyk, Gregorowicz, & Hutchings, 2011). We know a great deal about the aggregate effects of these campaign tactics, but while they may produce modest persuasive or mobilizing effects among all voters, I suggest a different perspective; campaigns produce strong effects among some voters and little to no effect among others. Examining this interaction demonstrates that campaigns do not influence every voter and, even among those contacted by the campaign, some are mobilized or persuaded and others are not.

Outline of Dissertation

Chapter 2 lays out the theoretical and conceptual foundation for the dissertation. The chapter begins with a discussion of campaign effects and the responsiveness of voters to political appeals and then details the influence of personality on voters. Following this, chapter 2 develops expectations about when and why personality interacts with the campaign environment to alter personality effects. This theoretical discussion

focuses on two key factors: an individual's personality profile and the nature of the campaign appeal. Chapter 2 then outlines the conceptual definitions of personality, mobilization, persuasion, and political deliberation.

Chapter 3 provides non-experimental evidence for two methodological claims that undergird this dissertation. This chapter shows that a convenience sample of Mechanical Turk workers is psychologically similar to nationally representative samples when it comes to the correlation between personality traits and political behavior. In addition, the analyses in this chapter show the value of measuring the Big Five personality traits at the lower-order aspect level as opposed to the commonly used domain level. These analyses set up the experimental results presented in the next three chapters.

Chapter 4 presents empirical evidence for the existence of the campaign by personality interaction in the arena of mobilization. The chapter begins with a discussion of which aspects of personality are most relevant to mobilizing appeals, develops expectations about the interaction of these personality traits and mobilization campaigns, and then proceeds to test these expectations with an original experiment conducted during the fall of 2013.

Chapter 5 presents similar evidence, now turning to attempts by campaigns to persuade voters and alter vote choice and attitude polarization. Like chapter 4, chapter 5 outlines which personality aspects should lead to greater or less persuasion, develops empirical expectations, and then tests these expectations with a second experiment conducted during the winter of 2013.

Chapter 6 uses evidence from the experiment in chapter 5 to examine an individual's willingness to learn and deliberate about candidates. Again, the chapter begins with expectations about the nature and direction of personality effects and how certain personality traits should lead some individuals to react positively to persuasive campaigns while driving others to respond negatively. The chapter then examines information search volume and tests the expectations about an individual's process of deliberation.

The final chapter summarizes these results, presents recommendations for future scholars, and examines what the results tell us about voter responsiveness to political campaigns, especially in the realm of personality traits.

Chapter 2: Campaign Effects and Personality

Problem: What drives different responses to campaigns?

What do you do when somebody knocks on your door to ask you to sign a petition? When they ask for your signature, do you give it to them to avoid saying no, figuring a signature is the least you can do for their hard work on the issue? Maybe you read all of the information they give you very carefully and then politely tell them you do not support their issue. If the person at your front door is very lucky, perhaps you get so excited by the information that you sign their petition AND write a check to their organization on the spot. Now think about your neighbor up the block who always has a kind word and friendly wave when you are out mowing your lawn. How will she react when this person knocks on her door? What about your next door neighbor who never says hello despite the fact that you share a fence?

You and both of your neighbors each possess a unique set of personality characteristics that make you who you are, but you all experienced the same request for a signature from the same person. Yet in all likelihood, the three of you behaved in markedly different ways. Similar appeals happen to millions of people, thousands of times, over the course of hundreds of days prior to every local, state, and national election. We are well aware of the traditional factors that explain why somebody gets involved (e.g. being asked to participate, possessing the resources) or make up their mind about a candidate (e.g. party identification, issue positions, ideology). This dissertation suggests that, aside from the "traditional" variables used to explain participation and

candidate evaluation, political scientists missed a crucial explanation: an individual's personality affects their reactions to all situations, including political campaigns.

Inevitably, some people will decide to participate in politics while others will not and some people are willing to reconsider their political beliefs while others simply ignore or counter-argue conflicting information. I examine one potential mechanism for the success and failure of campaign tactics; the influence of personality on campaign receptiveness. Two key questions motivate this research. First, are some people simply psychologically predisposed to get involved with politics when asked? Second, are some individuals more willing to question and challenge their political beliefs when they encounter political campaigns because of their inherent psychological traits? These questions lead to the expectations that personality traits interact with political campaigns and lead citizens to become more or less involved, informed, and certain of their decisions. Thus, political campaigns are effective, but the effects are asymmetrical and dependent on the activation or deactivation of individual personality traits.

If this is true, the implications for the campaign effects and personality in politics literatures are great. If personality influences who is affected by political campaigns, this implies that the effects we currently observe are overestimated for some (those who are psychologically unresponsive to campaigns) and underestimated for others (those who are psychologically responsive to campaigns). The prior literature, by treating the electorate as homogeneous with regard to personality, failed to capture an important interaction between psychological traits and the campaign environment.

Similarly, for the work on personality in politics, previous findings on the direct influence of personality on actions such as contacting elected officials or volunteering for a candidate (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011b) could, in fact, simply be capturing the after effects of some individuals being more exposed to campaign communications. It also suggests that personality traits that predict information consumption could be predictive during a political campaign but fail outside of the campaign context. Thus, early ambiguities in findings on personality correlates of political activity could derive not from actual ambiguities but rather from differences in the political context during the time of the survey.

This belief in the moderating power of personality forms the backbone of my examination of personality and political campaigns. The layperson's view of campaigns assumes that a candidate must find the "right" message for the time and this will lead to electoral success. The conventional wisdom, therefore, suggests that candidates need only tweak their message to persuade or mobilize more voters. On the contrary, I claim that success is a matter of an effective message targeted to those voters who are most likely to receive and accept the message from the candidate.

As we seek to understand political behavior, the focus often turns to situational factors or traits that drive behavior. However, situations and dispositions do not occur in a vacuum. Throughout this dissertation, I refer to the "campaign by personality interaction." I propose this as the key to fully understanding the effects of campaigns on American voters. Instead of focusing on how campaigns tailor their messages to persuade and mobilize voters or on which individual-level traits predict participation or vote

choice, I build a theoretical framework to understand how political campaigns and individual traits interact to produce different levels of deliberation, polarization, and mobilization.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on developing a set of expectations regarding personality, the campaign environment, and political attitudes and behavior. It begins with a brief historical discussion about the nature of contemporary political campaigns. I then lay out the various paths for campaigns to enact attitudinal and behavioral change and examine the influence of personality on situational perceptions and vice-versa. Finally, I present a theory of the interaction of the influence of personality and political campaigns on attitude change. I conclude with conceptual definitions of the key components of this model.

Development of the Contemporary Campaign

The historical development of the contemporary campaign is intricately tied to the development of the American political party system. In the earliest days of the republic, political campaigns were virtually non-existent, as voter enfranchisement was severely limited and political elites assumed that George Washington would serve as the first president (Sides et al., 2012). This quiescent time, however, changed quickly.

The earliest political parties were little more than collections of elected officials with similar beliefs (Aldrich, 1995). However, even as early as the election of 1800, partisan surrogates were campaigning on behalf of presidential candidates (Sides et al., 2012). As political campaigns evolved, the role of political parties expanded through the 1800s, with most candidates relying on the party organization to convince voters to

support them. By the early 20th century, candidates, especially presidential candidates, personally campaigned for votes.

Party organizations, however, still played an important role for candidates, especially congressional candidates. The mid-20th century brought about an expanded role for party committees (i.e. the various national, senate, and house committees like the DNC, NRCC, DSCC, and NRSC) as organizational and fundraising brokers, providing research, staff, information, expenditures, and cash to selected campaigns (Herrnson, 2000). These developments led to Aldrich's (1995) description of parties that are now "in service" to candidates.

The implication here is that campaigns were no longer beholden to party bosses and platforms. Instead, we entered into a candidate-centered era of campaigning, with individual candidates largely responsible for their own message development and delivery. Party organizations, in turn, adapted to changes in campaign laws by providing candidates with services and information unavailable elsewhere but restricting their direct financial contributions to the candidates (Kolodny, 1998).

We are, therefore, now securely in an era of American political campaigns marked by strong candidate-centered organizations that raise money, develop messages and strategy, and contact voters largely independent of major national party committees. While the national committees have begun to resemble candidate campaigns in some cases, using their resources to mobilize and persuade voters, they perform these activities with very little contact between the party and the candidates themselves (Menefee-Libey, 2000). Regardless of whether the campaign is waged by the candidate or the party

committee, however, the purposes of voter contact by candidates remain the same: convince undecided voters to support your candidate, convert the opposition to your side, and encourage your supporters to turn out on election day.

Political campaigns attempt to accomplish these goals in numerous ways. Crafting an appropriate message is vitally important for candidates, but the message matters little if voters never receive the information. Campaigns, therefore, want to present a compelling message to voters in such a way to ensure effectiveness. The primary goal of campaigns is to elect their candidate, but to do this, they must accomplish a subordinate goal. They must enact attitude change or activation at the individual level. Whether the attitude being changed is about the candidate him or herself, the decision making process they will employ in the election, whether they should participate in the election, whether they should volunteer or donate to the candidate, or some combination of these, the goal is to change the voter's attitude through persuasive communications. In order to understand these processes of attitude change, a review of the rich and extensive history of attitudes in psychology is required.

To understand the interaction of personality factors with political campaigns, we must first understand the psychological underpinnings of attitude change. The goal of political campaigns is to enact some type of change (or stability) in existing attitudes, either about the sponsoring candidate, their opponent, or about various participatory acts such as voting or volunteering. Before predictions can be made about the effectiveness of campaign communications, a basic understanding of the general framework of psychological persuasion is necessary. Drawing heavily from the work of Petty and

Cacioppo (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986a, 1986b; Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983), I lay

out the mechanism for attitude change that belies political communication effects.

Paths to Attitude Change

Throughout the years, psychologists identified many different paths for an

individual to change their attitude. While many different persuasive routes have been

proposed, I highlight a few historical examples. Before continuing, however, I must first

define an *attitude* and what this refers to in this dissertation. Allport's (1935) early

definition of an attitude focused on the response brought on by an attitude, with attitudes

about social objects shaping our reactions. Building off of Allport's work, Triandis

(1971) defines an attitude as "an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a class of

actions to a particular class of social situations" (p. 2). He goes on to describe the three

attitude components inherent in this definition: cognitive, affective, and behavioral.

These three components are vital for our understanding of political attitudes. This

suggests that, at the very least, in order for an individual to hold an attitude towards some

political stimuli, they must have a cognitive understanding of what the stimuli is, some

type of emotionally charged affect towards the stimuli, and some type of "predisposition

to action" (p. 3) regarding that stimuli (Triandis, 1971). At its core, attitudes are

evaluations of stimuli (Fiske & Taylor, 2008).

The cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of attitudes are influenced by

a host of different variables. Cognitive components of attitudes may come from direct

experience with the stimuli or second-hand from other individuals (Eagly & Chaiken,

1993; Fiske & Taylor, 2008; Triandis, 1971). Affective components similarly may

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develop from direct experiences, but must involve both a physiological state of arousal as well as some cognitive information that serves to give the arousal either a positive or negative directionality (Schachter, 1964). Behavioral components, which tell an individual how their attitude should influence their behavior, are strongly influenced by other people, especially family and close friends (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Over time, the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of attitudes tend to become more congruent. As we see how inter-related these aspects are, we tend to bring them in line with each other.

These evaluations, however, must serve some purpose for individuals. Rarely do we hold attitudes about something for no reason. Katz (1967), building off the work of Smith (1967) outlines four main functions of attitudes: adjustment, ego-defensive, value expressive, and knowledge.

All four of these functions come into play with political attitudes. Attitudes about a candidate or activity, such as voting, can serve any or all of these functions at the same time. These attitudes, once formed, are enduring but by no means unchanging. Attitudes can shift as the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components change naturally, but these changes can also be instigated by others or even by ourselves. This type of attitude change can be thought of as persuasion, an attempt to alter somebody's existing attitude. I turn now to a discussion of the major theories of attitude change, focusing on cognitive and affective theories.

Paths to Attitude Change

The earliest work on attitude change, conducted in the 1950s by Carl Hovland and his colleagues at Yale, relied heavily on information as the precursor to attitude change. In their model, persuasion resulted from four processes: attention, comprehension, yielding, and retention (Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1953). Their "message-learning theory" put the onus on the individual, requiring that they pay attention to the persuasive communication; comprehend what was being said to them; allow for that information to change their attitude; and then remember the information over time (Bagozzi, Gurhan-Canli, & Priester, 2002). While perhaps a normatively ideal model of persuasion, a major proposition of the model, that people had to *learn* the persuasive information in order to have attitude change, was not supported in subsequent empirical research.

Around the same time, a series of "balance" theories of persuasion developed. These theories, instead of asking individuals to learn information, posited a role for internal feelings in the persuasive process. Specifically, if an individual felt out of balance either within their intrapersonal beliefs (thoughts, attitudes, behaviors) or their interpersonal relationships, they would seek consistency, often through attitude change (Festinger, 1957). However, similar to message-learning theory, balance theories suffered from conflicting hypotheses, with Festinger claiming a role for cognitive dissonance (reducing internal discomfort) while others such as Bem (1972) thought internal discomfort was unnecessary, as individuals could simply work backwards from their behavior and infer their attitudes (Bagozzi et al., 2002). The resolution to this debate (which resulted in both sides being declared the winner, under certain circumstances) set the stage for a key construct of Petty and Cacioppo's (1986a) Elaboration Likelihood

Model (ELM), namely that differences in the message and recipient lead to different levels of message elaboration or persuasion.

In contrast with previous work on persuasion, the ELM does not claim there is a single path to persuasion. Instead, persuasion occurs along two separate lines. When an individual possesses both the motivation and ability to understand a message, they are likely to "elaborate" and use a cognitively intense, conscious consideration of the argument (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986b; Petty et al., 1983). This route was termed the *central route* to attitude change. In contrast, when the individual lacks either the motivation or ability to consider the message, they rely on the *peripheral route* to attitude change, using heuristics, affective cues, and other cognitive shortcuts to form or change their attitude.

The ELM is by no means the only theory positing multiple routes to decision making. Chaiken and Eagly's Heuristic/Systematic Model reflects many of the key components of the ELM, focusing on analytic (systematic) or existing knowledge structures (heuristic) as the basis for judgment formation (Chaiken, 1980; Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989). Similarly, dual process models with responses originating from either System 1 or System 2 processing have been around for decades (Kahneman, 2003; Kahneman, Slovic, & Tversky, 1982; Stanovich & West, 2000). The key to all of these models of attitude change is the claim, captured by the second postulate of the ELM, that the effectiveness of communication results from both *individual* and *situational* factors.

Situation by Disposition Interaction in Political Science

Political scientists embraced this interaction between *dispositional* elements of the individual and the *environmental* influences surrounding them. Importantly, dispositional differences are conceptually distinct from demographic characteristics, in that dispositions are inherently psychologically- or trait-based aspects of the individual, while demographics are usually thought of as physical characteristics (for example, age, gender, or race) or acquired qualities (like political interest or education). Some of the earliest work in public opinion suggested that individual differences (be they dispositions or demographics) altered how voters experienced the political world. Authors such as Converse (1964) and Zaller (1992) posited a role for political sophistication, claiming that politically competent voters rely more heavily on ideological and partisan conceptions than less competent citizens. Although recent work questions whether sophistication moderates reliance on some dispositional traits (Goren, 2004, 2013), these scholars laid the groundwork for the study of voters as heterogeneous beings. As political scientists explored differences among citizens, they branched out to study a variety of political dispositions such as political trust (Chanley, Rudolph, & Rahn, 2000; Hetherington, 1998, 1999; Rahn & Rudolph, 2005; Rahn & Transue, 1998), political knowledge (Delli-Carpini & Keeter, 1996), political tolerance (Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995) and partisan strength (Kamieniecki, 1988; Verba et al., 1995), among others.

These political predispositions, while interesting, raise a set of questions about the foundations of sophistication, knowledge, partisanship, or trust. For instance, what originally leads somebody to become politically interested or trusting of government? Is

it based off of socialization, lived experiences, some inherent psychological foundation, or (most likely) a combination of these? Borrowing heavily from work in social psychology, political psychologists sought to examine pre-political or long-term forces that precluded (to some extent) these questions of endogeneity. By focusing on fundamental psychological differences such as need for cognition (Kam, 2005), need for cognitive closure (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003), personality (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011b; Mondak, 2010), racial predispositions (Kinder & Kam, 2010; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sniderman, Crosby, & Howell, 2000), or ambivalence (Hillygus & Shields, 2008; Lavine et al., 2012), political psychologists began making claims about the influence of seemingly exogenous traits on political actions (although some work suggests that these traits may not be completely immune to feedback effects from the political environment, see Goldman and Mutz, 2014).

Of particular relevance for this dissertation, however, is not work that focuses on the direct effect of political or psychological predispositions, but rather on the *interaction* between these predispositions and the broader political environment. Decades of research in public opinion and political behavior established this interaction as important to understanding why citizens act the way they do, yet the majority of this research focused on the interaction between political traits and the political environment. Ridout and Franz (2011), for instance, document the moderating role of political information, finding that political persuasion from campaign advertisements occurs most frequently among low knowledge voters. That is, campaign advertisements may persuade a large number of people, but they exert their greatest influence over the least knowledgeable segments of

society. Similarly, Hillygus and Shields (2008) show that cross-pressured voters (those voters with at least one policy position at odds with their partisan identity) respond more strongly to persuasive campaign messages than voters without such pressures.

Even work in political psychology which looks at less explicitly political predispositions tends to focus on traits with an underlying political dimension. The work on racial attitudes, for instance, examines the interaction between the environment and racial predispositions, showing that media accounts alter perceptions of welfare recipients (Gilens, 1996, 1999) and that black politicians can increase the influence of racial animus on policy and candidate evaluations (Tesler, 2012, 2015; Tesler & Sears, 2010). Similarly, work on the authoritarian personality demonstrates that highly threatening experiences can activate latent authoritarian attitudes and alter policy support (Hetherington & Weiler, 2009; Stenner, 2005). Yet both race and authoritarianism could be perceived, at their core, as political in nature. The American political experience cannot be understood without some engagement with racial issues, and authoritarianism relates directly to an individual's relationship and deference for power structures, something inherent in politics.

Thus, it should come as little surprise that, for instance, political primes related to race will activate racial attitudes or environments that threaten the normative structure of society bring forth strong responses from those invested in the status quo. On the other hand, personality, at least in the broadly defined sense of the Big Five, approaches a status of human universal; we all possess a set of personality traits and these dispositional

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traits are applicable across situations. The relative stability of personality traits across time and situation, however, does not place them above environmental influence.

Indeed, Mondak (2010) explicitly notes this personality by environment interaction as the future of work in personality, writing that "such personality-environment interactions demonstrate that isolated attention to either personality or context risks yielding an incomplete account of political behavior" (p. 176). This dissertation follows the spirit of Mondak's call, as well as a long history in political science and political psychology, by arguing that an examination of political campaigns that ignores the role of voter personality is incomplete, just as a study of personality and politics must examine the different expressions of personality under various political conditions.

However, the nature of persuasive communications, especially in political campaigns, varies widely. This project theorizes that differences in the communication environment alters the expression of a variety of personality aspects. At times, the influence of personality on behavior and opinion exists only in the presence of persuasive or mobilizing political campaigns. At other times, the influence of personality is reduced by the campaign communications. And of course, the influence of personality can be unaffected by the campaign environment. The next section lays out this interactive theory of personality and campaigns.

Interactive Theory of Personality and Campaigns

Individuals differ greatly on measures of personality. I theorize that variations in the political environment (in particular, campaign advertisements) alter the expression of

personality, with personality differences mattering under some conditions and failing to predict behavior in other scenarios. Specifically, campaigns act as a key moderator of personality effects. Just as certain people are predisposed to involve themselves in politics, others are influenced by the campaign environment and express their personality differently depending on their political experiences. The campaign environment may moderate the effect of many different personality traits writ large on political behavior. In addition, there is nothing inherently unique about campaign communications, as other situational factors (e.g. the national economy, incumbency) as well as non-political persuasive communications (e.g. car advertisements, newspaper editorials) may alter the expression of personality.

Political campaigns both activate and deactivate the influence of personality factors. The tendency is to think of campaigns as a positive moderator, interacting with personality traits to bring about the expression of the trait (for example, an advertisement cues a sense of duty, which makes the person more likely to participate). However, the reverse can also be true. Campaigns can alleviate representational or participatory differences that are driven by personality factors (for example, campaigns can drive participation up among those high in withdrawal, reducing the gap between the participatory levels of them and those low in withdrawal). I argue that the campaign itself can alter the expression of aspects of the individual's personality.

This interaction may best be illustrated through a non-political example. Consider two individuals, one who scores very high on the extraversion scale and another scoring very low. Our hypothetical introvert and extravert possess certain traits that make them

more outgoing (extravert) or reserved (introvert). Yet these traits are not evident in every scenario. Put these two individuals at an after-work happy hour and our eyes will naturally turn to the extravert and his gregarious nature. At the big board meeting, on the other hand, we may observe few behavioral differences between the two. This does not mean that our extravert and introvert lost some inherent trait in the boardroom; rather, the situation altered the expression of personality. This is the same interaction I propose for personality in politics.

The interaction of personality and situations is by no means a new theory. Early work by Lewin (1935) claimed that a person's behavior (*B*) was a function of their personality (*P*) and environment (*E*). His famous formula, *B=f(P,E)* still rings true today. However, his formula did not necessarily specify an interaction between personality and environment. Instead, behavior simply resulted from these two forces. The primary driver could be traits (Allport, 1931), the situation (Ross & Nisbett, 1991), or both. Ultimately, however, the interactive approach to personality and the environment took hold (Mischel, Shoda, & Ayduk, 2008).

The idea that some people are more susceptible to persuasion is also not particularly novel. A great deal of work has been done to identify what characteristics make people easy to persuade. While early work focused on factors like self-esteem and gender, little empirical support was found for these variables. Recent work, however, suggests personality variables like need for cognition and self-monitoring play a key role in how persuasive an appeal is (see Perloff (2010) for an excellent overview). These

studies mimic the role of personality in this study, showing that certain types of appeals are more effective for certain personality types.

However, while there are many similarities between political communications and other persuasive appeals, key differences also emerge. This project extends these broad interactions to the political context. I show that, while previously identified personality factors are important, the aspects of the Big Five personality domains provide unique insight into the world of political communication, where campaign appeals seek a variety of actions from citizens.

Campaign Influences on Personality Expression

This theory involves the ability of political campaigns to increase or decrease the expression of certain personality traits. The layperson's view of personality is one of a stable feature of one's persona. While an entire subfield of psychology developed around the identification and measurement of personality, the same cannot be said for situations. Recently, attempts have been made to rectify this, but the study and classification of situations remains in its infancy compared to the study of personality (Funder, 2001; Saucier, Bel-Bahar, & Fernandez, 2007).

While a classification of situations is far beyond the scope of this dissertation, this research highlights the potential influence situations can have on personality expression. In the context of politics, political campaigns should likewise alter the expression of certain personality traits. If we focus on the Big Five personality aspects as developed by DeYoung and colleagues (DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007), specifically looking at the aspect of assertiveness, under the domain of extraversion, we might think that, absent

political communications, those who are high in assertiveness should be more likely to get involved with campaigns than those who are low in assertiveness. However, if presented with a persuasive communication aimed at increasing their participation, the effects of assertiveness may be diminished, as knowledge of the situation (that many people received a similar postcard asking them to volunteer) has reduced the novelty of the situation, thus lowering the potential excitement. Thus, the situation (getting a generic appeal asking for volunteers or donors) alters the expression of the personality aspect. The general theoretical framework for this dissertation, therefore, is that political campaigns represent a unique set of situations for the average citizen. Political attitudes and behaviors are influenced by the situation and individual characteristics, but there is a key third component determining an individual's political beliefs and actions. This component is the interaction of the situation and person.

Previous research in personality psychology shows that this is a viable and productive line of research, but these studies have focused on persuasive communications in general. Political campaigns, however, contain features that are unique to politics. These can be aspects of the communication (appeals to duty, requests for volunteers or money, negative campaign advertisements) or of the product (partisan identities of the candidates). These characteristics make certain personality traits more or less likely to influence persuasion in the political context.

The influence of these traits can occur because a campaign appeals directly to that trait (appeals to civic duty) or because the appeal changes the nature of the situation (broad appeals for support make a situation less novel). Of course, this interactive

perspective is not limited to political communications. One can easily imagine a scenario

where product appeals cue certain personality facets. However, the specific predictions

made in subsequent chapters should be thought of as confined to the political domain

until proven otherwise.

Conceptual Definitions

Before continuing to empirical tests of this theory, I first lay out the conceptual

definitions for some key components. I begin with the definition of personality traits,

focusing on personality psychology. From there, I shift to concepts based more in

political science and communication, defining campaign communications, mobilization,

persuasion, and deliberation.

Of course, no project can examine every potential personality moderator or even a

representative sample of traits, as the list of potential traits and behaviors is practically

immeasurable. Likewise, the list of campaign environment variables is nearly endless,

precluding a study of all potential moderated relationships. Even the different types of

political behaviors and attitudes are too numerous for a comprehensive study. Instead,

certain choices must be made to limit the scope of the project; therefore, I turn to a

discussion of those decisions and the reasoning behind the choices.

Personality Traits

Although the list of personality factors is practically limitless, this project

concerns the broad set of personality traits that define human behavior. Hundreds of

different personality scales have been developed over the past century of trait

psychology, but attempts to develop a unified theory met with success around the 1980s

(Goldberg, 1990, 1992; McCrae & Costa, 1987). The question then turns to what are the desirable qualities for a personality scale as it relates to this theory. This essence of this theory is that there are specific personality characteristics that uniquely drive changes in political attitudes and behavior, and that these personality traits are somewhat responsive to situational differences.

Personality variables generally related to persuasion, such as need for cognition, dogmatism, and self-monitoring (Perloff, 2010), are helpful for thinking about persuasion in general, but provide little traction on the question of which traits should uniquely influence reactions to political communications or interact with persuasive communication. Fortunately, a broad taxonomy of personality traits does exist that allows us to make empirical predictions: the Big Five.

Before any predictions can be derived, however, the Big Five domains of openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (often referred to as emotional stability, its converse) need to be defined. Following much work in political science (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, & Ha, 2010; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008), this dissertation focuses on the study of the Big Five personality traits as a general research agenda instead of emphasizing the differences between Goldberg's lexical, adjective-based approach and McCrae and Costa's agreement/disagreement statement-based approach (Costa & McCrae, 1995; Goldberg, 1990, 1992; McCrae & John, 1992).

Beginning with openness to experience, individuals high in this trait are often thought of as adventurous and curious (McCrae & Costa, 2003). They tend to value the

acquisition of knowledge and often possess liberal values and opinions (Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008). John and Srivastava (1999) describe these individuals as intellectual, imaginative, and independent.

Conscientious individuals can be characterized as rational and competent (McCrae & Costa, 2003). They generally display good organizational skills, strong morals, and a conviction to their goals. These individuals are often orderly, reliable, and responsible (John & Srivastava, 1999).

Extraversion is perhaps best understood as a general tendency towards activity. Extraverts tend to be energetic, outgoing, talkative, assertive, and seek stimulation and excitement (John & Srivastava, 1999; McCrae & Costa, 2003). McCrae and Costa further break extraversion down into interpersonal and temperamental divisions.

The fourth trait, agreeableness, tends to produce trusting, humble, and sentimental individuals (McCrae & Costa, 2003). McCrae and Costa (2003) even go so far as to make the observation that agreeable individuals "may be an easy touch for charities and good causes" (p. 50). Other scholars describe agreeable individuals as cooperative, easily trusted, and good-natured (John & Srivastava, 1999).

Finally, the fifth trait, neuroticism, refers to a general disposition towards fear, anger, and negative emotions in general (McCrae & Costa, 2003). Individuals high in neuroticism tend to experience those emotions more often than individuals displaying more emotional stability. In general, neuroticism describes an individual who is easily emotionally aroused. They tend to be nervous, tense, hostile, or worried, while those low in neuroticism are calmer and not as easily upset (John & Srivastava, 1999).

A broad theory like the five factor model of personality, derived by scholars like McCrae, Costa, and Goldberg (Goldberg, 1990; McCrae & Costa, 2003; McCrae & John, 1992), while useful for describing an individual's personality tendencies in general, is often too expansive to provide specific theoretical predictions regarding political activities. This model, with the five domains of openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and emotional stability (sometimes called neuroticism), offers the ability to broadly describe personality traits in humans across multiple measures and cultures, yet may not offer strong theoretical predictions for particular aspects of the American political experience (McCrae & Costa, 1987, 1997).

This ability to represent a wide approach to personality holds many benefits, both theoretical and methodological, but the domains often lack the detail required to make specific predictions about political communications. Fortunately, along with the development of the five domains, scholars identified six facets (McCrae & Costa, 2003) and two aspects (DeYoung et al., 2007) of each domain. Thus, any one domain (take neuroticism) is made up of a number of subsequent facets (anger, anxiety, depression, self-consciousness, vulnerability, and impulsiveness) that are uni-dimensional and describe a specific trait, as well as aspects (withdrawal and volatility) which possess unique genetic foundations. Taken together, these facets and aspects form the broader domain of neuroticism.

We can see, however, that the facets or aspects may provide a better foundation for theorizing about politics than the broad domains. Continuing with the example of neuroticism, strong evidence exists to show the distinct (and divergent) effects of anger

and anxiety in politics (Brader, Groenendyk, & Valentino; Huddy, Feldman, & Cassese, 2007; Valentino et al., 2011). While these studies examine emotional *states*, as opposed to emotional *traits*, the example still holds. Individuals who differ in their propensity for anger and anxiety may react differently to changes in the political environment. Relying on measures of the neuroticism domain without acknowledging the subordinate structure could obscure this variation and, thus, we miss important insights into the nature and nuance of negative emotional reactions to politics.

While good measures of the facets of personality exist, the sheer number of facets (six for each domain for a total of thirty facets) makes them unwieldy for theorizing, and the measurement of the facets requires, at a minimum, 120 survey items (Johnson, 2014). While potentially feasible with psychology undergraduate subject pools, the reality of the situation is that political scientists cannot often ask a 120 item battery of our subjects. Without strong theory to select specific facets to measure, we are relegated to arbitrarily picking specific facets or relying on imperfect measures of the domains alone.

Fortunately, a middle ground exists which assists in overcoming both of these issues. DeYoung, Quilty, and Peterson (2007) identified two distinct aspects of each Big Five domain, resulting in a ten aspect description of personality that captures greater variation in personality than the domains without the complexity of the thirty personality facets. While the resulting Big Five Aspect Scale (BFAS) does not offer much relief on the number of items required (100 versus 120 items), the parsimonious nature of the aspects means that scholars can theorize about a specific aspect and only measure that aspect using 10 items. Even scholars interested in distinctions within a domain only need

20 items, not a short scale by any means but not unfeasible like a 100+ item battery. The Big Five domains, aspects, and facets appear in table 2-1 below.

Examining the aspects demonstrates a level of face validity for their use in this study. While the domains (the original Big Five traits) succinctly summarize human personality, they do not always present testable hypotheses regarding political communications. We may think that openness to experience would make people more likely to volunteer when asked, but there is no reason to expect that this likelihood is constrained to the political domain. Yet the aspect of intellect could very easily condition reactions to political campaigns, with individuals higher in intellect being better equipped to critically evaluate political messages or issue positions.

In addition to some aspects that produce explicitly political expectations, other aspects simply offer more specific predictions regarding the moderation of persuasive communications. While we would not necessarily expect extraverts, who are generally energetic, talkative, and assertive, to react differently to persuasive communications, we might think that the aspect of assertiveness is more susceptible to campaign influence than the enthusiasm aspect.

Why an aspect-level approach?

The Big Five personality taxonomy, as outlined above, shows great promise in the study of political behavior. Political scientists have begun to explore the wide-ranging influence of these personality traits on political behavior (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2010; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008;

Mondak, Hibbing, Canache, Seligson, & Anderson, 2010). With this initial promise, it is natural to wonder what the added benefit of examining personality aspects could be.

The benefit derives from a number of factors, including the ability to differentiate behavioral consistency from a narrower and more focused set of personality descriptors. Costa and McCrae (1995) openly admit that the Big Five domains are multidimensional. When searching for a comprehensive and concise description of personality, this quality is highly desired. Unfortunately, the domains are not mutually exclusive with regard to certain traits, with some facets (like altruism and activity level) loading on multiple domains.

The personality aspects present a useful middle ground, with enough breadth to capture a variety of human personality traits while avoiding the complexity of the 30 facets. Additionally, scholars already demonstrated the political relevance and discriminant importance of inter-domain aspects. Using the BFAS, DeYoung and colleagues find key differences between the aspects of personality and political predispositions (Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, & Peterson, 2010). The authors leverage a community sample to demonstrate that only certain aspects of personality predict party identification and ideology. In particular, under the domain of openness to experience, only the openness aspect, and not the intellect aspect, predicts liberal or Democratic identification. Conversely, under the conscientiousness domain, the orderliness aspect predicts conservative and Republican identification while the industriousness aspect fails to provide traction. Chapter 3 contrasts these aspect-level results with a domain approach, showing that relying on the domains misses out on subtleties in the relationships between

personality and political behavior, suggesting that domain approaches misestimate personality effects.

These results suggest great value in pursuing an aspect-based approach to personality and politics. Given the different genetic origins of the aspects, studying aspects exudes promise not only for the study of personality but (as suggested by previous scholars) for our understanding of the genetic basis of political behavior more generally (DeYoung et al., 2007; Mondak, 2010). With few exceptions, however, studies of personality and politics utilize short measures of personality which reduces the need for extensive questionnaires on large-N surveys (see Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011 for a study utilizing facet level measures). While the goal of obtaining personality data in addition to political information is laudable, these decisions are not without drawbacks.

Yet despite the methodological arguments in favor of a more precise measurement of personality, the strongest justification for the use of aspects as opposed to domains rests on the theoretical rigor of personality. Personality psychology is theoretically rich and provides researchers with a variety of expectations for how personality should influence behavior. However, a key tenet of the Big Five, or Five Factor Model (FFM) of personality is that the domains represent the *broadest*, *multi-dimensional*, and *most general* descriptions of personality. While useful for describing human personality succinctly, when studying direct or indirect effects on behavior, examining only the domains requires a certain set of assumptions about the relationship between the aspects and the outcome.

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This argument ultimately rests on a methodological as well as a theoretical assumption. When we examine how political scientists have traditionally measured personality, we see an emphasis on ease of measurement with a relative lack of attention to the intricacies of personality scales. Mondak and Halperin utilize a number of different personality scales, with most composed of three to five adjective pairs to measure each domain, with no recognition of which specific facets or aspects of the domain the adjectives are measuring (Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008; Mondak et al., 2010). Similarly, the work of Gerber, Huber, and their colleagues relies on Gosling, Rentfrow, and Swann's (2003) Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI), an even shorter measure of personality than Mondak uses. This scale uses only two questions to measure each domain, again sacrificing the complexity of personality measurement for the ability to measure it quickly.

In particular, the measures used (namely the TIPI or short adjective scales) only capture the broadest level of the personality structure without distinction for lower levels (Gerber et al., 2010; Gosling et al., 2003; Mondak, 2010). While the TIPI performs relatively well in comparison to longer Big Five inventories, in both US and cross-cultural settings, certain troubling findings emerge from these studies (Ehrhart et al., 2009; Hofmans, Kuppens, & Allik, 2008; Romero, Villar, Gómez-Fraguela, & López-Romero, 2012). In particular, the agreeableness domain, as measured by the TIPI functions differently from the domain measured with the fuller IPIP-FFM scale, correlating to different degrees with personality factors such as self-monitoring as well as life satisfaction and trait anxiety (Goldberg, n.d.).

Perhaps more troubling for political scientists, the correlation between the TIPI measure of openness to experience and the IPIP-FFM measure is 0.48, with the agreeableness correlation not far behind at 0.51 (Romero et al., 2012). Even the measures of conscientiousness only correlate at 0.69, admirable, but not extraordinary by any means. While these correlations are relatively strong, the authors are cautious in their appraisal, suggesting that the results were "largely encouraging" but that the agreeableness measure could be "a cause for concern"(Ehrhart et al., 2009, p. 904). While these results suggest the TIPI represents a valid measure of the Big Five domains, they raise important concerns about the breadth of coverage the measure provides for the domains. Additionally, a ten item (or slightly longer, in the case of Mondak, 2010) battery cannot begin to provide highly valid and reliable measurement of personality aspects or facets.

Aspects, therefore, provide the researcher with an additional tool to make and test empirical predictions regarding personality-driven behaviors. Aspects offer the ability to fine tune our theories and provide insight into potential internal conflicts resulting from the multi-dimensional nature of the five broad personality domains. They also allow us to overcome a series of potential problems that arise from measuring personality at only the broadest level. Rather than relying on assumptions about the nature of the relationships between the aspects and a political outcome, a more complete measure of personality allows for explicit empirical tests of these relationships.[1] These advantages justify an

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[1] While a focus on personality aspects also requires a set of assumptions, these assumptions are less tenuous given the work of DeYoung, Quilty, and Peterson (2007). In

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examination of both personality domains and personality aspects in the political realm.

What, however, constitutes the "political realm"?

Campaign Communications

Naturally, we must now confront the concept of campaign communications.

What, in particular, constitutes a campaign communication? The entire universe of

campaign communications is quite broad, encompassing direct appeals to voters by

candidates as well as indirect communications mediated through media sources or

campaign surrogates. The concept of campaign communications can be defined as any

attempt by political campaigns to enact attitude change or persistence among voters.

Campaign communications, therefore, exhibit two key goals. Either they intend to

encourage attitude persistence, meaning they are trying to encourage individuals to keep

an attitude they already hold, or they attempt to change existing attitudes. Campaign that

contact long-term voters and remind them about the importance of the upcoming election

are trying to accomplish this first goal, hoping that people who value the act of voting

will continue to value that act. Additionally, campaigns that re-contact established

supporters to avoid losing that support to other candidates are trying to encourage attitude

persistence.

Attitude change, on the other hand, features campaigns attempting to alter an

already held position among an individual in the electorate. Communications targeted at

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particular, by showing that the domains do not have common genetic components but the

aspects do, the assumption required (namely that facets will work similarly under a given

aspect) rests on solid empirical and theoretical foundations.

undecided voters, which try to either gain support for the candidate or lower support for the opposition, are trying to enact attitude change (movement from undecided to support for the sponsoring candidate, for example). Similarly, efforts to convince unlikely voters to turn out are trying to enact attitude change towards the act of voting.

While the universe of campaign communications is extensive, this dissertation focuses only on direct appeals from partisan political candidates. Thus, media accounts of the candidates and their positions are not varied in this study, nor are non-partisan appeals to increase voting. This is not to say that studies of these aspects of campaign communications are not important. A great amount of research examines both media effects (see Iyengar and Reeves (1997) for an excellent compilation of research) and non-partisan appeals (for example, Green and Gerber, 2008) with great success. This dissertation simply examines a different part of the campaign environment and a different type of communication: direct partisan appeals.

Campaign Mobilization

Campaign communications, while trying to maintain or change attitudes, serve two main practical purposes in campaign professionals. Either they concern beliefs about the candidates or beliefs about participatory acts. Those communications aimed at altering or maintaining beliefs about participation are attempts at campaign mobilization.

Campaign mobilization is the extent to which individuals change or maintain their attitudes towards electoral participation *as a result of* communications from the candidate or campaign. These attitudes can be related to voting in the election but also concern aspects of the campaign such as volunteering for or donating money to the candidate.

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While we often frame mobilization in the positive (convincing somebody to vote or give money), the process is symmetrical. This means that demobilization, driving people away from voting or participating, is also a potential goal or consequence of campaign communications.

While political science literature usually focuses on the behavioral aspects of mobilization (whether an individual actually engages in a participatory act); this study examines participatory behavior as well as attitudes towards participation and behavioral intentions. Thus, rather than limiting the analysis of mobilization to recorded or reported actions, mobilization also encompasses movement in attitudes towards participation. This distinction is important because of the dynamic nature of political campaigns. Voters do not experience the campaign environment in a vacuum; they receive multiple communications from different candidates. If we limit ourselves to final participatory actions, we miss the possibility that communications moved attitudes both towards and away from participation.

For example, an individual may begin learning about political candidates and decide not to participate in that election. Soon, they receive a direct mail piece from one of the candidates urging them to get involved and they decide at that point to vote in the election. They spend the next few months learning about the candidates, but the week before the election, a series of negative advertisements on television make them disheartened and they decide not to vote. If we only compare the end result (not voting) to the original attitude (not voting) then we would conclude that neither the direct mail piece nor the negative advertisements influenced the individual's likelihood of

participating. This conclusion, however, would be wrong. Therefore, we should focus on actual behavior along with intentions to behave and attitudes towards different participatory acts.

Campaign Persuasion

The other goal of campaign communications can be broadly categorized as campaign persuasion. Campaign persuasion refers to the degree to which individuals change their attitudes about political candidates *because of* communications they receive from the candidates or campaigns. In this case, persuasion refers specifically to attitudes about the candidates. This definition, therefore, excludes change in attitudes that result from learning about the candidates from the media or other sources as well as attitudes about the political process independent of candidate evaluations.

Campaign persuasion refers to the success or failure of attempts to convince voters to support or oppose a candidate. Just as mobilization can be framed in either a positive or negative manner, the same holds true for campaign persuasion. Campaign communications may be designed with the purpose of improving the standing of the sponsor without regard for the opponent (positive advertisements), in comparison to the sponsor's opponent (comparative advertisements), or to denigrate the opponent (negative advertisements).

Unlike the mobilization literature, political scientists often examine both actual behavior (vote choice) as well as self-reported attitudes about candidates. However, the end goal of campaign persuasion and mobilization remains victory for the sponsoring candidate. We have no reason to expect candidates will employ messages designed to

increase support or participation on behalf of their opponent. While this may occur because of backlash against the sponsor, it is highly unlikely that candidates will purposefully attempt to win support for their opponent.

The ultimate outcome of political persuasion can be thought of as attitude *polarization*, that is, a greater difference in the valence of attitudes between a preferred political figure and a non-preferred figure. If persuasion does its job, voters should polarize on their attitudes as they become more supportive of their preferred candidate and, potentially, become less supportive of the alternative candidate. Persuasion manifests itself, therefore, in the relationship between attitudes that voters hold about the various choices they can make in politics.

Political Deliberation

Closely related to the concept of persuasion is the concept of political deliberation. While campaign persuasion refers to actual changes or consistency in attitudes about a candidate or behavior (measured by vote choice, attitudes towards the candidates, vote likelihood, or participation, for example), deliberation refers to a broader set of behaviors and attitudes. The concept comprises all actions and attitudes suggesting a willingness to consider a candidate or action or reconsider an existing attitude. Therefore, deliberation does not necessarily require an individual to change their attitude or behavioral intention, but it does require the motivation to reconsider attitudes.

This concept is important for candidates because, while their goal is to win votes and elections, their persuasive communications may have varying degrees of effectiveness on voters. Additionally, deliberation is a potential first step to actual attitude

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change. If a political advertisement fails to convince somebody to reconsider their attitude, then there exists no path for actual attitude change. Furthermore, while a single campaign communication may not contain strong enough arguments or information to actually persuade a voter, if the communication can raise consideration of the argument, additional campaign communications may be more carefully scrutinized, leading to attitude change in the future.

Conclusion

With the key concepts now defined, this dissertation moves to the development of specific hypotheses and empirical tests of these hypothesis. The chapters four, five, and six focus on empirical tests of the campaign by personality interaction in the campaign domains of mobilization, polarization, and deliberation. These chapters feature data from original experiments which vary the nature and type of political advertisement while allowing the individual to interact with a campaign environment. The specifics of each experiment are contained in each chapter.

The empirical predictions, however, are grounded in the theory outlined in this chapter. Situational campaign factors play a key role in determining whether an individual will change their political attitudes, as do individual differences such as personality. However, when the campaign environment is held constant, some individuals are simply more likely to consider campaign communications. As the three experimental chapters detail, the nature of the communication is fundamental to understanding which personality characteristics are likely to be activated or deactivated.

Scholars seeking to understand the influence of personality on politics are remiss if they ignore the effects of the campaign environment. While certain personality traits may make individuals more likely to participate or support certain candidates, the campaign environment serves a very important moderating role. Contemporary campaigns sometimes interact with personality to increase the expression of certain traits while at other times attenuating personality differences.

Thus, to the extent that we are concerned about encouraging political participation from the greatest number of people, political campaigns both assist and hinder these efforts. We generally hope that participatory and preference differences are driven by relevant factors (e.g. interest in campaigns, knowledge about the election, congruence between voter and candidate issue positions), yet the emerging literature on personality in politics suggests that seemingly apolitical personality factors also drive participation and preference. While campaigns can intensify these effects, at times they can also reduce the differences. By reducing the influence of personality, this opens the door for more relevant factors to predict participation and vote choice. Campaigns may not always improve the quality of democratic citizenship, but the three experimental chapters proceed to theorize and test under what scenarios campaigns help alleviate political differences driven by personality and when they simply exacerbate the differences.

Before moving to the investigation of the campaign by personality interaction, chapter three outlines the empirical procedures used to measure and assess these hypotheses. The next chapter details how data were collected as well as providing observational evidence for the validity of the convenience sample for studying

personality in politics. Additionally, I present preliminary evidence for the importance of personality aspects (as opposed to domains), showing that the aspects within a domain often influence politics in divergent ways. The next chapter presents analyses which emphasize the utility of the experimental evidence that follows.

Table 2-1: Big Five Domain, Aspect, and Facet Structure

Domain	Aspects	Facets
Openness to Experience	Openness	Imagination
		Artistic Interests
		Emotionality
		Adventurousness
		Liberalism
	Intellect	Intellect
Conscientiousness	Industriousness	Self-Efficacy
		Dutifulness
		Achievement Striving
		Self-Discipline
		Cautiousness
	Orderliness	Orderliness
Extraversion	Enthusiasm	Friendliness
		Gregariousness
		Cheerfulness
	Assertiveness	Activity Level
		Assertiveness
		Excitement Seeking
Agreeableness[1]	Compassion	Altruism
		Sympathy
	Politeness	Trust
		Morality
		Cooperation
		Modesty
Neuroticism	Withdrawal	Anxiety
		Vulnerability
		Depression
		Self-Consciousness
	Volatility	Immoderation
		Anger

[1]The trust facet of agreeableness is excluded from analyses, but is shown here as loading equally on both the politeness and compassion aspects (DeYoung et al., 2007).

Chapter 3: Testing an Interactive Theory of Personality and Campaigns

Before exploring the specific predictions resulting from the campaign by personality interaction, I first detail the procedures used in the following three chapters to test the resulting hypotheses. In this chapter, I begin with an explanation for why I employ an experimental approach to this study and explain the specific experimental protocols used to produce these data. After this, I provide non-experimental evidence that validates my choice of data source as psychologically similar to previous representative samples used for studying personality and politics. These data also provide proof of concept for an aspect-level approach to personality, as the results for aspects within the domains occasionally diverge in important ways.

Data and Methods

There exist a variety of approaches to study my hypotheses. Many scholars use nationally representative surveys to conduct analyses of political campaigns (Fridkin & Kenney, 2004; Goldstein & Freedman, 2002; Lau & Pomper, 2004), but the nature of this project dictates an alternative approach. While surveys are useful for analyses of the effects of media environments and campaign exposure, they historically suffered from a lack of an accurate individual measure of exposure to the campaign. Additionally, no nationally representative surveys containing political questions ask the types of in-depth personality questionnaires necessary to test the influence of aspects under differing campaign scenarios.

Therefore, this dissertation follows in the mold of previous experimental studies of campaign effects. Experiments have grown in importance for political scientists

interested in understanding the causal mechanisms driving political decisions (Druckman, Green, Kuklinski, & Lupia, 2006; Green & Gerber, 2003). In relation to political campaigns and advertising, authors have used experiments to investigate a number of different research questions, including examining the influence of negative advertisements (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995; Ansolabehere et al., 1994), emotional appeals (Brader, 2006; Valentino et al., 2011), and information environments (Lau & Redlawsk, 2006) on political decision making. Experiments offer unique insight into the causal influences of political campaigns that survey methods often cannot achieve (Ansolabehere, 2006).

This project follows this vein of research and tests the influence of personality on campaign reactions using two experiments, one conducted during the fall of 2013 and the second during the winter of 2013. Participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk (referred to as "MTurk"), an online workplace where individuals can complete tasks and surveys for pay. While MTurk workers are noticeably distinct from a nationally representative sample, scholars generally agree that the population is useful for experimental work with random assignment (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012; Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Mason & Suri, 2012). The benefits of utilizing an MTurk sample (speed of data acquisition, quality of responses, range of demographic information, cost of data) outweigh the problems of non-representative and self-selected samples raised by this technique.

Additionally, previous studies of personality and politics often relied on samples that were not nationally representative, often as a result of data availability. Mondak

(2010), for instance, uses a community sample (from Tallahassee, FL) and a sample of jury participants, while Mondak and Halperin (2008) use an additional sample from Tallahassee and Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, Raso, and Ha (2011) use a Connecticut sample in addition to data from the Cooperative Campaign Analysis Project. The main objection to MTurk data, however, often rests on the assumption that participants are in some way systematically different from the general population. While participants are demographically distinct (younger, more Democratic and liberal, more educated, whiter), the critique extends to the (untested) belief that these characteristics make MTurkers politically unique as well. That is, a Republican on MTurk is different from a Republican in the general population in some meaningful way. In this chapter, I provide empirical evidence that suggests this assumption is misguided with regards to the influence of personality on politics.

Furthermore, while many previous studies have employed the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) to measure the Big Five personality domains, this inventory lacks the necessary detail to measure each facet of the domains (Gosling et al., 2003). However, the full measurement scales of McCrae and Costa's NEO-PI-R require ten questions for each facet, which works out to 300 personality questions. In contrast to the TIPI, this scale was simply too long to include in a study that also required participants to interact with a campaign environment. Therefore, I employed a shorter facet scale developed and validated by Johnson that uses four questions to measure each facet (Johnson, 2014). This allows me to measure all 30 facets of the Big Five using 120

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questions instead of the 300 required with the full scale and then reconstruct aspect scales while excluding problematic items associated with liberalism.

I begin by building domain-level measures of the Big Five traits by combining the four questions for each facet into a single additive scale for the domain (consisting of 24 total questions). The only exception to this is the scale for openness to experience, which drops the four questions for liberalism. While the TIPI and other short domain level scales avoid issues with explicitly political questions, the same cannot be said of the facet level measure of liberalism in Johnson's (2014) scale, so they are excluded to avoid including what is essentially a proxy for ideology in the models.

In addition to the domain level measures, I build aspect-level measures using the facet grouping detailed in table 2-1 (DeYoung et al., 2007). As previously mentioned, the liberalism facet of openness to experience is dropped from these aspect scale constructions, as is the trust facet of agreeableness, which loads equally on the compassion and politeness aspects. While a measure of personality aspects such as the BFAS might be preferable for an analysis focused on the aspects, measuring personality at the lowest possible level of organization (facets) and then aggregating to the aspect and domain levels provides the greatest flexibility for research and analysis. Additionally, the item number trade off from the 100-item BFAS to the 120-item Johnson (2014) scale is relatively minor.

Mobilization Study Procedures

For the first study, discussed in chapter 4, subjects were recruited from MTurk and paid $2.00 to complete a personality inventory and demographic questionnaire.

Participants took part in the experiment online from their home or work computers. After participants completed the personality questionnaire and demographics, they were directed to a separate part of the study that asked them to participate in a hypothetical campaign. Participants were told that, based on the zip code they entered previously, they had been matched up with candidates for congress who would appear on their ballot "within the next 5 years." They then entered into the Dynamic Process Tracing Environment (DPTE) developed by Lau and Redlawsk (2006). The candidate information and advertisements were actually fictional, but participants were not informed of this until after the study.

The DPTE allows researchers to simulate the information environment by presenting participants with a series of headlines to news articles created by the researcher. Participants click on the headlines and the entire news article opens for them to read. In contrast to so-called "static" information boards where participants are able to select multiple stories and view all the possible headlines, the DPTE is "dynamic", meaning headlines continue to scroll in the background as the participant reads the open article. This more closely mimics a true information environment, where individuals must make choices about what information they will and will not look at as their choices change.

Participants had one minute to practice with the DPTE, with news articles that were unrelated to politics. After this practice, they entered into the hypothetical campaign environment. Participants had two minutes to learn about the candidates. After these two minutes, they were asked a series of questions about candidate preference, vote

likelihood, and various participatory actions. At this point, 25% of participants were assigned to a control condition, where they saw no campaign advertisements. The other 75% went to the treatment condition, where they either saw mobilizing campaign advertisements from their preferred candidate (if they expressed a preference) or a non-partisan vote reminder if they did not express a preference. Regardless of condition assignments, participants were given three additional minutes to learn about the candidates before they were asked the same candidate choice, vote likelihood, and participation questions from before.

A unique aspect of the DPTE is that campaign advertisements can be embedded into the environment and exposure to these advertisements can be forced for certain subjects. For those in the treatment condition, they entered the additional three minutes of information just like the control condition, however, after 15 seconds, the first campaign advertisement opened on their screen, forcing them to view the ad. The second advertisement appeared a minute later and a final, text reminder about the importance of the election, appeared one minute later, at the 2:15 mark. This occurred for all individuals in the treatment condition who indicated a candidate preference after the first two minutes. Those who had no preference saw only a non-partisan vote reminder at the 1:15 point. For those who expressed a preference, the advertisements they saw were from their preferred candidate. These advertisements appear in figure 3-1.

The first advertisement seen are the first two in figure 3-1, asking participants to consider supporting the candidates through a variety of participatory actions. The next three advertisements in figure 3-1 are the advertisement seen at the 1:15 mark in the

experiment. These advertisements simply remind people about their duty to participate in the election. Finally, at the 2:15 mark, treatment condition participants who expressed a preference saw a stimulus which simply stated "This election is going to be very close. Your vote is incredibly important for our success. Thank you for your support and please remember to vote!" and ascribed this quote to their preferred candidate.

One additional feature of the DPTE is that it not only records participant responses to the various questions, but it also records what information was available to each participant, the number of stories accessed by the participant, which stories were accessed, and the length of time each story was kept open. This provides the researcher a wealth of information about information search patterns and processing that are generally unavailable from other research designs. After participants completed the series of questions in the DPTE, they were given the opportunity to cast a final "vote" for one of the candidates, debriefed about the nature of the study, thanked for their participation, and given a confirmation code to enter into MTurk in order for them to get paid.

Therefore, each participant has a complete personality and demographic profile as well as measures of their information search patterns, depth of information search, candidate evaluations, likelihood of voting, and likelihood of participating prior to exposure to the campaign advertisements and measures of everything except their personality and demographic information post-treatment.

After accounting for missing data and participants who failed to participate in the DPTE for various reasons, the total number of participants was 696. Of these individuals, 640 completed the full personality battery, resulting in a maximum valid sample of 640.

The sample resembles other recent MTurk samples (Chen et al., 2014): 51% of participants were female, 83% were white, and the mean age was 33 years old. Participants were well educated, with almost 88% having some educational experience post-high school. Income was normally distributed with the median falling at individuals making $40,000 to $50,000 a year.

MTurk samples historically score very well on the standard five political knowledge questions developed by Delli-Carpini and Keeter (1996) and used by the American National Election Studies, so I pulled several different questions from Delli-Carpini and Keeter and pre-tested these to obtain a better distribution on political knowledge.[2] This new scale produced a roughly normally distributed scale of political knowledge, with only 7.5% of respondents getting every question correct. The modal score was three correct answers out of five questions. As is typical of MTurk, the sample was overwhelmingly Democratic (60% Democrat, 13% Independent, 27% Republican) and liberal (57% liberal, 20% moderate, 23% conservative). While these demographics do not match the general population, they do show that the sample is more representative of the electorate than college undergraduates. Furthermore, the experimental nature of the study means that a representative sample is not strictly necessary.

Persuasion Study Procedures

[2] These questions asked about the majority required to override a veto, the length of a U.S. Senate term, America's largest trading partner, the federal minimum wage, and the current U.S. attorney general. Correct response rates ranged from a high of 68% (majority required for veto override) to a low of 11% (America's largest trading partner).

The second experiment, discussed in chapters 5 and 6, was conducted during the winter of 2013 with participants recruited through MTurk. Participants were paid $1.00 for their participation in the study and were also given the opportunity to win one of two eReaders in a lottery. Participants took part in the experiment online and completed an extensive personality and demographic survey along with participating in a hypothetical political campaign in a manner very similar to the experiment described in the previous section.

After completing the survey, participants were directed to a separate window to participate in a political campaign using the DPTE. Participants were told they were viewing candidates from their own state and were not informed of the fictional nature of the campaign until after participation. To ensure that participants did not remember the debriefing about the candidate from the previous study, only individuals who did not take part in the mobilization study were eligible for participation in this experiment.

Participants practiced in the DPTE for one minute and then had two minutes to interact with the hypothetical campaign environment and learn about the candidates. After these two minutes, participants were asked their likelihood of voting in the election as well as their preferences for the candidates. Based on responses to the preference questions, subjects received a set of questions asking them about their likelihood of engaging in a variety of activities related to their preferred candidate.[3] In addition,

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[3] The activities included the informational actions of visiting the candidate's website, calling the campaign to learn about the candidate, reading information received in the mail, paying attention to television commercials, and asking friends and co-workers for

participants were asked for their likelihood of engaging in activities related to learning

about their non-preferred candidate.[4] For those participants who did not express a

preference, they were asked a similar series of information seeking questions, framed

around whether they would try to find information about either candidate.

Following this poll, participants were randomly assigned to one of three

conditions. The control condition saw no political advertisements and participants simply

spent the next three minutes learning about the candidates in the DPTE. Remaining

participants were assigned to receive a series of either Democratic or Republican

persuasive advertisements (one positive and one negative, both supportive of either the

Democratic or Republican candidate). These advertisements appear in figure 3-2. The

advertisements were designed to resemble traditional campaign advertisements and

present policy positions relatively consistent with a Republican or Democratic candidate

for national office. Thus, while the tone, structure, and images of the advertisements

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their opinion about the candidate. Participants also received questions about participation

on the candidate's behalf, including asking friends and co-workers to support the

candidate, calling people to solicit donations, donating money to the campaign, knocking

on doors to ask people to support the candidate, displaying a yard sign or bumper sticker

for the candidate, or simply voting for the candidate.

[4] Participants were asked about the informational actions for their non-preferred

candidate as well as their preferred candidate. They were not asked the participation

questions about the non-preferred candidate.

remain constant across party identification, the political content varies slightly depending on the sponsoring candidate.

Participants in the treatment conditions saw these advertisements early in the second portion of the DPTE. The positive, education based mailer was displayed after 15 seconds in the DPTE and the second, negative advertisements, appeared 30 seconds later. After viewing the advertisements, participants in the treatment condition had the remaining 2 minutes and 15 seconds to learn about the candidates. After the second portion of the DPTE, all participants repeated the poll that they took before, were thanked for their participation, debriefed about the deception in the experiment, and given a confirmation code to enter into MTurk to allow them to be paid. This concluded the experiment for participants.

In total, 728 participants completed the survey, with 537 completing every personality question. The sample resembles other MTurk samples: 53% of participants were female, 83% were white, and the mean age was 36. Participants were strongly Democratic (58%, with 14% independent and 28% Republican) and liberal (52% reported being extremely liberal, liberal, or slightly liberal). The sample was also generally well educated, with 87% having attended some college and 58% obtaining at least a 2 or 4 year degree. Income was normally distributed with a median household making $40,000-$49,999 a year. This experiment also employed the alternative political knowledge questions, resulting in a similarly distributed political knowledge variable. Only 7% of the sample was able to answer all five questions correctly. The modal number of correct answers was three out of five.

The data produced from both of these studies consists of participant responses to pre-treatment survey questions about their political attitudes as well as the 120-item personality battery. The data also include post-treatment measures of dependent variables related to participation and candidate choice (used in chapters 4 and 5) as well as data on information search patterns such as the number of articles accessed and the duration of viewing these articles (used in chapter 6). However, questions may still remain about the validity of an MTurk sample for studying personality and about whether an aspect-level approach to personality and politics provides any incremental benefit to researchers. To answer these questions, the next section presents correlational results that suggest both that the samples are valid for this purpose as well as support the use of aspect measures.

Correlational Results on Sample Validity and Aspect Usefulness

Using these data, I run a series of models predicting political attitudes with personality measures as well as controls for age, gender, education, and race as suggested by Mondak (2010). Using this strategy, I predict party identification, liberal-conservative ideology, political knowledge, media use, and likelihood of having volunteered for or donated to a political campaign.

In particular, I examine six different dependent variables. To study political predispositions, I rely on the standard seven-point party identification scale and ideological self-placement measures. For analyses, I rescale these measures to run from 0 to 1, with higher values representing Republican identification or conservative self-placement. When examining political behavior, I use two questions, one which asks "have you ever worked or volunteered for a political candidate, political party, or any

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other organization that supports candidates?" and another which asks "have you ever contributed money to a political party or candidate?"

I measure media use with four questions that measure the number of days an individual uses a specific type of media to obtain political news.[5] These questions are combined to form a single scale, with 0 meaning the individual never uses these types of media to 1, where the individual uses all four types of media every day for political news. I rely on the political knowledge questions detailed above for these analyses as well. I analyze the influence of personality domains and aspects on these variables, which measure political predispositions, knowledge, media use, and participatory behavior. This strategy follows past scholars, although the data sources and personality questions differ in meaningful ways. Nonetheless, I proceed to an investigation of personality's influence on these fairly standard political variables.

I begin with the domain results, which demonstrate the similarities between the MTurk population and general population when it comes to the psychological foundations of political attitudes. The results in tables 3-1, 3-2, and 3-3 demonstrate that, at least with regard to the personality precursors of political attitudes, MTurk workers are remarkably similar to the general population. Table 3-1 shows, as previous scholars

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[5] The four media questions were: "On average, how many days a week do you watch TV for political news?", "On average, how many days a week do you read a newspaper (not online) for political news?", "On average, how many days a week do you read or watch online news for political news?", and "On average, how many days a week do you read blogs for political information?"

found, that openness to experience corresponds strongly with identification with the Democratic Party and endorsement of a liberal ideology. In this table, higher values on the dependent variable indicate Republican Party identification and conservative ideology.

In addition, the results for conscientiousness are also similar to previous studies, as the coefficient is correctly signed and statistically significant in all four models. The only personality domain that does not correspond closely to past research is emotional stability, which is occasionally associated with Republican and conservative identification. While the coefficients are correctly signed (negative) in three of the four models, no coefficients reach statistical significance.

In table 3-2, we again see generally convergent, though weaker evidence about the similarity of MTurkers and the general population. Mondak (2010) reports that openness to experience is associated with higher levels of political knowledge while conscientiousness predicts lower levels of knowledge, and extraversion predicts greater media use.[6] Table 3-2 shows that, while openness shows positive correlations with political knowledge, the coefficient fails to reach conventional levels of statistical significance except for media use.

The results for conscientiousness are contrary to previous research, as the coefficients are positive, not negative as expected from prior research, and significant in only one model. Finally, the political knowledge coefficients for extraversion are

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[6] Media use measures were only included in the second experiment (persuasion), so models only appear for this experiment.

negative and significant in one of the two models, which corresponds to Mondak's (2010) finding from his National Jury Study. The results for media use are somewhat unimpressive, as only two marginally significant relationships are observed for any of the personality domains. Interestingly, Mondak also reports relatively weak media use results; out of the 25 reported coefficients, only 8 reach statistical significance and 4 of those are for extraversion.

Turning finally to table 3-3, we see once again that the trait based precursors to campaign involvement are similar between MTurkers and the general population. I rely on two questions which ask about volunteer or monetary support for candidates. These questions correspond closely to Mondak's (2010) passive/individualistic campaign participation measures, and the findings in table 3-3 confirm this expectation.

Table 3-3 shows that openness to experience corresponds with a higher likelihood of volunteering for, working for, or donating to political campaigns. The coefficient is correctly signed and significant in all four models. Mondak also finds that conscientiousness predicted a lower likelihood of working for a candidate in 2006, and while the coefficients are insignificant, they are always negative, suggesting that conscientious individuals may, in fact, leave politics "to the experts" as Mondak suggests.

The results from Tables 3-1, 3-2, and 3-3 demonstrate that, when it comes to the relationship between personality and political predispositions, knowledge, and behavior, MTurk participants are quite similar to individuals in nationally representative or community based samples. These findings offer promise for future studies of politics

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using MTurk. While these results do not indicate that MTurk is appropriate for correlational studies, they do begin to build the case that, when it comes to the psychological bases of political identity and attitudes, MTurk workers are not a unique population. Thus, while not representative of the general population, MTurk workers can provide a valid subject pool for experimental studies studying psychological reactions, even in political science research.

Examining the results in tables 3-4, 3-5, and 3-6, which replicate the previous models with the aspect measures substituted for the domain measures, offers support for the necessity of a more precise measure of personality in politics. While the results are purely correlational, we see distinct patterns appear that provide proof of concept for the importance of the aspect measures. Without detailing specific predictions of the entirety of the aspect results, I will simply highlight some major points of diversion in these results.

To begin with the domain of openness to experience, we see in table 3-4 that the aspect of *Openness* serves as a stronger predictor of liberalism and Democratic identification than the *Intellect* aspect. In contrast, however, Intellect is a positive predictor of political knowledge and media use in table 3-5, while Openness is a negative predictor, though significant only in the mobilization experiment. Similarly in table 3-6, while Openness exerts no effect on past campaign participation, Intellect is a strong and significant predictor of prior campaign experience.

The results for conscientiousness also suggest the importance of the aspect approach, as the *Industriousness* aspect exhibits patterns typical of conscientiousness for

political predispositions (table 3-4) and political information (table 3-5). In contrast, the aspect of *Orderliness* exerts no consistent or significant effect on predispositions or information. This pattern, with Industriousness proving more politically relevant than Orderliness, appears frequently throughout the experimental results as well.

While the evidence is more mixed for the other domains, we see some support for differential effects for aspects within a domain. For instance, within the domain of agreeableness, the *Compassion* aspect predicts a greater likelihood of having donated to a political campaign, while the *Politeness* aspect does not (and negatively predicts donation in the second sample). Additionally, prior scholars found that extraversion predicted Republican identification and conservative ideology (Carney, Jost, Gosling, & Potter, 2008; Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011b; Gerber et al., 2010; Mondak, 2010). The results in table 3-4 suggest that this effect may be driven primarily by the *Assertiveness* aspect of extraversion and not the *Enthusiasm* aspect, as the coefficient is positive for Assertiveness in all four models and statistically significant in two, while the Enthusiasm coefficient is negative in three models and never statistically significant.

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, these results suggest researchers would be wise to heed the recommendations of previous scholars to look beyond the Big Five domain structure. While the Big Five and the easily administered TIPI offer an interesting entrance into the study of personality, scholars quickly run into both theoretical and methodological limitations. We are often left constructing post-hoc explanations of relationships rather than forming hypotheses from existing work in personality psychology.

Utilizing lower level structures of personality allows us to begin the process of seriously theorizing about the relationship between personality and political attitudes and behavior. DeYoung's (2007) aspect structure offers one such entrance, though by no means the only possibility. These findings demonstrate the value in the aspect measures, as several domain level relationships result entirely from the influence of a single aspect.

Additionally, the results for the Openness/Intellect aspects with regard to knowledge and media use suggest that relying solely on domain level measurement may hide meaningful variation as the aspect level. If the aspects work in a counter-vailing fashion (as they do for openness/intellect), the relationship could be hidden at the domain level.

In addition, the convergent results with existing personality findings suggest that MTurk respondents, while not representative of the general population, rely on a fairly similar set of psychological precursors when forming their political attitudes. This does not imply that MTurk can or should be used for the majority of correlational studies; instead it suggests that concerns about the "uniqueness" of MTurk participants should not extend to the psychological foundations of their political beliefs and behavior. They may be younger and more liberal, but when it comes to the origins of their political beliefs, they are remarkably similar to the rest of the country.

While these results are correlational and thus not generalizable beyond these specific MTurk samples, they provide strong evidence for the use of both MTurk samples and aspect measure of personality for the examination of the campaign by personality interaction. These results provide empirical evidence supporting the procedures used in

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this dissertation and the next three chapters proceed to theorize about the interaction

between personality and campaigns and empirically test these predictions using the data

described above.

Table 3-1: Personality Domains as Predictors of Political Predispositions

	Party Identification		Ideology	
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 1	Sample 2
Openness	-0.36***	-0.49***	-0.49***	-0.48***
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Conscientiousness	0.21**	0.35***	0.15**	0.33***
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Extraversion	0.01	0.16*	0.10	0.14*
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Agreeableness	-0.15	-0.20**	-0.13*	-0.18**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Neuroticism	-0.08	0.06	-0.10	-0.03
	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Age	0.00*	0.00**	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sex (Male)	0.02	0.02	-0.01	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Education	0.02	-0.06	-0.05	-0.03
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Race (White)	0.09***	0.12***	0.04*	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.42***	0.32**	0.58***	0.44***
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.14)
N	576	501	621	524
adj. R^2	0.047	0.088	0.099	0.116

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 3-2: Personality Domains as Predictors of Political Information

| | Political Knowledge | | Media Use |
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 2
Openness	0.01	0.09	0.11*
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Conscientiousness	0.06	0.26***	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Extraversion	-0.07	-0.16**	0.06
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Agreeableness	0.19**	0.03	0.07
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Neuroticism	-0.10	-0.11*	-0.11*
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sex (Male)	0.10***	0.08***	0.04**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Education	0.17***	0.27***	0.18***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Race (White)	0.01	0.05**	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.19*	0.07	-0.00
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.12)
N	621	525	517
adj. R^2	0.070	0.133	0.070

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 3-3: Personality Domains as Predictors of Political Participation

	Volunteered for Campaign		Donated to Campaign	
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 1	Sample 2
Openness	2.75***	1.33*	2.56***	1.38*
	(1.11)	(1.01)	(0.94)	(0.86)
Conscientiousness	-0.56	-0.45	-0.68	-0.41
	(1.20)	(1.15)	(1.02)	(0.96)
Extraversion	0.69	0.21	-0.25	0.07
	(1.09)	(1.12)	(0.91)	(0.94)
Agreeableness	1.53	-1.39	1.60*	0.30
	(1.26)	(1.13)	(1.07)	(0.99)
Neuroticism	1.26	-1.42	0.16	-1.01
	(1.10)	(1.16)	(0.93)	(0.98)
Age	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.05***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Sex (Male)	0.01	-0.25	0.29	0.18
	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.25)	(0.25)
Education	3.24***	3.04***	2.87***	3.07***
	(0.75)	(0.76)	(0.62)	(0.64)
Race (White)	-0.64**	-0.47*	-0.46*	-0.24
	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.28)	(0.31)
Constant	-8.33***	-4.09***	-6.94***	-5.52***
	(1.83)	(1.75)	(1.54)	(1.51)
N	618	525	620	524
pseudo R^2	0.112	0.120	0.109	0.143

Coefficients are from logistic regressions
Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 3-4: Personality Aspects as Predictors of Political Predispositions

	Party Identification		Ideology	
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 1	Sample 2
Openness	-0.15	-0.38***	-0.31***	-0.37***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Intellect	-0.25***	-0.11*	-0.22***	-0.11*
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Industriousness	0.14	0.28**	0.09	0.31***
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Orderliness	0.04	0.05	0.03	0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Enthusiasm	-0.08	-0.02	-0.08	0.06
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Assertiveness	0.09	0.24**	0.15**	0.09
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Politeness	-0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Compassion	0.03	-0.13	0.04	-0.13*
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Withdrawal	-0.07	0.02	-0.19**	-0.05
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Volatility	-0.07	0.01	0.04	0.04
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Age	0.00	0.00**	0.00***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sex (Male)	0.03	0.02	-0.00	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Education	0.03	-0.06	-0.04	-0.03
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Race (White)	0.09***	0.12***	0.03*	0.00
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.40***	0.28*	0.55***	0.39***
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.15)
N	587	505	633	529
adj. R^2	0.044	0.083	0.097	0.107

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 3-5: Personality Aspects as Predictors of Political Information

| | Political Knowledge | | Media Use |
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 2
Openness	-0.21**	-0.08	-0.09
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Intellect	0.18***	0.08*	0.18***
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Industriousness	-0.02	0.22**	-0.05
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Orderliness	0.01	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Enthusiasm	-0.03	-0.17**	0.04
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Assertiveness	0.01	0.03	0.11*
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Politeness	0.13*	-0.05	-0.01
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Compassion	0.10	0.13*	0.08
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Withdrawal	-0.05	-0.06	0.03
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Volatility	-0.02	-0.08	-0.14**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Age	0.00***	0.00***	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Sex (Male)	0.10***	0.07***	0.03*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Education	0.17***	0.26***	0.17***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Race (White)	-0.00	0.04*	-0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Constant	0.19*	0.13	0.04
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.12)
N	633	530	522
adj. R^2	0.086	0.140	0.083

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 3-6: Personality Aspects as Predictors of Political Participation

	Volunteered for Campaign		Donated to Campaign	
	Sample 1	Sample 2	Sample 1	Sample 2
Openness	0.85	0.01	0.55	-0.82
	(1.17)	(1.17)	(1.00)	(1.02)
Intellect	2.07***	1.16*	1.47**	1.38**
	(0.83)	(0.87)	(0.67)	(0.76)
Industriousness	-0.48	0.17	-0.35	0.38
	(1.47)	(1.39)	(1.27)	(1.19)
Orderliness	-0.26	-0.64	-0.45	-1.04**
	(0.55)	(0.61)	(0.47)	(0.52)
Enthusiasm	-0.56	-0.88	-1.48*	-0.81
	(1.08)	(1.02)	(0.91)	(0.88)
Assertiveness	1.61*	0.81	1.12	0.43
	(1.19)	(1.17)	(1.00)	(1.01)
Politeness	1.33	-1.47	0.55	-1.57*
	(1.23)	(1.23)	(1.04)	(1.11)
Compassion	-0.03	0.07	1.88**	2.01**
	(1.10)	(1.07)	(0.95)	(0.99)
Withdrawal	0.05	-1.52*	-0.78	-1.01
	(1.19)	(1.17)	(0.98)	(0.97)
Volatility	1.15	0.08	0.55	-0.30
	(0.94)	(0.96)	(0.81)	(0.82)
Age	0.04***	0.05***	0.05***	0.06***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Sex (Male)	-0.10	-0.36	0.19	0.13
	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.26)
Education	2.96***	2.67***	2.69***	2.86***
	(0.75)	(0.76)	(0.63)	(0.65)
Race (White)	-0.63**	-0.54*	-0.47**	-0.37
	(0.32)	(0.36)	(0.28)	(0.32)
Constant	-8.20***	-3.54**	-6.83***	-4.59***
	(1.91)	(1.79)	(1.60)	(1.57)
N	630	530	632	529
pseudo R^2	0.119	0.128	0.125	0.166

Coefficients are from logistic regressions
Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Figure 3-1: Mobilizing Advertisements

Figure 3-1: Mobilizing Advertisements (continued)

Figure 3-1: Mobilizing Advertisements (continued)

Figure 3-2: Persuasive Advertisements

Figure 3-2: Persuasive Advertisements (continued)

What's wrong with our education system?

It's not our students...it's not their teachers...

...it's Washington's lack of commitment.

John Simpson knows what is best for America's students.

-Increased federal funding for schools

-Money devoted to federal Pell grants

-Flexibility for students to pay off loans

Democrat
John ★★★★
SIMPSON
for United States Congress
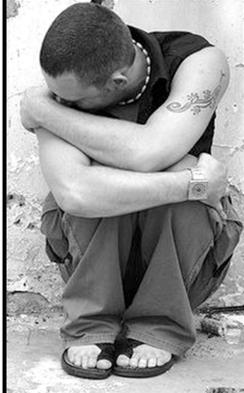
John Simpson
Proven Knowledge for a brighter future.

Figure 3-2: Persuasive Advertisements (continued)

Figure 3-2: Persuasive Advertisements (continued)

Chapter 4: Mobilization

Participation in politics has vexed political scientists for decades, with scholars seeking answers to why and in what ways people choose to involve themselves. The question of voter turnout alone has been called the "grand enchilada" of political science puzzles and concerns about why people get involved with political or issue campaigns also interest scholars (Franklin, 2004). This chapter begins with a discussion about political participation and campaign mobilization, detailing prior research in these areas and situating this dissertation in the broader literature. I then proceed to develop theoretical and empirical expectations in the mobilization domain within my framework of the interactive theory of personality and campaigns. Following this, I discuss the empirical tests and results of these analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the literature on political mobilization, campaigns, and personality.

Classic Accounts of Mobilization

Political scientists have long been interested in what drives an individual to participate in politics. Some, like Downs (1957), based their theories in utility maximization and cost-benefit analyses, while others focused on social or demographic factors (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980). Wolfinger and Rosenstone find strong turnout effects as education and age increase, suggesting that individual characteristics are important for political participation. However, they also discuss the potential influence that restrictive voter registration laws may have on turnout, laying out a set of voting law

changes that could increase turnout by almost ten percent. This early work demonstrates the individual and contextual factors at work in driving participation.

Other scholars expanded on these theories, suggesting that civic engagement and volunteering lead to greater political participation as well (Verba et al., 1995). In addition to demographic characteristics like education or age, Verba and his colleagues propose a "civic volunteerism" model whereby individuals who are engaged in non-political civic organizations are more likely to participate in politics as well. Unfortunately, as these authors are quick to point out, the individuals who are most likely to involve themselves with civic organizations are the rich, educated, and politically interested. This results in the voice of the public being "often loud, sometimes clear, but rarely equal" (p. 509). These accounts clearly outline some factors that lead to political participation, but they fail to tackle the issue of mobilization. We know what drives people to participate, next we should strive to find out how to encourage participation from those less inclined to get involved.

Participation in politics clearly relates to mobilization, but the act of mobilization necessarily involves a change in behavior or behavioral intention. While an individual may indeed participate in politics, in order to be mobilized, they must move from a state of inactivity to a state of activity (or the reverse, if we are talking about demobilization). The classic view of mobilization was best described by Rosenstone and Hansen(2003). In their examination of mobilization, they find that people do in fact participate when they are asked to do so, suggesting that mobilization tactics work as intended.

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For Rosenstone and Hansen (2003), political participation is rarely random, but instead results from individuals deriving some benefit from their participation. Additionally, because campaigns know that they can incentivize participation, they seek out the most likely participants and target messages to move them into action. This forms the core concept of mobilization. The source of this mobilization can be party or candidate contact or it can originate from a social movement or non-partisan organization; the important point is that people who are contacted about an upcoming election are more likely to take part in some fashion.

Results from a host of field experiments confirm the causal mechanisms involved with these tactics. Whether contacting individuals by phone, door-to-door, e-mail, or direct mail, the path to mobilization goes through making voters feel wanted and building on existing motivations to participate (Green & Gerber, 2008). Furthermore, social pressure (making voters think others are watching them or recording their actions) can have great effects on turnout. While campaigns may not be able to track down non-voters and inform their neighbors, as Green and Gerber do, they can appeal to the sense of embarrassment or civic duty that social pressure taps into.

Unfortunately, as Rosenstone and Hansen (2003) show, mobilizing tactics are not equally distributed in the populations, creating a bias in who is mobilized and, therefore, in who participates. Instead, the people who get mobilized are those who are already connected with the campaign, either directly or through social networks, as well as those who are most likely to participate after being asked. The people who occupy these social circles are workers and business owners, the wealthy, the educated, and partisans, which

only exacerbate class biases in political participation. However, Rosenstone and Hansen also document a decline in voting and an increase in other forms of participation, which they attribute to a shift in campaigns away from mobilization and towards persuasion.

Recently, scholars attempted to tackle the issue of apparent declines in participation and engagement, though the actual presence and seriousness of these declines remains partially in doubt (Niemi, Weisberg, & Kimball, 2011). Since these early accounts of mobilization and participation, scholars have focused on two mechanisms to alter participation: campaign driven mobilization in the Rosenstone and Hansen (2003) model and individual voter characteristics that lead to participation in the Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) and Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) models. The next two sections introduce the contemporary literature on campaign mobilization and individual participation characteristics. This chapter then focuses on a third route to mobilization; instead of looking at how campaigns mobilize the electorate writ large or what characteristics lead to participation, I examine how personality characteristics lead to participation under different mobilization conditions.

Voter Driven Participation

Early accounts of participation focused on demographic and political characteristics that led to political involvement. These socio-political features held sway for many years as scholars explained political behavior and continue to exert a strong influence over participation. Recently, however, scholars began examining aspects of the individual beyond these variables, finding other traits that related to participation, such as political trust and personality. Political trust, however, influences assessments of

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government officials and vote choice, but has shown less ability to predict participation (Citrin, 1974; Hetherington, 1998, 1999). The results for personality are much more encouraging, so I turn now to a discussion of recent findings on personality and political participation.

Personality

Personality exerts a strong influence over many different types of political participation. Most recent political science research examines the five personality domains outlined by the Big Five taxonomy (McCrae & Costa, 2003; McCrae & John, 1992). Within this framework, scholars have found positive relationships between voter turnout and the personality traits of openness to experience, emotional stability, and extraversion as well as a negative relationship between agreeableness and turnout (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008).

Participation can be defined as far more than turning out to vote, however, and these authors have also explored these relationships. While it would be impossible to list every tested participatory act, some general patterns become obvious from the results. First, conscientiousness and agreeableness typically exert a negative influence over campaign participation in general (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010). Conversely, extraversion relates positively to campaign involvement, specifically with acts like contacting officials, signing petitions, and discussing politics (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, & Panagopoulos, 2013; Mondak & Halperin, 2008).

The results from the other two personality domains are more mixed. Mondak (2010), for example, finds some positive relationships between campaign participation and emotional stability and some negative relationships. Likewise, Gerber and his co-authors find similarly contrasting relationships for emotional stability (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011). Openness to experience also exerts generally positive effects on political participation, although these scholars occasionally find negative relationships on behaviors such as political discussion and news consumption (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2013).

The bulk of the findings from Gerber, Huber, Mondak, and others, however, point to a strong relationship between personality traits and participatory behavior. It seems clear that pre-political factors like personality influence the likelihood that an individual will participate in politics, even if the exact theoretical predictions are not always clear. Of course, campaigns also have a say in who participates. While campaigns obviously cannot manipulate aspects of a voter's personality, they can make specific efforts to contact and mobilize the voter.

Campaign Driven Mobilization

Campaigns use many different tactics in their attempts to convince individuals to participate in politics, be that voting, donating money, volunteering, or simply discussing politics with their friends and co-workers. One early area of focus was the influence of negative campaigns on turnout. Beginning in the 1990s, media accounts of political campaigns increasingly focused on the apparent increase in rhetorical negativity. Naturally, political scientists picked up on these media reports and began to examine the

potential effects of negative campaigns on political behavior. While negativity in national campaigns brought the focus on the potential effect on participation, scholars have since begun to examine campaigns more broadly defined.

Television Advertisements

While negativity in advertising appears in many forms, most early research focused on television advertisements, which began in earnest with the work of Ansolabehere and Iyengar. Using laboratory experiments, they claim that negative advertisements lead to large, significant decreases in voting intention, suggesting that negative advertisements demobilize the electorate (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995; Ansolabehere et al., 1994). These results, however, were not met entirely with support. Some scholars challenged the methods Ansolabehere and his colleagues used to measure campaign negativity, suggesting that content analysis rather than news reports should be used to evaluate negativity (Finkel & Geer, 1998). Some studies that used survey data instead of experiments even found positive effects on turnout for negative advertisements (Freedman, Franz, & Goldstein, 2004; Goldstein & Freedman, 2002).

Other studies focused on incivility instead of negativity, with Mutz and Reeves (2005) finding short-term effects of incivility on political trust. However, Brooks and Geer (2007) find that while uncivil, trait based advertisements generate disgust among the public, they also can stimulate interest and turnout in campaigns, suggesting the reverse effect from what Ansolabehere and his colleagues found (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995; Ansolabehere et al., 1994).

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Ultimately, scholars reached a stalemate on the issue of negative television advertisements and voter turnout. While Krasno and Green (2008) find negative advertisements have no greater or weaker effect than positive advertisements on turnout, others find support for advertisements as a mobilizing tactic. Other scholars focused on the conditionality of the effects, with attack advertising demobilizing under some extreme conditions (mudslinging on irrelevant topics, for example), but under other circumstances the effects were quite small, resulting in little influence of television advertisements on voter turnout in the aggregate (Fridkin & Kenney, 2004, 2012; Kahn & Kenney, 1999a; Lau & Pomper, 2004). These findings are unsurprising given the nature of television advertisements and their relative focus on persuasion rather than mobilization.

Recently, scholars shifted focus away from negativity in television advertisements and focused on the emotional reactions elicited by the advertisements. Working under the Affective Intelligence framework pioneered by Marcus, Neuman, and MacKuen (2000), scholars started to look at the effects of affective appeals on political participations. Brader (2006) found that advertisements containing enthusiasm cues created greater interest in the campaign as well as increases in behavioral intentions such as registering to vote and voting in the primary and general elections. Additionally, these cues made individuals more willing to volunteer for campaigns. Brader also examined fear cues, though he found fewer effects for mobilization, with these cues producing greater willingness to volunteer and more agreement that people should vote. Other studies show similar mobilizing effects from anger appeals in both television and direct mail

advertisements, which may produce even stronger effects than fear or enthusiasm cues (Valentino et al., 2011).

These studies, however, are perhaps misguided in their focus on television advertisements as a source of mobilization. We usually think of televised political advertisements as a means to persuade voters instead of convincing them to actually turn out or volunteer. While there is some minimal evidence for mobilizing effects from mass media appeals, a far more likely source of mobilization comes from targeted, direct voter contact (Green & Gerber, 2008; Panagopoulos & Green, 2008). When these types of appeals are examined, the mobilizing effects of advertisements are magnified greatly.

Direct Voter Contact

Unlike television advertisements, the bulk of the evidence on direct, targeted voter contact suggests that, just as Rosenstone and Hansen (2003) predicted, individuals who are contacted are indeed more likely to participate. Early work clearly showed that candidates and parties could alter the make-up of the electorate through their actions (Caldeira, Clausen, & Patterson, 1990). Caldeira, Clausen, and Patterson use a broad measure that looks at campaign contact and direct mail, finding strong effects from these variables on the number of offices voted for, over and above traditional social and political variables.

More recently, Green and Gerber have published numerous articles on a variety of direct contact methods, including canvassing, direct mail, phone contact, and email. Delving into these results, we see that personalization of messages (to varying degrees) is often very important. For example, email efforts at mobilization were generally

ineffective, but these results could potentially be altered by personalizing the message or the recipient to a greater degree (Green & Gerber, 2008). Similarly, phone calls were found to be effective when staffed by volunteers, although these effects may in fact be driven by the quality of the calls rather than the payment (or lack thereof) of the phone caller (Nickerson, 2007; Ramirez, 2005; Wong, 2005). Likewise, leafleting and direct mail, under certain circumstances, produce higher rates of turnout among voters than phone calls (Gerber & Green, 2000; Nickerson, Friedrichs, & King, 2006).

The most effective tactic, however, appears to be door-to-door canvasing. This finding supports the idea that personalized, focused appeals possess the greatest ability to get people to the polls (Green & Gerber, 2008). When attempting to change a non-voter into a voter, the best way to do this is to make them feel important and wanted, and the best way to make them feel this way is through face-to-face contact with another person (Gerber & Green, 2000). Whether examining reported turnout or validated turnout, the results consistently show that door-to-door canvassing is the most effective method to get people to the polls (Green, Gerber, & Nickerson, 2003).

These results clearly point to a framework for mobilizing voters. The more personal the contact, the more effective the communication. No wonder decades of research on television as a mobilizing tool have turned up few consistent effects. Nonetheless, campaigns clearly possess the ability to mobilize individual voters. Understanding political mobilization, however, entails more than simply knowing how to encourage greater participation. It also involves an understanding of the mechanisms

responsible for the behavioral change. This is where the theoretical framework of this dissertation enters the discussion.

Personality, Campaigns, and Mobilization

Psychologists and political scientists possess a strong understanding of the reasons people alter their attitudes and behaviors and what drives these processes psychologically. As the interactive theory of personality and campaigns implies, however, the direct relationship between personality traits and political mobilization may be moderated by other factors, namely the campaign environment. Of course, other factors are likely in play, such as party identification or political knowledge. This section details how the effects of personality facets are moderated by mobilizing political communications.

These aspects represent a general framework of predictions of the effects of personality on political involvement. This type of direct effect of personality on political attitudes and behaviors is well studied, as Mondak, Gerber, Huber, and their colleagues demonstrate (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008; Mondak et al., 2010). However, the influence of the campaign environment is largely absent from these studies, as is an investigation of whether aspects within a domain operate distinctly from one another.

Drawing on prior work in personality and politics, as well as research on the aspects of the Big Five, I develop hypotheses regarding the effects of each aspect on political participation and the effectiveness of mobilizing appeals. In particular, I examine two dependent variables, likelihood of voting and an index of participatory acts

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termed "non-voting participation." I detail the operationalization of these variables in the next section, but conceptually they capture the two goals of campaign mobilization: turning out voters and encouraging participation in campaign activities such as volunteering, donating money, or informally encouraging other to vote.

Turning to predictions, I begin with the aspects of openness to experience, **Openness** and **Intellect**. As shown by previous scholars, I expect that Openness to Experience will increase both voter turnout and non-voting participation (Carney et al., 2008; Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2013; Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010). I diverge from these authors, however, in my expectation that the effects of the Openness aspect (composed of the facets of Imagination, Artistic Interests, Emotionality, Liberalism, and Adventurousness) reflect prior findings under all experimental conditions (H1a), but the aspect of Intellect (composed of the sole facet of Intellect) will be moderated by campaign communications.[7] This prediction derives from the increased enjoyment of cognitive complexity captured by the Intellect (but not Openness) aspect. That is, people who are open to new physical experiences are likely to be more involved in politics regardless of situational influences. On the other hand, Intellect prepares individuals (and gives them the cognitive tools) to consider political communications and react appropriately. While I believe that past scholars are correct

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[7] The facet of Liberalism is removed from these analyses, as the questions used to measure it are explicitly political (such as "I tend to vote for Liberal candidates") and present a potential confound, as the facet as measured functions as a proxy for liberal-conservative ideology.

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that individuals who enjoy new experiences are more likely to get involved with campaigns, the same should not be the case for individuals who enjoy cognitive thought, as the Intellect aspect captures. However, individuals high in Intellect should be better able to receive and evaluate campaign appeals. Thus, Intellect should predict higher campaign participation only in the treatment condition (H1b).

Unlike the domain of openness to experience, the results for conscientiousness and campaign participations are slightly more mixed. While some scholars find a negative relationship between conscientiousness and campaign participation (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010), these same authors, when they examine turnout, find no relationship. Others find an interaction with non-partisan Get Out The Vote appeals, with conscientiousness sometimes increasing intended turnout and sometimes decreasing it (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011). Given these mixed findings, I predict that conscientiousness will generally exert little influence on participation, but that campaign advertisements, especially those reminding voters of their civic duty, may activate aspects of conscientiousness and lead to greater participation. However, this interaction should only hold for one aspect, *Industriousness* (composed of the facets of Self-Efficacy, Dutifulness, Achievement Striving, Self-Discipline, and Cautiousness), as this aspect captures the components of conscientiousness that deal with goal and duty fulfillment (H2a). On the other hand, the aspect of *Orderliness*, composed of the sole facet of orderliness, captures a desire for order and structure and holds less political relevance (H2b). Thus, neither aspect should

predict participation in the control, but Industriousness should be activated by campaign mobilization appeals.

The predictions for extraversion are relatively straightforward and derive from previous literature. I expect that extraversion should increase participation, especially non-voting social participation. This follows directly from findings reported earlier (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010). However, some scholars report a negative relationship between extraversion and turnout (Gerber et al., 2013), so my expectations are more tempered for vote likelihood than for non-voting participation (H3). Nonetheless, I expect no interaction between extraversion and campaign communications, nor do I expect major differences between the aspects of ***Enthusiasm*** (with the facets of friendliness, gregariousness, and cheerfulness, and ***Assertiveness*** (with the facets of activity level, assertiveness, and excitement seeking). These predictions emerge because campaign participation, especially volunteer work, is an inherently social activity that individuals who are both enthusiastic and assertive should enjoy. The potential exists, however, for both Enthusiasm and Assertiveness to exert a stronger influence over non-voting participation, which is measured with multiple questions about social activities, than the comparatively solitary act of voting. Nonetheless, extraverted, outgoing individuals should be more likely to participate in politics compared to introverts, regardless of the campaign environment, because they enjoy the pro-social components of civic engagement.

Turning to agreeableness, prior literature is decidedly mixed on the potential effects of agreeableness on participation, and my hypotheses reflect this lack of clarity.

While some report a negative correlation between agreeableness and participation (Gerber et al., 2013; Mondak, 2010), others find no relationship (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak et al., 2010). A key difference between these studies and my work, however, is the composition of the individuals being studied. In particular, this chapter deals with individuals with a stated candidate preference, as these voters are the most realistic target of mobilizing campaign appeals. However, this could cause agreeableness and its aspects to operate slightly differently. In particular, once an affinity is formed for a candidate, it is likely that the pro-social tendencies of agreeable individuals will make them more likely to participate on behalf of their candidate. I expect, therefore, that for individuals with an expressed candidate preference, agreeableness should increase participation. Furthermore, this effect should be strongest for individuals high in the aspect of **Compassion**, which is composed of the altruism and sympathy facets. For compassionate individuals, mobilizing campaign appeals should exert little effect, as their altruistic and sympathetic tendencies will make them likely to participate on behalf of their preferred candidate regardless of the situation (H4a). The aspect of **Politeness** (composed of Morality, Cooperation, and Modesty), on the other hand, should be activated by campaign appeals. The desire to cooperate when asked should lead to a positive relationship between Politeness and participation in the treatment condition (H4b).

Finally, the neuroticism domain produces similarly disjointed results from prior literature. The strongest results for neuroticism emerge for political predispositions such as liberal ideology or Democratic identification. On matters of political participation,

scholarly accounts contradict each other, sometimes finding positive relationships between neuroticism and voting or participation ((Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010) and sometimes negative relationships (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2013; Mondak, 2010), occasionally in the same article or book! As with the previous domains, I argue that some of this inconsistency can be attributed to measuring personality too broadly and without accounting for contextual factors. In particular, I believe the primary driver of these relationships is the ***Withdrawal*** aspect of neuroticism, composed of the facets of Anxiety, Vulnerability, Depression, and Self-Consciousness. This aspect captures the negative emotionality commonly associated with neuroticism and contrasts sharply with the aspect of ***Volatility*** (with the facets of Immoderation and Anger) which better represents the impulsivity and approach aspects of neuroticism. By isolating these aspects, I believe that we will see little predictive power emerge for Volatility (H5a), while Withdrawal will show a negative relationship with participation. This should arise from the tendency for individuals high in Withdrawal to remove themselves from situations, especially those which may bring about negative emotions (H5b). When thinking about potential precursors to negative emotionality, politics seems a likely environmental trigger. However, the possibility exists that this avoidance of politics could be overcome with mobilizing appeals, leading Withdrawal to exert a stronger effect in the control condition.

The hypotheses described above and summarized below reflect a more detailed approach to the measurement and theory of personality as well as a consideration of a potential interaction with the campaign environment. The expectations are conditional, at

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times reflecting a belief that personality exerts a direct and universal influence while at other times arguing that the effect of personality depends on political campaigns. Additionally, by examining personality aspects as opposed to domains, I argue that, at times, the domains are too broad to properly capture variation in the effects of personality. The hypotheses below also reflect this belief. Following the summary of my hypotheses, I detail how I tested these predictions.

Summary of Hypotheses

H1a: Individuals high in the aspect of Openness will be more likely to vote and participate regardless of experimental condition compared to those low in the aspect of Openness.

H1b: Individual high in the aspect of Intellect will be more likely to vote and participate after viewing mobilizing campaign appeals compared to those low in the aspect of Intellect.

H2a: Individuals high in the aspect of Industriousness will be more likely to vote and participate after viewing mobilizing campaign appeals compared to those low in the aspect of Industriousness.

H2b: Individuals high in the aspect of Orderliness will be no more or less likely to vote and participate compared to those low in the aspect of Orderliness.

H3: Individuals high in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness will be more likely to vote and participate regardless of experimental condition compared to those low in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness.

H4a: Individuals high in the aspect of Compassion will be more likely to vote and participate regardless of experimental condition compared to those low in the aspect of Compassion.

H4b: Individuals high in the aspect of Politeness will be more likely to vote and participate after viewing mobilizing campaign appeals compared to those low in the aspect of Politeness.

H5a: Individuals high in the aspect of Volatility will be no more or less likely to vote or participate compared to those low in the aspect of Volatility.

H5b: Individuals high in the aspect of Withdrawal will be less likely to vote or participate compared to those low in the aspect of Withdrawal, especially in environments that lack mobilizing campaign appeals.

Results

To test these hypotheses, I employ a simple modeling strategy for the examination of my hypotheses. Depending on the nature of the dependent variable, I run an appropriate statistical model (for example, OLS regression for interval level dependent variables) on the dependent variable measured post-treatment. I include a dichotomous indicator of whether the participant was in the treatment or control condition and interact this indicator with the measure of the personality aspect of interest.

I analyze two dependent variables: likelihood of voting and an index of 11 different measures of various participatory acts. I explain the dependent variable in detail for each section and explain the hypothesized direction of the interaction for each personality variable. All analyses are run only on individuals who expressed a candidate preference prior to the experimental manipulation and these individuals are compared across treatment and control conditions. Individuals with no preference are excluded, as they saw a non-partisan get out the vote advertisement and did not see other candidate specific mobilizing appeals.

Likelihood of Voting

The first dependent variable I analyze is vote likelihood. This variable is intended to capture the behavioral intentions of participants to participate in the election through voting. This variable is measured using the question "If these candidates were on your ballot in the next general election, how likely would you be to participate in the

election?" Responses were scored on a seven point scale ranging from extremely unlikely to extremely likely.

Due to the nature of the MTurk sample, vote likelihood represents perhaps the strongest test of my hypotheses. Because the sample is highly educated and politically interested, they are very likely to vote in elections. The data largely bear this out, as only 25% of the sample said they were either unlikely or neither unlikely nor likely to participate prior to the treatment. Fully 75% said they were somewhat, very, or extremely likely to participate in the election and 26% were in the top category of extremely likely. With individuals already highly likely to participate in the election, there is something of a ceiling effect, with campaign advertisements unable to move people in the direction of voting because they have already decided to participate. Because of the high levels of involvement and the limited answer choices, I employ a tobit model to account for right-censoring that could occur for individuals at the high end of the vote likelihood scale. In essence, while the top category is "extremely likely", individuals who are certain to participate are conceptually more than "extremely likely" to participate, but the nature of the question leads to right-censoring, as these individuals are grouped into the highest category. Tables 4-1 and 4-2 present the regression results and marginal effects, respectively, of the models for all ten aspects, while figure 4-1 graphs the effects of personality in the treatment and control conditions.

Beginning with the Openness/Intellect hypotheses, we see support for H1b. While Intellect exerts no effect on vote likelihood in the control condition, the presence of a mobilizing campaign advertisement activates Intellect, with high Intellect individuals

now significantly more likely to vote than those low in Intellect. H1a is partially

supported as well; while the effect of Openness is statistically significant (as predicted) in

the treatment condition, the insignificant slope in the control condition (β=0.27) is

essentially equivalent to the treatment slope (β=0.28). Thus, it appears that for vote

likelihood, the effects of the Openness aspect are unconditional while the expression of

Intellect is brought about by campaign advertisements.[89]

     Moving to Industriousness/Orderliness, I find strong support for H2a. However,

contrary to the prediction of H2b, Orderliness predicts vote likelihood in the treatment

condition, although this effect is only marginally significant and substantively smaller

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[8] With these models and many that follow, the interaction term is frequently correctly

signed but insignificant. Thus, while the marginal effects are significant under one

condition and insignificant under other conditions, the insignificant interaction implies

that we cannot be certain whether these effects vary between conditions. I note, however,

that the substantive effects, both in the marginal effects and model estimates, are

substantively large with correspondingly large standard errors. While it is impossible to

pinpoint the exact source of this imprecision, it could result from limited variation on the

dependent variables, potentially due to the knowledgeable and politically interested

sample.

[9] The imprecision in these effects is not, however, due to excluded covariates. All models

were run with a traditional set of socio-demographic covariates (age, education, race,

gender, political knowledge) and the personality results are substantively similar without

an associated decrease in the size of the standard errors.

than the effect observed for Industriousness. In contrast, Industriousness (and its accompanying facet of dutifulness) can be activated by mobilizing campaigns, resulting in a significant marginal effect in the treatment condition. This effect is substantive large as well; across the range of Industriousness, the effect is a nearly 48 point increase in likelihood of voting from the least industrious to the most industrious.

While the results for openness to experience and conscientiousness are encouraging, the results for the extraversion aspects do not conform to my expectations. I expected that both Enthusiasm and Assertiveness would increase participation, but neither exerts a significant effect on vote likelihood in either the treatment or control condition. As alluded to earlier and supported by Mondak (2010), extraversion's effects likely emerge most strongly in participatory realms that are social in nature. Voting's solitary nature may make these effects less likely to appear and more likely to show up with non-voting participation. Nonetheless, H3 is not supported for vote likelihood.

The results for H4a and H4b are also mixed. H4a is supported by the data; regardless of experimental condition, compassionate individuals are more likely to vote than their less compassionate counterparts. Experimental condition assignment does not moderate this relationship, as the substantive effect is large in either the control (36.6 point increase) or treatment (37.6 point increase) conditions. The expectation in H4b, however, was that campaign advertisements moderate the effects of Politeness. However, the data show that, while Politeness predicts vote likelihood in the treatment condition (37 point increase), the effect is roughly equivalent in the control condition (42.5 point

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increase). Thus, there is no evidence for the predicted moderation and H4b is not supported.

Turning finally to the neuroticism hypotheses, I again find strong support for one of my predictions (H5b). H5a predicted that the effect of Volatility on vote likelihood would be insignificant, but these results indicate that volatility is activated by the treatment condition, resulting in a negative relationship. Once again, this relationship is marginally significant and substantively smaller than the corresponding effect for Withdrawal. H5b, on the other hand, predicts a negative effect of Withdrawal on participation (in the control condition) that is attenuated in the treatment condition. This pattern holds for vote likelihood, as movement along the full Withdrawal scale produced a statistically significant 29.3 point decrease in vote likelihood in the control condition but a statistically insignificant and substantively smaller 9.5 point decrease in the treatment condition. Thus, H5b is supported for vote likelihood.

Of the ten aspect hypotheses put forth, four were supported for vote likelihood, two were partially supported, and four were not supported. Interestingly, the patterns of effects suggest not only that differences exist between aspects under the same domain, but also that the campaign by personality interaction holds true for several personality aspects, at least with regard to vote likelihood. In the next section, I recreate these analyses using a measure of non-voting participation.

Non-Voting Participation

The next potential location for the campaign by personality interaction to emerge is among participatory acts. While the range of participatory activities is vast, this project

asked questions on eleven different potential activities.[10] For those who expressed a preference, they were asked how likely they were to engage in each of the activities for their preferred candidate on a seven-point scale from extremely unlikely to extremely likely. For individuals without a preference, they were asked for the likelihood of engaging in the activities for a candidate.

Although each participatory act can be examined separately and this would certainly result in unique predictions from a variety of personality aspects, this analysis combines all eleven activities into a general participatory scale. This scale is highly reliable, with an alpha coefficient of 0.93, suggesting that these questions can indeed be combined to form an additive scale. I follow a similar modeling strategy, replacing the tobit model with an OLS regression, as there is no evidence of either left- or right-censoring with the non-voting participation data.

Following the pattern of the previous section, I begin with the Openness/Intellect hypotheses. H1a, which predicted that Openness would exert a positive effect in both the treatment and control conditions, was unsupported by these data. Openness positively predicts non-voting participation in the treatment condition (36.1 point increase) but does not do so in the control condition. However, just as for vote likelihood, H1b is supported

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[10] These activities are: allowing the candidate to use your name as a supporter, displaying a bumper sticker, talking to co-workers about the candidate, donating money to the candidate, going door knocking for the candidate, talking to friends about the candidate, hosting a fundraiser for the candidate, making phone calls on behalf of the candidate, stuffing envelopes for the candidate, displaying a yard sign, and voting for the candidate.

for non-voting participation. While no correlation exists between Intellect and participatory acts in the control condition, the presence of political advertisements again activates this personality aspect and produces a significant positive correlation in the treatment condition. This effect, though, is noticeably smaller for non-voting participation, with movement from minimum to maximum on Intellect resulting in a 12.1 point increase in non-voting participation.

For Industriousness/Orderliness, H2a is again strongly supported. In the control condition, Industriousness exhibits a negative and marginally significant influence on non-voting participation, but as predicted, in the treatment condition, campaign advertisements alter the expression of Industriousness and result in a positive and significant correlation between Industriousness and non-voting participation. While the expectation for Orderliness is of null effects, a small, positive, and statistically significant effect is found in the treatment condition. The effect, however, is roughly half as large substantively as the effect for Industriousness (9.7 points versus 20 points). Thus H2b is unsupported by the data.

The straightforward predictions for Enthusiasm/Assertiveness are strongly supported for non-voting participation. As expected, both Enthusiasm and Assertiveness correlate strongly and positively with greater participation. Furthermore, this effect is unconditional on treatment assignment. As Mondak (2010) suggests, extraversion (and in this case, the aspects of extraversion) positively correlate with social campaign participation. This contrasts with the weak results for vote likelihood, underscoring the

importance of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness for social participation but not for solitary acts such as voting.

The Compassion/Politeness hypotheses were also supported by the non-voting participation data. For Compassion, I again find positive correlations between the personality aspect and participation, regardless of treatment assignment, which supports H4a. However, unlike with vote likelihood, H4b is also supported. While Politeness fails to predict non-voting participation in the control condition, campaign advertisements activate Politeness and produce a statistically significant and positive correlation between personality and participation.

Finally, unlike voting, the Volatility/Withdrawal hypotheses meet with weaker support in the arena of non-voting participation. The null Volatility hypothesis, H5a, is unsupported in the treatment condition, as Volatility predicts lower participation in the treatment condition, although the predicted lack of relationship emerges in the control condition. H5b, regarding Withdrawal, is partially supported by the non-voting participation data. Withdrawal leads to lower participation in the control condition, as predicted, but it also reduces participation when campaign advertisements are present. Campaign advertisements slightly attenuate the effect in the treatment condition (15.6 point decrease versus a 20.4 point decrease in the control) but, at best, this can be seen as partial support for H5b.

Despite the less than robust findings for neuroticism, the aspect-level approach to the campaign by personality interaction once again meets with strong support in general. Of the ten hypothesized relationships, six were supported by the data on non-voting

participation, one was partially supported, and three were not supported. In totality, ten of the twenty hypotheses (50%) were fully supported and another three (15%) were partially supported.

Conclusions

These results clearly demonstrate the viability of the campaign by personality interaction as a means to study the influence of personality in politics. Across multiple operationalizations of political mobilization, personality consistently influences participation. These effects lead to participatory differences on vote likelihood and participation with the campaigns. However, political campaigns serve a unique role in moderating these participatory differences.

The hypotheses outlined above and the support obtained in these data appear in table 4-5. Two patterns are worth emphasizing; these patterns will reappear in the following two chapters. First, evaluating personality at the aspect-level yields a significant improvement in theoretical and empirical support over the domain approach. Under some domains, the aspects offer little additional explanatory power (as is the case with extraversion and agreeableness). However, at other times, the differences between aspects within a domain can be seen, either in the case of differences in magnitude of effects (such as Openness/Intellect), significance of effects (Industriousness/Orderliness), or in significant interactions (Withdrawal/Volatility).

Second, and perhaps more importantly, these results clearly demonstrate the need to consider political context when examining the effect of personality. Looking at both dependent variables, aspects such as Openness, Intellect, Industriousness, Orderliness,

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Politeness, and Volatility are significant under one condition (control or treatment) and insignificant under the other. Mobilizing political advertisements influence both likelihood of voting and participation in non-voting activities. They can do so directly, but their influence is subtle as well. They alter the expression of personality traits, sometimes reducing the influence of the trait (Withdrawal) and sometimes exacerbating its influence (Openness, Intellect, Industriousness, Orderliness, Politeness). In totality, these findings confirm the presence of the campaign by personality interaction in the study of voting and campaign participation.

These results speak to debates about the role of personality in politics as well as the influence of campaign appeals. Prior research showed the personality domains such as extraversion and conscientiousness predicted political participation but these studies were largely correlational, focusing on personality predictors of participation. I extend these results to a dynamic campaign context, showing that personality continues to influence participatory acts. However, the influence of personality on attitudes and behavior can be negated or exacerbated through strategic, persuasive campaign communications that encourage differential expressions of personality traits. Additionally, political campaign research that focuses on the mobilizing or demobilizing effects of advertisements often miss the ability of campaigns to encourage or discourage reliance on apolitical dispositions such as personality.

These results move the discussion on the effectiveness of political communications beyond direct effects. Indeed, if we were to only measure the effects of the treatment, we may conclude that political campaigns exert little mobilizing effect.

However, a closer examination of the conditional nature of campaigns demonstrates that mobilization (or demobilization) can occur at several different levels. At times, campaigns work to eliminate undesirable, personality-based differences in participation, while at other times encouraging the expression of certain traits.

Scholars should continue to examine the ability of campaigns to exacerbate or alleviate personality based differences in participation. However, we should also extend our analyses to other arenas in politics, namely political persuasion. These results suggest that personality should also condition reactions to campaign advertisements designed to alter attitudes and behavior related to candidate support. The next chapter shifts the focus onto political campaigns designed to persuade voters.

Table 4-1: Effects of Personality Aspects, Mobilization Messages, and Interaction on Likelihood of Turnout

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Treatment	0.01	-0.13	-0.24	-0.10	0.05	0.09	0.04	-0.00	-0.06	0.03
	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Personality Aspect	0.27	0.17	0.15	-0.05	0.15	0.15	0.43**	0.37**	-0.29**	-0.05
	(0.25)	(0.14)	(0.23)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Treatment x Personality	0.01	0.18	0.33	0.15	-0.07	-0.17	-0.06	0.01	0.20	-0.07
	(0.28)	(0.17)	(0.26)	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.18)
Constant	0.71***	0.77***	0.78***	0.93***	0.81***	0.82***	0.58***	0.62***	1.00***	0.91***
	(0.16)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.07)
N	449	489	465	491	480	480	484	483	487	488
pseudo R^2	0.014	0.042	0.041	0.005	0.004	0.001	0.026	0.043	0.010	0.004

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 4-2: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Likelihood of Turnout, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	0.27	0.17	0.15	-0.05	0.15
	[-0.22,0.77]	[-0.11,0.46]	[-0.30,0.60]	[-0.28,0.18]	[-0.16,0.46]
Treatment	0.28**	0.36***	0.48***	0.10*	0.08
	[0.03,0.53]	[0.20,0.52]	[0.25,0.70]	[-0.03,0.22]	[-0.08,0.25]
N	449	489	465	491	480

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	0.15	0.43**	0.37**	-0.29**	-0.05
	[-0.30,0.60]	[0.01,0.84]	[0.03,0.71]	[-0.60,0.02]	[-0.36,0.26]
Treatment	-0.02	0.37***	0.38***	-0.10	-0.13*
	[-0.26,0.22]	[0.12,0.62]	[0.19,0.56]	[-0.25,0.06]	[-0.30,0.05]
N	480	484	483	487	488

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 4-3: Effects of Personality Aspects, Mobilization Messages, and Interaction on Non-Voting Participation

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Treatment	-0.14	-0.07	-0.36***	-0.08	-0.03	0.04	-0.25**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.00
	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.14)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Personality Aspect	0.19	0.07	-0.22*	0.04	0.27***	0.37***	-0.15	0.25**	-0.20**	-0.04
	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Treatment x Personality	0.17	0.05	0.42**	0.06	0.03	-0.11	0.29**	-0.02	0.05	-0.07
	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Constant	0.24**	0.30***	0.53***	0.34***	0.19***	0.16**	0.46***	0.17**	0.43***	0.37***
	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.04)
N	448	487	464	489	479	479	482	481	486	486
adj. R^2	0.042	0.008	0.018	0.010	0.068	0.033	0.006	0.034	0.024	0.005

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 4-4: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Non-Voting Participation, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	0.19	0.07	-0.22*	0.04	0.27***
	[-0.14,0.52]	[-0.13,0.27]	[-0.55,0.10]	[-0.12,0.19]	[0.06,0.47]
Treatment	0.36***	0.12**	0.20***	0.10**	0.30***
	[0.20,0.52]	[0.01,0.23]	[0.04,0.36]	[0.01,0.18]	[0.19,0.41]
N	448	487	464	489	479

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	0.37***	-0.15	0.25**	-0.20**	-0.04
	[0.09,0.65]	[-0.43,0.13]	[0.02,0.49]	[-0.41,0.00]	[-0.25,0.16]
Treatment	0.26***	0.15**	0.23***	-0.16***	-0.11**
	[0.11,0.41]	[-0.02,0.31]	[0.11,0.36]	[-0.26,-0.05]	[-0.23,0.01]
N	479	482	481	486	486

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

	Prediction (Control)	Prediction (Treatment)	Results for Vote Likelihood	Results for Non-Voting Participation
			Table 4-5: Summary of Hypotheses and Support	
H1a: Openness	+	+	Partial Support	*Not Supported*
H1b: Intellect		+	**Supported**	**Supported**
H2a: Industriousness		+	**Supported**	**Supported**
H2b: Orderliness			*Not Supported*	*Not Supported*
H3: Enthusiasm	+	+	*Not Supported*	**Supported**
H3: Assertiveness	+	+	*Not Supported*	**Supported**
H4a: Compassion	+	+	**Supported**	**Supported**
H4b: Politeness		+	Partial Support	**Supported**
H5a: Volatility			*Not Supported*	*Not Supported*
H5b: Withdrawal	-		**Supported**	Partial Support

Figure 4-1: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Vote Likelihood, by Experimental Condition
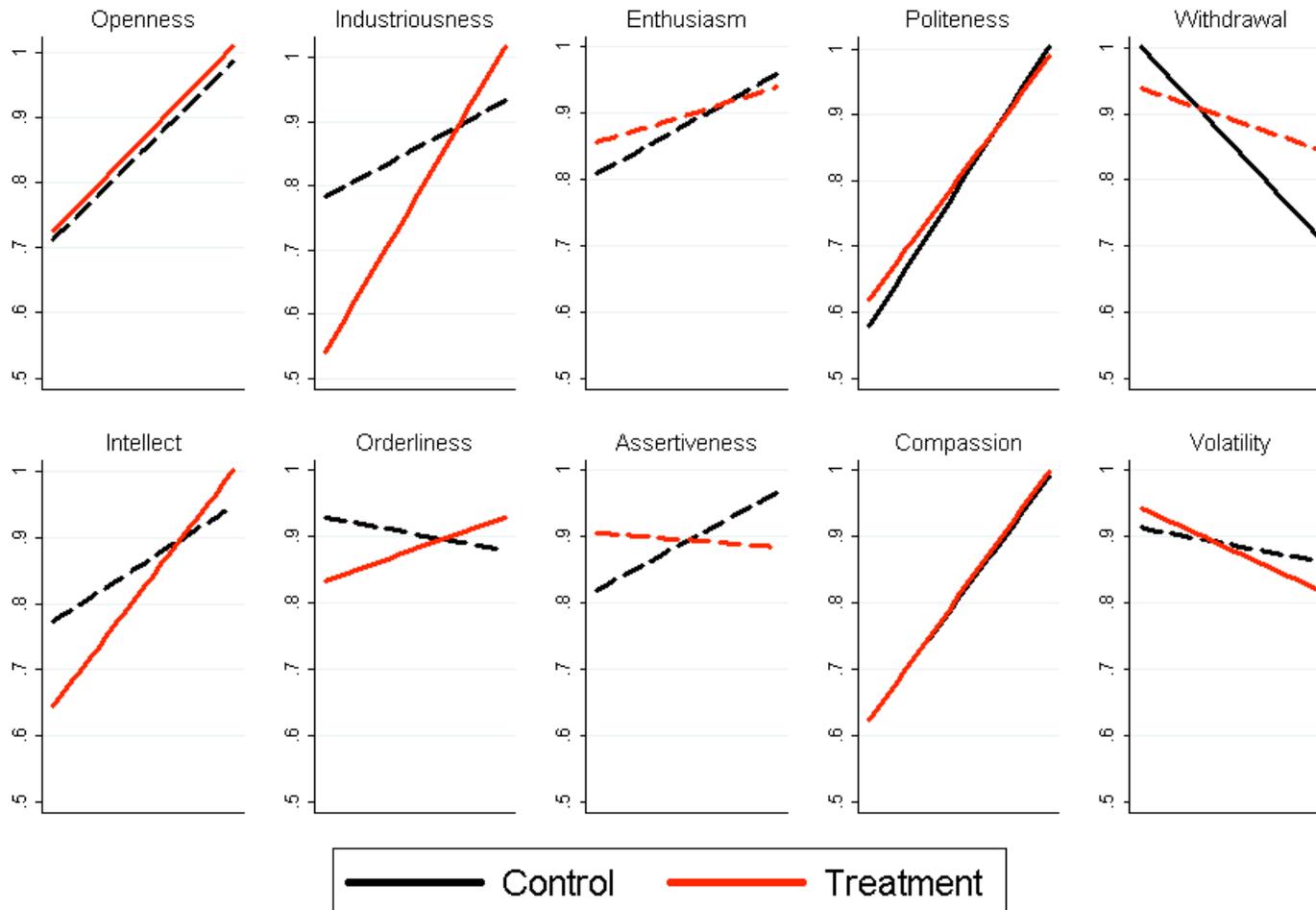
Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.

Figure 4-2: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Non-Voting Participation, by Experimental Condition

Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.
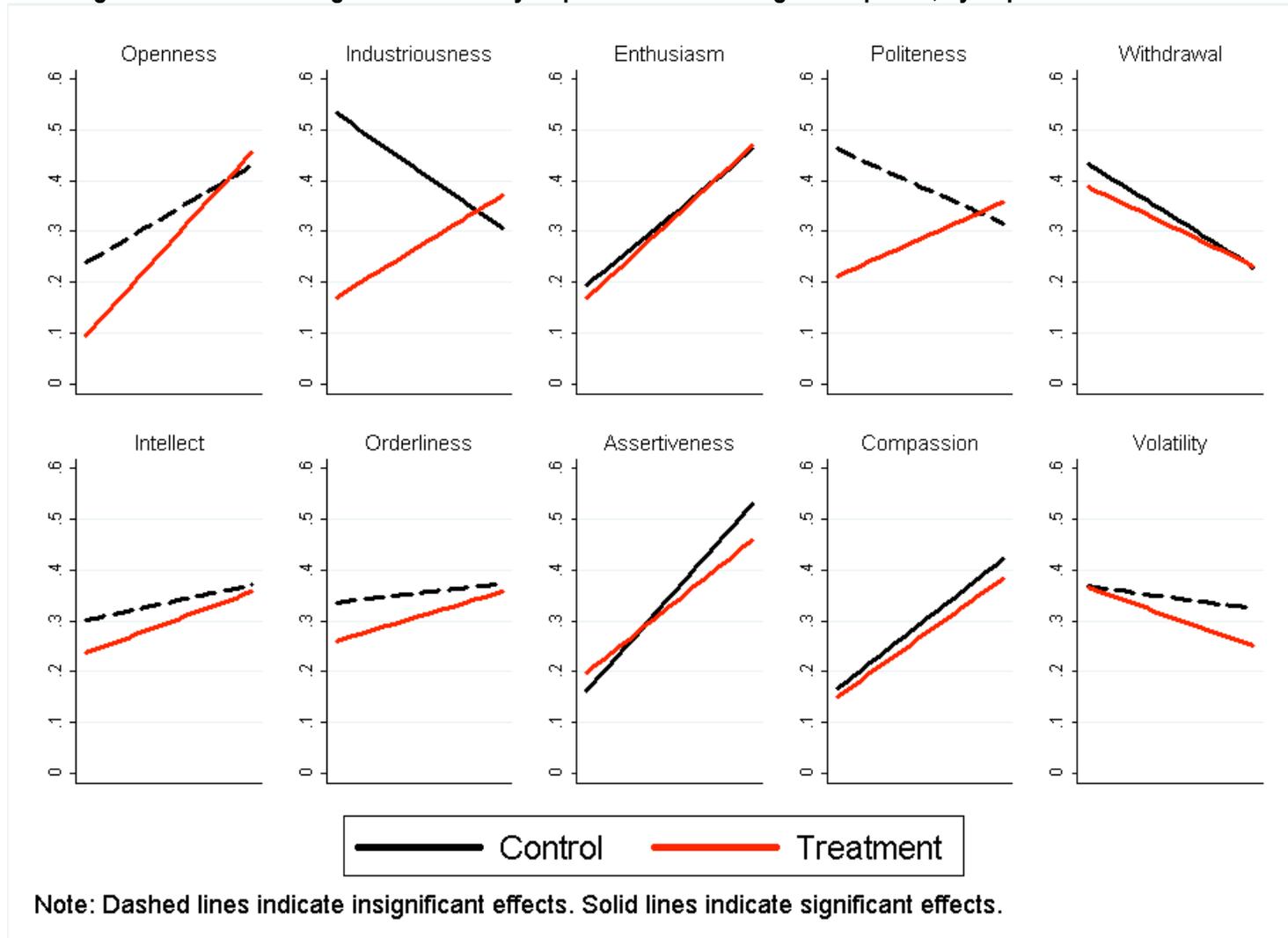
Chapter 5: Persuasion

What determines an individual's vote choice? This question has driven scores of studies over the past 70 plus years. Early studies found little to no evidence that voters were able to match up their issue preferences with those of political candidates, often even failing to know where the candidates were located on an issue (Campbell et al., 1960). Coupled with evidence that most Americans lacked an even cursory understanding of the implications of political ideology, and the portrait for voters was grim (Converse, 1964). If voters could not match their policy preferences with candidates or ideology (or even hold consistent issue positions), how could they make a rational, reasoned decision on who to vote for?

Classic Accounts of Vote Choice

Voters needed something to guide them or their vote choices would be either random or based on some superficial candidate characteristic like name or appearance. Enter party identification. To the authors of *The American Voter*, party identification represented the most important heuristic for voters, providing them with a "perceptual screen" through which to view all politics (Campbell et al., 1960). Offering further proof that these results are not time dependent, scholars essentially replicated each analysis in *The American Voter* with contemporary data, finding surprisingly similar results (Lewis-Beck, Jacoby, Norpoth, & Weisberg, 2008).

Not all scholars, however, were so quick to give up on the idea of issue voting. While at the individual level there seemed to be a lack of consistency in issue preferences (Converse, 1964; Zaller, 1992), at the aggregate level, public opinion on issues is highly

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dependent on previous opinion on the same issue (Page & Shapiro, 1992). Although

Converse found only sophisticated voters capable of ideological thinking, when it came

to issue voting, the picture is murkier. In particular, Carmines and Stimson (1980) drew a

distinction between "easy" and "hard" issues, finding that all voters, regardless of

sophistication, are likely to exhibit issue voting when the issue is deeply politically

ingrained (the "easy" issue). Only on the harder issues, which require careful, complex

analysis of candidate positions and an ability to match one's own policy preferences with

the candidates, were political sophisticated better equipped to exhibit issue voting.

Another line of scholarship outside of the party identification work focused on the

economic determinants of the vote. These scholars examine how the performance of the

economy affects evaluations of political figures, not only in the U.S. context but also

across national boundaries (Iversen & Soskice, 2001; Lewis-Beck & Paldam, 2000;

Lewis-Beck & Stegmaier, 2000). Building off of these findings, scholars began

predicting presidential vote totals using economic conditions and evaluations, with

impressive results (see the January 2013 issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics* for a

recap of several prediction models from the 2012 election).

One major aspect of voting, however, is missing from these accounts of vote

choice: the candidate. If voters decide who to vote for based on party identification, the

parties' positions on issues, or economic evaluations, what role do candidates play in this

process? Popkin (1994) tells us that voters rely on relatively little information, often

placing significant weight on the superficial candidate traits over their qualifications.

Others showed that trait evaluations of candidates were not simply post-hoc

rationalizations of candidate choice, but instead could actually shape attitudes about the candidates (Funk, 1996, 1997, 1999). To the extent that candidates are considered competent, likeable, and to a lesser extent, warm or caring, voters evaluate these candidates more highly (Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991).

Candidates also enter into the evaluation equation through portrayals of the candidates, either by the media or by the campaigns themselves. In particular, the media are able to frame candidates in particular ways in much the same way they frame issues; these media frames in turn lead to different evaluations of the issues and candidates (Iyengar, 1990; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Iyengar & Reeves, 1997; Miller & Krosnick, 2000). These media portrayals can lead to reinforcement or questioning of beliefs about the suitability of the candidates to hold office, as was vividly demonstrated with Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in the 2008 presidential election (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Clearly, the candidate matters when individuals decide who to support.

Given the wealth of evidence showing the social and psychological precursors of candidate evaluations, a fair question remains as to whether it is possible to change a voter's mind. If party identification, issue positions, economic evaluations, and candidate traits are such strong predictors of individual vote choice, what can campaigns do to change these choices? In the next section, I detail research on political persuasion, focusing on the various manners in which individuals can be persuaded as well as specific qualities of the individuals that make them more (or less) likely to be persuaded.

Voter Driven Persuasion

To understand political persuasion, we must examine both the inherent characteristics of the individual that makes them persuadable and the actions taken by the media and campaigns. A complete understanding of persuasion can only be obtained from a consideration of both of these factors. So why are some individuals more persuadable than others? Although media accounts lead us to believe that independent, non-partisan voters are the key to understanding political persuasion, the bulk of scholarship suggests that these individuals may not account for much in the way of attitude change. As Keith and his colleagues explain, the "independent" voter often comprises true independents as well as "closet partisans" who actually identify with a party and act much like their co-partisans in their attitudes and behaviors (Keith et al., 1992). While closet partisans act like traditional partisans, the true independents, who feel affinity for neither party, are often ill-informed and politically apathetic. If we wish to find political persuasion, we must look to the voters who are engaged and exposed to political campaigns: partisan identifiers.

Among partisans, a profile emerges of the type most likely to be persuaded. Lavine, Johnson, and Steenbergen (2012) propose a theory of "ambivalent partisans", positing that individuals with a long-term commitment to a party who experience short-term conflict with that identity (caused by scandals, bad candidates, economic performance, or any number of politically relevant factors) act differently than "univalent partisans" who do not experience this conflict. Other scholars complete this picture of persuadable partisans, showing that "cross-pressured partisans" who hold at least one issue position at odds with their preferred party are more likely to defect and vote for the

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other party (Hillygus & Shields, 2008). Whether we label them ambivalent or cross-pressured, partisan voters who experience some type of internal political conflict between their opinions and their partisan identities appear significantly more likely to ignore partisan cues, seek new information about the candidates, and switch their vote to the opposing candidate.

Beyond partisan conflict, exposure to conflicting political information should also factor into an individual's persuadability. Mondak (2010) examines individuals' political discussion networks and finds strong links to personality factors, especially openness to experience, extraversion, conscientiousness, and agreeableness. In particular, people low in agreeableness and high in extraversion are the most likely to see increases in disagreement as their discussion network size increases. To the extent that increased access to conflicting political information leads to partisan conflict (which in turn can lead to persuasion), we would expect that individuals who are exposed to more political information would be more likely to be persuaded. In particular, we should see the strongest effects among those who experience political information that disagrees with their views. Thus, there appears to be a set of traits (highly open to new experiences, extraverted, and low in conscientiousness and agreeableness) that make individuals more likely to encounter disagreeable and challenging political information. As detailed earlier, other psychological traits, particularly need for cognition, are also likely to influence the persuasive process (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein, & Jarvis, 1996; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986a, 1986b). Couple these findings with work on conflicted partisans, and a picture begins to emerge of which voters are likely to be persuaded.

A final, key piece of the individual level persuasion puzzle remains the role of emotions in driving information seeking and attitude formation. Following the work of Marcus, Neuman, and Mackuen's (2000) Affective Intelligence Theory, scholars found extensive evidence that emotional reactions lead to differences in political actions and beliefs. Scholars showed that when individuals are anxious, they are more likely to pay attention and process information about their preferred candidates (Redlawsk, Civettini, & Lau, 2007) and that anger often leads individuals to rely less on factual knowledge when making their political decisions (Huddy et al., 2007).

Emotional reactions, while occurring at the individual level, still must respond to some outside stimuli. In many ways, the study of emotions in politics bridges individual and contextual level approaches to persuasion. At the individual level, partisans who face some type of conflict and individuals who are psychologically predisposed to immersing themselves in political conflict are more likely to be persuaded. Additionally, specific emotional reactions cause people to seek confirming or disconfirming information, leading to different levels of persuasion. However, contextual factors, specifically political campaigns, are often vital for understanding why a voter experiences a particular emotional reaction. The next section details the contextual level variables that lead individuals towards change or entrenchment of their political attitudes.

Campaign Driven Persuasion

When analyzing contextual level influences on political persuasion, scholars primarily focus on the media, national political and economic conditions, and political campaigns. While the media and national conditions are interesting and important

influences on voters, this section focuses on political campaigns as a persuasive force. While the economy and the media represent important influences on citizen attitudes, this dissertation concerns the ability of candidates to alter the political context through direct actions such as campaigning. The role of campaign communications and how candidates use these tactics to change candidate choice plays a vital role in this study. Although some scholars emphasize a relative lack of ability on the part of candidates to persuade voters (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Campbell et al., 1960; Hibbs, 1987; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), recent research focuses on evaluating the size and manner of influence that advertisements exert.

Shaw (1999a, 1999b) supports the arguments in favor of campaign effects, showing that states that were targeted by presidential candidates with television advertising showed significantly higher vote totals for that candidate. At the aggregate level, political campaigns (and television advertisements in particular) seem to exert a strong influence over voter behavior. But do these results replicate at the individual level? Goldstein and Freedman (2002) would have us believe that they do.

Using individual level data on voters coupled with aggregate data about television advertising, they show that television advertisements motivate people to get involved and learn more about the candidates (Freedman et al., 2004; Goldstein & Freedman, 2002). Further research suggested a mechanism for these results, showing that negative advertisements contain more sourced information than positive advertisements, thereby enriching the information environment available to voters (Geer, 2006).

This information environment, in turn, influences the decisions voters make. In presidential races, candidates use individually tailored messages to highlight and inform citizens on the issues most salient to the voter, essentially creating unique information environments for individuals or groups of voters (Hillygus & Shields, 2008). While this analysis lacked an examination of the influence of these messages on voters, others scholars continued the study and showed that, as the competitiveness of Senate races increase, voters become more knowledgeable and engaged (Kahn & Kenney, 1999b). Furthermore, they propose that campaigns play a critical role in this process, presenting different sides on issues and structuring the political debate as a competition between the two candidates. In the most intense campaigns, voters reduce their reliance on simple heuristics like party identification and increase their reliance on information they obtain from the campaign environment. The effects of television advertisements are not restricted to competitive Senate campaigns, however, as Huber and Arceneaux (2007) show that televisions advertisements exhibited a strong persuasive effect, even in non-battleground (and presumably less competitive) states. This suggests that campaigns exert a persuasive influence independent of the competitiveness context.

These scholars describe a political environment where structural factors such as economic performance and aggregate partisanship distributions matter, but also one where campaigns clearly play a role in structuring how voters think about the candidates. Campaigns may not be able to tell people directly who to vote for, but they do encourage voters to consider their options and obtain information about candidates and issues. Campaigns can do this through political advertisements, especially direct mail and

television spots, and these advertisements serve both to provide information to voters and to arouse certain emotions either for or against a candidate.

In contrast to much of this work, scholars examining advertisements from a mass media perspective draw heavily on theories of media effects. As media studies evolved from early approaches positing minimal effects, scholars began to identify more subtle media effects such as priming, framing, and agenda-setting (Berelson et al., 1954; Iyengar & Reeves, 1997; Lazarsfeld et al., 1944). These studies, however, often predicted a direct path for political communications; that is, political advertisements lead directly to attitude change. This is particularly evident in Kaid's (2008) summary chapter on political advertising, which focuses almost exclusively on trying to parse research findings on whether advertisements are or are not effective. There is little mention of the possibility that advertisements have different effects depending on the political environment or individual differences in the audience.

Perhaps the larger issue with identifying the persuasive effects of political advertisements lies in the relative weakness of the findings from political communications research. While survey research found evidence that voters learned about candidates from advertisements, voters seemed unwilling to change their candidate preferences based on the communication (Brians & Wattenberg, 1996; Patterson & McClure, 1973). While experimental work offers more promise in uncovering persuasive advertising effects, this literature has historically been plagued by less than ideal research designs (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 2009).

In particular, experimental work addresses a key concern with surveys, namely the ability to measure an individual's exposure to campaign advertisements. While scholars increasingly have access to large amounts of data about television advertisements, we are still left to infer whether an individual actually saw a given advertisement. Other approaches, such as advertising recall questions or self-reported exposure measures, suffer from endogeneity and are correlated with political interest and knowledge, calling into question their validity for measuring actual exposure (Goldstein & Ridout, 2004).

We are left wondering whether political campaigns truly influence the American public's voting decisions. Scholars present strong evidence for the effect of political campaigns on voter knowledge and information consumption, but do they actually change people's minds? Kinder (1998) is quick to point out that, although scholars have been hard pressed to show vote switching, campaigns serve important "activation and reinforcement" purposes that may mitigate persuasion from the other side. By reminding voters of their partisan or candidate attachments, political advertisements are able to negate some of the potential persuasive effects of advertisements from the other side.

Reflecting the theoretical foundations of this dissertation, scholars have begun to realize the conditional effects of political advertisements on different voters. For instance, Iyengar and Simon (2000) raise the possibility of the "resonance model" as way of studying political communications. In contrast to early studies which relied on the "hypodermic" or direct effects model, the resonance model posits that a voter's predispositions influence their receptivity to political communications. Although Iyengar

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and Simon focus primarily on political predispositions such as partisanship, the extension to individual differences such as personality traits appears natural and important.

Still other studies suggest that aspects of the political environment, such as the homogeneity of news sources, may condition the effects of political advertisements. Individuals can self-select into media environments that accord with their political views, thereby reducing their exposure to opposing arguments and reinforcing prior beliefs (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008). While this may not bode particularly well for the status of democracy, it points to an even larger role for political advertisements if campaigns are able to get through the self-selection filter and present information to voters that does not support their prior attitudes. Previous research has focused on traditional moderators such as partisanship or political knowledge, and while these remain important, the ability of individuals to self-select into agreeable media environments may lead to a weakening of these effects in the world of politics as individuals simply avoid information that disagrees with their prior views.

As we saw with mobilization in chapter 3, however, pre-political considerations such as personality are also likely to moderate reactions to political communications. Just as mobilizing political advertisements primarily reduced the effects of personality factors on political participation, we may expect similar results from persuasive campaign appeals. A theoretical framework that predicts increased message elaboration resulting from exposure to campaign advertisements should not be conditional on the goal of the advertisements. Thus, the expectation remains that, when it comes to political persuasion, a set of personality variables will predict political persuasion, but the presence of

advertisements should moderate the effects of these variables. The possibility continues

to exist, however, that campaigns may activate as well as deactivate the effects of

personality.

Personality, Campaigns, and Persuasion

While the mechanism behind the campaign by personality interaction remains the

same for persuasion and mobilization, the relevant personality aspects do not. While the

aspects of openness, conscientiousness, and neuroticism all showed some evidence of the

campaign by personality interaction for mobilization, there is no reason to expect these

traits to predict an individual's response to questions about candidate preference. Instead,

the relevant set of traits should focus on decisiveness and responsiveness to confirmatory

or contradictory information.

While much of the work in political science examined the personality precursors

to political behavior and attitudes, less work exists on whether personality traits make

individuals more or less responsive to campaign advertisements. The work that does exist

focuses not on the Big Five, but rather on traits such as authoritarianism (Hetherington &

Weiler, 2009; Lavine et al., 1999) or ambivalence (Hillygus & Shields, 2008; Lavine et

al., 2012). Nonetheless, we can use some findings from previous personality research to

develop some predictions for reactions to persuasive political campaigns.

In this chapter, I examine two dependent variables that will be discussed in further

detail in the results. However, both variables provide a measure of candidate support and

persuasion. The first is a feeling thermometer difference score between the preferred and

non-preferred candidate, with a value of 1 representing the greatest difference in attitudes

towards the preferred candidate and a value of 0 representing the greatest attitude difference favoring the non-preferred candidate.[11] The other dependent variable records likelihood of participating in persuasive activities that include learning about the candidates through various means. Unlike with mobilization, the personality traits that theoretically increase attitude polarization may not be the same that increase persuasive activity participation. Thus, at times, different predictions will emerge between the dependent variables.

Beginning with the Openness/Intellect aspects, we see some evidence that social agreement on political issues can increase discussion among open individuals (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2012). While this won't necessarily translate directly to persuasion, we might expect that advertisements that present counter-attitudinal information (and increase disagreement) may be especially powerful influences on open individuals. In particular, this disagreeable information may produce a backlash effect and lead open individuals to strengthen their candidate beliefs. The expectation, therefore, is that the **_Openness_** aspect should increase attitude polarization in the counter-attitudinal condition (H1a). I expect this to occur because individuals who are open to new experiences should be willing to consider new information (in the form of campaign advertisements) but are not expected to act any differently than other individuals. Thus

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[11] This variable is constructed by taking the responses to the pre-treatment candidate preference question and subtracting the post-treatment feeling thermometer score for this candidate from the post-treatment feeling thermometer score for the other candidate.

they should be more receptive to the counter-attitudinal advertisement but exhibit the expected backlash against contrary information.

Intellect, on the other hand, should display a different effect; I expect no effect for attitude polarization but the increased cognitive load required of seeking information to counter-argue inconsistent information may lead intellect to predict persuasive activities in the counter-attitudinal condition (H1b). That is, when presented with counter-attitudinal information, I again do not expect Intellect to make somebody more persuadable, but they are better equipped cognitively to counter-argue this information and, in turn, express a desire to seek more information. On the other hand, while Intellect could interact with the campaign environment in relation to persuasive activities, I expect Openness to function as a direct influence on persuasion participation, increasing participation in all conditions in line with the findings from past research (H1c) (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Mondak, 2010; Mondak et al., 2010). That is, people who are open to new experiences are likely to be involved in campaign activities, whether mobilizing or persuasive, regardless of campaign communications. Their enjoyment of new experiences will drive them to participate regardless of whether they view advertisements or not.

Turning to the conscientiousness aspects of Industriousness and Orderliness, prior research shows that conscientiousness predicts news consumption and interest, suggesting that these individuals may be more easily persuaded based on increased media exposure (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011a; Mondak, 2010). Yet similar to mobilization, the expectation is that any effects should be driven more by the dutifulness

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inherent in the **Industriousness** aspect rather than the organizational components of **Orderliness**. That is, the disciplined, dutiful activity is to learn about political candidates, and thus I expect Industriousness will predict persuasive activities that involve campaign learning. The only exception should be in the pro-attitudinal condition, where the campaign advertisement may provide enough information to satisfy feelings of duty or discipline and reduce the effect of Industriousness on activity participation (H2a). For the aspect of Orderliness, however, I expect no significant effect on persuasive activity or attitude polarization (H2b), nor do I expect an effect for Industriousness on polarization.

Turning to the Enthusiasm/Assertiveness aspects of extraversion, I expect similar results for persuasive activities as we saw for mobilizing activities. That is, we should see little difference between the two aspects and, because extraverts are likely to engage in social behavior, I predict higher levels of **Enthusiasm** and **Assertiveness** will produce greater participation in persuasive activities (H3a). This increased engagement, therefore, may produce greater attitude polarization, with pro-attitudinal information increasing polarization and counter-attitudinal information decreasing polarization (H3b).

As we saw in the previous chapter, we may again expect differences between the aspects of agreeableness. While **Politeness** likely exerts little influence in politics (H4b), **Compassion** (and its attendant facets of altruism and sympathy) should increase all forms of participation, regardless of experimental condition (H4b). Yet because of the sympathy element, we might not expect this increase in activity to translate to preference change except when the information already accords with prior attitudes. Thus Compassion should only increase polarization when pro-attitudinal information is present (H4c).

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Finally, the neuroticism aspects of Withdrawal and Volatility are likely to have little influence on polarization and activity participation. However, it is possible that *Volatility* will decrease polarization in all conditions, as these individuals may simply be more inclined to indecision or attitude change (H5a). Conversely, *Withdrawal* may predict lower activity participation overall, as expected for mobilization activities, as these individuals attempt to avoid conflictual politics (H5b). However, because personality in this form is trait-based and not state-based (that is, these individuals are not always volatile or withdrawn), these predictions are tentative at best and potentially subject to situational influences.

Summary of Hypotheses

H1a: Individuals high in the aspect of Openness will be more polarized in the counter-attitudinal condition compared to those low in the aspect of Openness.

H1b: Individuals high in the aspect of Intellect will be more active in persuasive activities in the counter-attitudinal condition compared to those low in the aspect of Intellect.

H1c: Individuals high in the aspect of Openness will be more active in persuasive activities, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Openness.

H2a: Individuals high in the aspect of Industriousness will be more active in persuasive activities, especially in the control and counter-attitudinal conditions, compared to those low in the aspect of Industriousness.

H2b: Individuals high in the aspect of Orderliness will be no more or less active or polarized compared to those low in the aspect of Orderliness.

H3a: Individuals high in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness will be more active in persuasive activities, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness.

H3b: Individuals high in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness will be more responsive to campaigns compared to those low in the aspects of Enthusiasm and

Assertiveness, resulting in increased polarization in the pro-attitudinal treatment and reduced polarization in the counter-attitudinal treatment.

H4a: Individuals high in the aspect of Politeness will be no more or less active or polarized compared to those low in the aspect of Politeness.

H4b: Individuals high in the aspect of Compassion will be more active in persuasive activities, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Compassion.

H5a: Individuals high in the aspect of Volatility will be more polarized, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Volatility.

H5b: Individuals high in the aspect of Withdrawal will be less active in persuasive activities, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Withdrawal.

These hypotheses form the backbone of the theoretical predictions resulting from the campaign by personality interaction in the realm of political persuasion. I test these hypotheses using a similar methodology to the one employed in the previous chapter.

Results

I continue to employ a simple modeling strategy, although the statistical models vary depending on the nature of the dependent variable. Each model is run to predict the relevant dependent variable post-treatment. When individuals have expressed a prior preference, they are coded as having received either pro- or counter-attitudinal information depending on whether the treatment they saw corresponded to their preferred candidate or not. Therefore, individuals in the Republican treatment who prior to receiving the treatment said they supported the Republican candidate were coded as receiving a pro-attitudinal message. Republican supporters who received the Democratic treatment were coded as getting a counter-attitudinal message. Similar coding occurred for Democratic voters. For participants who did not indicate a preference, pro- or

counter-attitudinal advertising was coded based on congruence between advertisement

sponsor and self-reported party identification. Independents who did not report a pre-

treatment preference are excluded for lack of an appropriate way to code the

directionality of the message.

The following analyses focus on two dependent variables: differenced feeling

thermometer ratings of the candidates and likelihood of participation in six informational

activities to learn about the preferred candidate. The modeling strategy and variable

specifics are fully explained in each results section.

Feeling Thermometer Difference

The first set of models deal with participant's post-treatment feeling thermometer

difference score. This dependent variable is constructed using two 101-point scales that

ask participants to rate their general feelings towards the two candidates for 0 (very

negative) to 100 (very positive). Using the participant's pre-treatment stated candidate

preference, the non-preferred candidate's feeling thermometer score is subtracted from

the preferred candidate's score. For individuals without a prior preference, party

identification is used, with Democratic candidate score subtracted from the Republican

candidate score for Republicans and vice-versa for Democrats. The variable can range

from 100 (indicating very positive feelings for the preferred or same party candidate and

very negative feelings for the non-preferred or out party candidate) to -100 (indicating

very negative feelings for the preferred candidate and very positive feelings for the non-

preferred candidate). A score of 0 indicates no difference in ratings of the candidates. The

variable is then recoded to run from 0 to 1, with a score of 0.5 representing no difference

in ratings. To analyze this variable, I run OLS regressions following the same format as previous analyses. Positive coefficients indicate higher scores on the personality trait predict greater support for the preferred candidate and more polarized attitudes, while negative coefficients indicate the reverse. The results from these regressions appear in table 5-1 and the marginal effects of personality in the treatment, pro-attitudinal, and counter-attitudinal conditions appear in table 5-2. Figure 5-1 plots these marginal effects under the different experimental conditions.

Beginning with H1a (Openness), we see strong support for the hypothesis. While Openness fails to predict attitude polarization in either the control or pro-attitudinal treatment conditions, viewing counter-attitudinal persuasive advertisements resulted in a backlash, activating Openness and increasing support for the individual's originally preferred candidate. These results are substantively large, with movement along the entirety of the Openness scale increasing polarization by 18.5 percentage points. Moving to H1b (Intellect), the expectation was of null effects, which are found for the two treatment conditions. However, higher levels of Intellect predicted greater polarization in the control condition. While this does not accord with the hypothesis, the result is not particularly surprising, as individuals high in Intellect should best be able to interpret the large amount of information available in the DPTE and are likely to hold stronger ideological belief systems (Converse, 1964; Knight, 1985), making them better able to integrate this information into their candidate choice. More work needs to be done, however, to investigate why this effect exists only in the control condition.

H2a and H2b both predicted null effects for the aspects of conscientiousness on attitude polarization, and while H2a was supported (with Industriousness failing to predict polarization in all three conditions), H2b does not obtain full support. While Orderliness does not predict differences in feeling thermometer scores in the control or pro-attitudinal conditions, viewing counter-attitudinal campaign advertisements decreased support for the preferred candidate relative to the other candidate and reduced polarization. Like the findings for Intellect, further research is necessary to determine if this result is anomalous or the result of an actual underlying activation of Orderliness by counter-attitudinal information.

The extraversion hypotheses for polarization were relatively straightforward. As a result of the expected increase in persuasion activities associated with Enthusiasm and Assertiveness, I expected that these aspects would predict greater polarization in the pro-attitudinal condition and less polarization in the counter-attitudinal condition. These hypotheses were partially supported by the data. In particular, while the expected positive relationship between polarization and pro-attitudinal information does not emerge, I do find that exposure to counter-attitudinal advertising activates Enthusiasm and Assertiveness and decreases attitude polarization. Additionally, both Enthusiasm and Assertiveness predict decreased attitude polarization in the control condition. Again, these results are substantively strong, with Enthusiasm decreasing polarization by over 12 percentage points and a nearly twice as strong effect for Assertiveness, with polarization decreasing by almost 24 percentage points in the counter-attitudinal treatment condition. Thus, movement from the lowest value to the highest value of Assertiveness reduced

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preference for a preferred candidate by nearly a quarter of the entire feeling thermometer difference scale.

Looking towards the agreeableness domain and H4a and H4c, I again find a significant effect where null effects were expected. While the prediction was that Politeness would have little effect on attitude polarization regardless of experimental condition, I find instead that Politeness predicts increased polarization in the control condition and pro-attitudinal treatment condition; this effect is attenuated by the presence of counter-attitudinal communications and Politeness exerts no influence in that treatment condition. H4a, therefore, is not supported by these data. H4c, however, is strongly supported. Like the hypotheses for extraversion, the expectations was that Compassion should increase engagement with persuasive activities but that these activities and the information learned from this should only activate sympathy and altruism in the pro-attitudinal case. This is exactly what I find. Pro-attitudinal campaign advertisements activate the Compassion aspect and increases candidate support relative to his opponent. The effect is substantively large, with the full Compassion scale producing a 17.7 percentage point increase in attitude polarization. On the other hand, the effect for Compassion is substantively smaller and statistically insignificant in both the control and counter-attitudinal conditions.

Turning finally to the neuroticism hypotheses, null effects are found for both Volatility and Withdrawal in all experimental conditions. While H5a predicted a potential for Volatility to decrease polarization in all conditions, it is not particularly surprising to find null results here. Neuroticism (or emotional stability) references tendencies towards

negative emotionality, and while these individuals may attempt to avoid activities in politics that could bring about these feelings (especially social activities like the ones asked about in chapter 4), the same does not necessarily hold for the relatively private activity of expressing candidate support. While H5b is supported (null effects), H5a is not supported by these data.

Attitude polarization, of course, represents one of the tougher tests for the presence of attitude change. In order for candidate beliefs to polarize, individuals not only need to receive and interpret information, but they also need to accept this information and then integrate it into their beliefs. Thus, the next section outlines a different potential avenue for persuasion to occur: among the activities voters are likely to participate in.

Persuasion Activities

As the previous chapter demonstrated, behavioral intention measures also provide a useful test of the campaign by personality interaction. While chapter 4 focused on participatory acts, we can also examine actions that indicate some form of political persuasion. This section analyzes another behavioral intention index, this one composed of six items.[12] The items obtain a post-manipulation coefficient of 0.78. This reliability

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[12] The six items for this scale were: visit the candidate's website to learn more about them, call the campaign to learn more about them, read information that I receive in the mail from the candidate, pay attention to television commercials sponsored by the candidate, talk to my friends to get their opinions about the candidate, and talk to my co-workers to get their opinions about the candidate.

coefficient suggests that these six items can reasonably be combined into an additive scale. The resulting index is scaled to run from 0 to 1, with 1 representing being extremely likely to participate in all six activities.

Following the same modeling tactics as used for the feeling thermometer difference, the results from these models appear in table 5-3 and the marginal effects are in table 5-4. Once again, figure 5-2 plots the simple slopes for personality in the control, pro-attitudinal, and counter-attitudinal conditions. As these models show, evidence again emerges for the campaign by personality interaction. The number of supported hypotheses is greater for persuasive activities than for attitude polarization, suggesting that the latter was, in fact, a stricter test for the campaign by personality interaction in persuasion.

Beginning with the Openness/Intellect hypotheses, we see support for H1c, which stated that Openness should predict greater participation in all conditions. The marginal effect of personality is roughly equivalent in the control, pro-attitudinal, and counter-attitudinal conditions (22, 17, and19.4 percentage points, respectively) and the effect reaches statistical significant in all conditions. As figure 5-2 shows, as Openness increases, so does the likelihood of participating in persuasive activities. H1b is also supported by the data. When faced with counter-attitudinal advertisements, those high in Intellect respond not by changing their minds but rather by seeking more information through persuasive activities, likely to confirm prior beliefs. While the control and pro-attitudinal conditions produced small and insignificant effects for Intellect, the counter-attitudinal condition saw a shift of over 24 percentage points across the range of Intellect.

The results for the Industriousness aspect also fit my predictions, while Orderliness continues to defy expectations. Orderliness was predicted to exert neither a substantively nor statistically significant influence over persuasive activity participation, yet a marginally significant, positive effect emerges in the control condition. Industriousness, on the other hand, predicts higher levels of participation and learning *except* in the pro-attitudinal condition, as predicted. Once again, if campaign advertisements serve as a learning or educational mechanism, this pattern of results makes sense. Dutiful and disciplined individuals should want to learn about candidates when faced with voting decisions, but this personality effect can be alleviated when given that information through campaign advertising. H2a, therefore, was supported in the area of polarization activities.

Similarly to the expectations in chapter 4, H3a predicted that both Enthusiasm and Assertiveness, the aspects of extraversion, would increase participation in persuasive activities. This expectation was borne out for Enthusiasm, as higher levels on the personality trait led to greater participation in all conditions. The hypothesis was only partially supported, however, for Assertiveness, as the personality trait predicts greater involvement in the control and counter-attitudinal conditions, but a substantively weaker and statistically insignificant effect emerges in the pro-attitudinal condition. H3a, therefore, is fully supported for Enthusiasm and partially supported for Assertiveness.

The results for Politeness/Compassion support the expectations for H4a and H4b. As expected, Politeness plays no role in persuasive activity participation, with insignificant effects occurring in all conditions. Compassion, on the other hand, follows

the pattern of results from the extraversion aspects. In all three conditions, higher levels of Compassion lead to greater participation in persuasion activities. This effect is substantively large, with the smallest effect in the control condition (20.8 percentage points) and a very large effect in the counter-attitudinal condition (38.9 percentage points). All effects are statistically significant at the $p<0.01$ level. These results, while not offering support for the campaign by personality interaction, do underscore the importance of precision in our measurement of personality, as similar results do not obtain for Politeness.

Finally, turning to the expectations in H5a and H5b, we see no effects for either Volatility or Withdrawal. Again, while H5b predicted that individuals high in Withdrawal may avoid participation to escape the possibility of cueing negative emotions, the persuasive activities are primarily individualistic activities, as opposed to the more pro-social and communal activities in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, partial support emerges in the counter-attitudinal treatment condition, with a marginally significant and negative effect for Withdrawal on persuasive activities. It is not particularly surprising that neither aspect exerts a strong influence over persuasion activities. H5a (null results for Volatility) is supported by the data while H5b (negative relationship between Withdrawal and participation) is partially supported.

Once again, we see strong support for both the aspect-level approach to personality in politics as well as the viability of the campaign by personality interaction. Of the 10 hypotheses regarding attitude polarization, four were met with support and two more were partially supported. As mentioned, attitude polarization may be the strictest

test of persuasion, and this is revealed in the hypotheses regarding persuasion activity

participation. Here, out of 10 hypotheses, seven were supported and two were partially

supported. The lone unsupported hypothesis concerned Orderliness. Taken as a whole,

these results demonstrate the importance of the campaign by personality interaction and

aspect-level personality measurement for understanding political persuasion.

Conclusions

The results for political persuasion and informational activities again offer support

for the campaign by personality interaction. Strong support across multiple personality

traits was found for feeling thermometer differences, which provide a measure of attitude

polarization or depolarization, as well as participation in persuasive activities. As

predicted, personality traits lead to greater or less attitude polarization, depending on the

trait. Tables 5-5 and 5-6 summarize the hypotheses and support found in this chapter. Of

the twenty hypothesized relationships, eleven were fully supported and four more were

partially supported.

These effects, however, are not homogeneous across experimental conditions.

Instead, as predicted, persuasive advertisements alter the influence of personality on

attitude polarization and intentions of candidate learning. Traits like Openness, Intellect,

Orderliness, Enthusiasm, Assertiveness, and Compassion exert little influence absent

political advertisements, but when faced with either a pro- or counter-attitudinal

advertisements, these traits are activated and begin to influence candidate attitudes,

participation in persuasive activities, or both. Other traits, such as Politeness or Intellect,

at times show the reverse pattern, with a significant effect in the control condition that is

attenuated through the presence of political campaigns. These results emphasize the importance, as Mondak (2010) suggests, of considering the role that the political environment plays in moderating the relationship between personality and political attitudes and behavior.

Additionally, as shown in chapter 4, we would be wise to consider differences within domains that lower-order personality structures better capture and explain. For instance, Compassion and Politeness fall under the same domain of agreeableness, but Compassion appears far more politically relevant than Politeness. The same could be said of Industriousness versus Orderliness (under the domain of conscientiousness). Furthermore, the effects of certain aspects within domains may be different; for instance, Openness seems more likely to exert a direct effect on behavior and opinion, while environmental conditions alter the influence of Intellect. Measuring any of these domains without lower-order structures could mask both inter-domain variation and cross-situational differences.

The results on persuasive activities provide some initial evidence that individuals are at least willing to claim that they will engage in increased information search in light of viewing political advertisements. The limitation of this approach, of course, is that it relies on individual's stating their intention to engage in these behaviors. The literature on motivated information search and reasoning, however, suggests that individuals may not consciously know they are engaging in motivated search, so although they believe they will be unbiased, their actual activities may not correspond with these desires (Kunda, 1990; Lodge & Taber, 2013). The next chapter examines this possibility in more detail.

The results for political persuasion and attitude polarization are somewhat mixed. Part of this is due to the nature of the dependent variables being analyzed. While partisan polarization, especially at the elite level, is often seen as a precursor to legislative stalemate and inefficiency in Congress, the same is not necessarily true of individual level attitude polarization. In fact, we may desire more attitude polarization in campaigns, as it means voters are becoming surer of their political choices. Thus, the fact that the treatment effects found in this chapter generally increased attitude polarization is not necessarily normatively positive or negative. Perhaps campaigns simply serve as an informational source for voters, providing them necessary information to allow them to make an informed decision.

The results from the persuasive activities analyses suggest that this may be the case, as attitude polarization was also met with increased likelihood of engaging with the political campaigns. Unlike with attitude polarization, the normative consequences of campaigns in the realm of persuasive activities (like researching candidates or talking to friends about who to support) can be seen as normatively encouraging, as a key part of a democratic society should be an informed electorate. Thus, campaigns again appear to serve a generally positive influence on voters.

Across multiple dimensions, the political environment conditions the effect of personality as expected. The ability of campaigns to alter the influence of personality on measures of attitude polarization and informational activities acts in a way that is normatively unclear. Rather than decreasing attitude polarization, campaigns sometimes

increase polarization among individuals normally inclined to keeping an open mind while at other times they decrease polarization.

These results offer strong support for the ability of political campaigns to alter the influence of personality on political persuasion. Political persuasion, however, could be hidden by the short time frame of this study. If participants are willing to change their minds but simply lack the information or time to actually switch their preferences, measures of attitude polarization or persuasion activities may fail to capture this openness to persuasion. Perhaps, instead of actually polarizing on attitudes, individuals are simply seeking more information about the alternative candidate under the treatment conditions, but fail to change their attitudes. They could even seek contrasting information and use this information to become even more certain about their candidate beliefs. Fortunately, the design of this study allows for the testing of these possibilities. The next chapter lays out a set of predictions and tests whether campaigns interact with personality to make people more or less deliberative in their decision making process, regardless of their final attitudes. I turn now to this examination.

Table 5-1: Effects of Personality Aspects, Persuasion Messages, and Interaction on Feeling Thermometer Difference

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.02	0.10*	0.08	0.06	-0.06	-0.03	0.05	-0.06	0.02	-0.00
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.08	0.02	0.13	0.09**	0.02	0.07	0.09	0.05	-0.01	-0.03
	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Personality Aspect	0.04	0.11**	0.10	0.04	-0.09*	-0.11*	0.19**	0.08	0.01	-0.03
	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Pro-Attitudinal x Personality	0.04	-0.13*	-0.09	-0.07	0.15*	0.08	-0.04	0.09	-0.00	0.03
	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Counter-Attitudinal x Personality	0.14	-0.03	-0.17	-0.14**	-0.04	-0.13	-0.11	-0.07	0.03	0.08
	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Constant	0.72***	0.67***	0.68***	0.72***	0.80***	0.80***	0.61***	0.69***	0.74***	0.76***
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)
N	472	508	483	507	484	493	497	495	481	507
adj. R^2	0.001	0.000	-0.006	0.001	0.006	0.010	0.006	0.003	-0.008	-0.008

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 5-2: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Feeling Thermometer Difference, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	0.04	0.11**	0.10	0.04	-0.09*
	[-0.13,0.22]	[-0.01,0.23]	[-0.09,0.29]	[-0.06,0.14]	[-0.21,0.04]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	0.09	-0.02	0.01	-0.03	0.06
	[-0.09,0.27]	[-0.16,0.12]	[-0.18,0.20]	[-0.13,0.07]	[-0.06,0.19]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	0.18**	0.08	-0.07	-0.10**	-0.12**
	[0.00,0.36]	[-0.04,0.20]	[-0.26,0.12]	[-0.19,-0.00]	[-0.24,-0.01]
N	472	508	483	507	484

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	-0.11*	0.19**	0.08	0.01	-0.03
	[-0.27,0.05]	[-0.00,0.38]	[-0.05,0.22]	[-0.10,0.13]	[-0.17,0.11]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.03	0.15*	0.18**	0.01	0.00
	[-0.19,0.13]	[-0.04,0.34]	[0.02,0.34]	[-0.12,0.15]	[-0.13,0.14]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.24***	0.08	0.01	0.04	0.05
	[-0.41,-0.07]	[-0.09,0.25]	[-0.14,0.17]	[-0.08,0.17]	[-0.09,0.19]
N	493	497	495	481	507

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 5-3: Effects of Personality Aspects, Persuasion Messages, and Interaction on Persuasion Activities

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	0.01	0.05	0.06	0.01	-0.02	0.07	-0.09	-0.07	-0.02	-0.06
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	0.01	-0.12*	-0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.01	0.02	-0.14*	0.01	0.03
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Personality Aspect	0.22**	0.07	0.23**	0.09*	0.14**	0.25***	0.02	0.21***	-0.07	-0.04
	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.12)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Pro-Attitudinal x Personality	-0.05	-0.08	-0.10	-0.03	0.02	-0.18	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.11
	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.17)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.12)
Counter-Attitudinal x Personality	-0.03	0.17**	0.01	-0.05	0.06	-0.04	-0.03	0.18*	-0.03	-0.05
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.12)
Constant	0.40***	0.50***	0.38***	0.49***	0.47***	0.43***	0.54***	0.40***	0.57***	0.56***
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.04)
N	447	482	457	482	459	466	470	469	456	480
adj. R^2	0.013	0.016	0.010	-0.001	0.022	0.013	-0.008	0.061	-0.004	-0.005

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 5-4: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Persuasion Activities, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	0.22**	0.07	0.23**	0.09*	0.14**
	[0.01,0.43]	[-0.07,0.21]	[-0.02,0.47]	[-0.02,0.21]	[-0.01,0.30]
Pro-Attitudinal	0.17*	-0.01	0.13	0.06	0.16**
Treatment	[-0.04,0.38]	[-0.17,0.15]	[-0.09,0.34]	[-0.05,0.18]	[0.01,0.31]
Counter-Attitudinal	0.19**	0.24***	0.24**	0.04	0.20***
Treatment	[-0.02,0.41]	[0.10,0.39]	[0.01,0.47]	[-0.07,0.15]	[0.06,0.34]
N	447	482	457	482	459

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	0.25***	0.02	0.21***	-0.07	-0.04
	[0.05,0.45]	[-0.21,0.25]	[0.06,0.36]	[-0.22,0.08]	[-0.21,0.13]
Pro-Attitudinal	0.07	0.11	0.28***	-0.04	0.07
Treatment	[-0.12,0.27]	[-0.12,0.34]	[0.10,0.46]	[-0.21,0.12]	[-0.09,0.24]
Counter-Attitudinal	0.21**	-0.02	0.39***	-0.10*	-0.09
Treatment	[0.01,0.42]	[-0.22,0.19]	[0.21,0.57]	[-0.24,0.05]	[-0.25,0.07]
N	466	470	469	456	480

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 5-5: Summary of Hypotheses and Support Regarding Attitude Polarization

	Prediction (Control)	Prediction (Pro-Attitudinal)	Prediction (Counter-Attitudinal)	Results
H1a: Openness			+	**Supported**
H1b: Intellect				*Not Supported*
H2a: Industriousness				**Supported**
H2b: Orderliness				*Not Supported*
H3b: Enthusiasm		+	-	Partial Support
H3b: Assertiveness		+	-	Partial Support
H4c: Compassion		+		**Supported**
H4a: Politeness				*Not Supported*
H5a: Volatility	-	-	-	*Not Supported*
H5b: Withdrawal				**Supported**

Table 5-6: Summary of Hypotheses and Support Regarding Polarization Activities

	Prediction (Control)	Prediction (Pro-Attitudinal)	Prediction (Counter-Attitudinal)	Results
H1c: Openness	+	+	+	**Supported**
H1b: Intellect			+	**Supported**
H2a: Industriousness	+		+	**Supported**
H2b: Orderliness				*Not Supported*
H3a: Enthusiasm	+	+	+	**Supported**
H3a: Assertiveness	+	+	+	Partial Support
H4b: Compassion	+	+	+	**Supported**
H4a: Politeness				**Supported**
H5a: Volatility				**Supported**
H5b: Withdrawal	-	-	-	Partial Support

Figure 5-1: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Feeling Thermometer Difference, by Experimental Condition

Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.
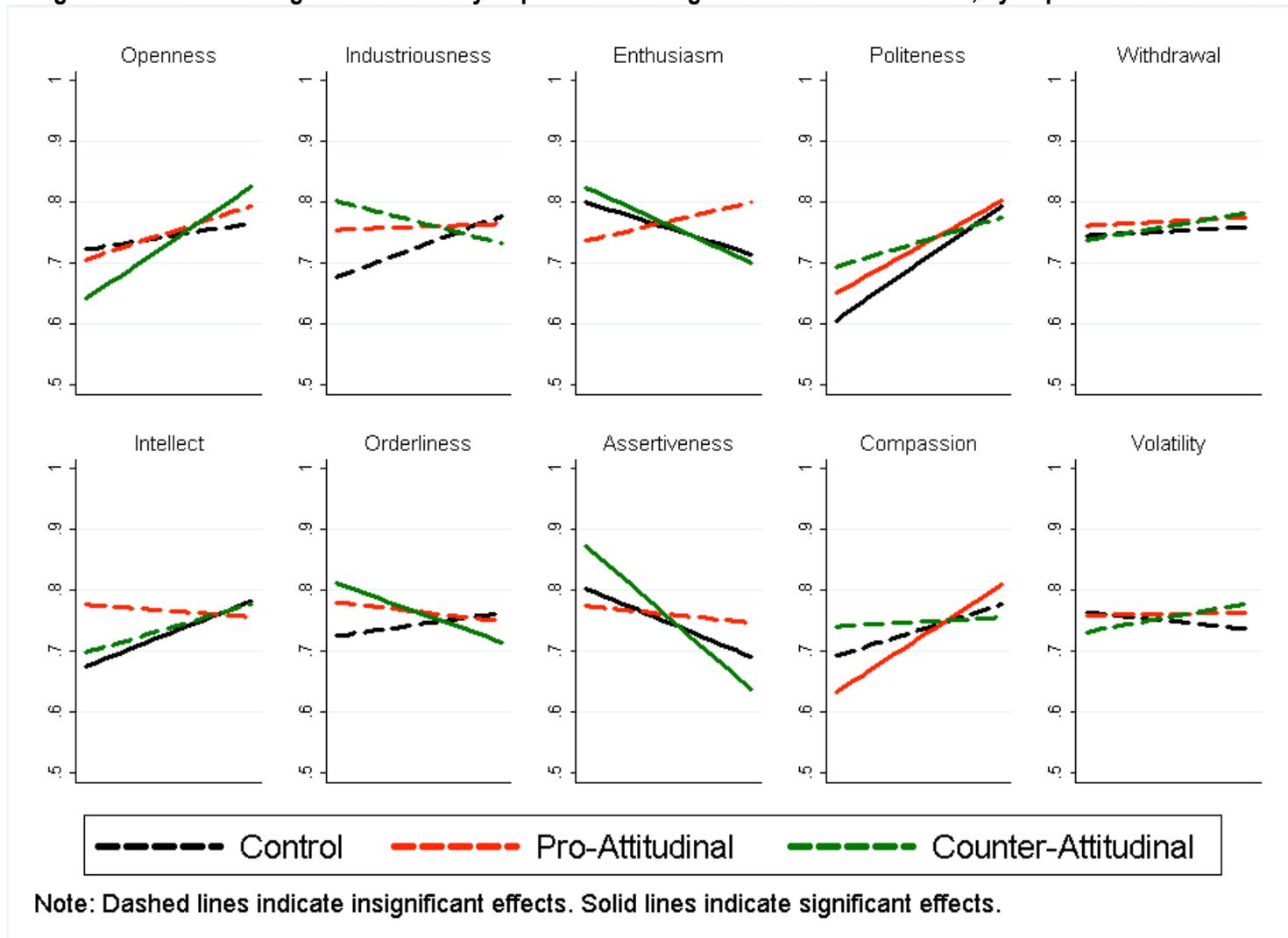
Figure 5-2: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Persuasion Activities, by Experimental Condition

Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.
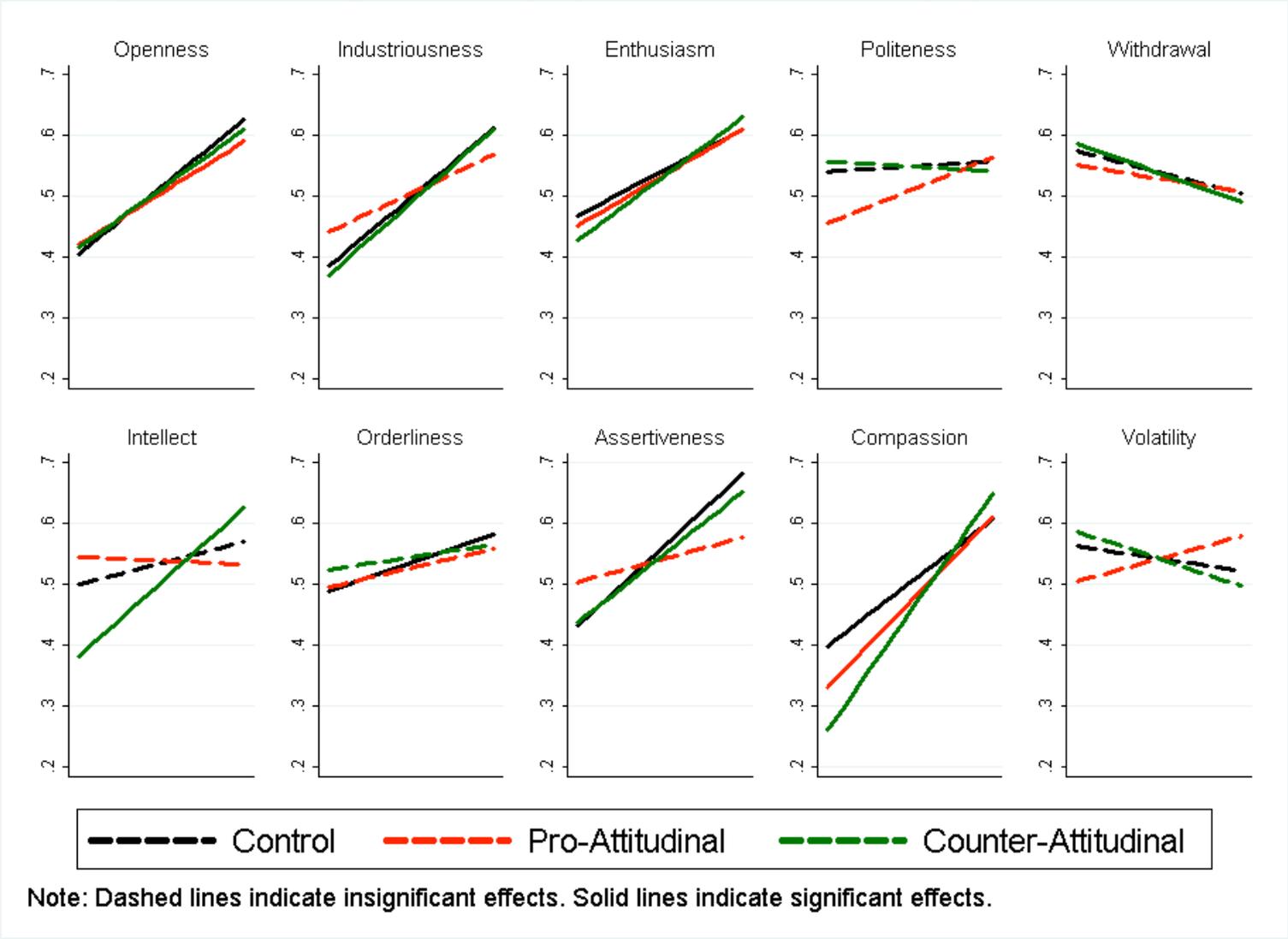
Chapter 6: Deliberation and Learning

While political participation and vote choice hold sway as two of the most studied and important considerations in American politics, scholars have recently begun to turn their attention to alternate conceptions of political behavior. In particular, the content and pattern of information search emerged as an important consideration of many researchers (Lau & Redlawsk, 2006). This chapter turns its attention away from political outcomes and towards the processes by which individuals make these decisions. That is, while chapters four and five looked at behaviors and attitudes in politics, this chapter shifts focus and examines the type and amount of information voters seek *prior* to settling on those beliefs.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the history of the study of information search and political deliberation, paying special attention to what these studies tell us about American politics over and above what we learn from more "traditional" measures of behaviors and attitudes. Following this, I turn to the expectations that arise from the campaign by personality interaction in the realm of political deliberation, with a focus on the personality variables that proved most useful in previous chapters. Using studies that were described in previous chapters, I describe the empirical tests and results and conclude with a discussion of the implications of these findings for the study of political deliberation and decision-making in the context of political campaigns and personality research.

Contemporary Accounts of Deliberation and Information Search

Although interest in the study of political deliberation[13] developed within the past decade among political scientists, social psychologists have been concerned with the process of decision making for the better part of 30 years (Abelson & Levi, 1985). Kühberger, Schulte-Mecklenbeck, and Ranyard (2011) perhaps best describe the differences in approach between information search research and studies of outcomes, stating:

> "Structural approaches manipulate input variables and build statistical models to draw inferences *about the final decision*. Process tracing approaches on the other hand draw conclusions about *underlying psychological processes*." (p. 15, emphasis in original)

In essence, process tracing or studies of the deliberative process study *how* individuals come to a decision as opposed to the underlying factors that predict the decision. Rather than contradicting research that seeks to explain behavior or attitudes, process tracing research compliments the study of decisions by exploring and explaining the path that individuals travel along before reaching a final decision.

Nonetheless, process tracing research focuses on a relatively narrow set of questions. Much of the work in organizational and social psychology looks at the decision *strategies* employed by individuals. Some of this work examines compensatory and non-compensatory strategies, studying the various decision rules that individuals employ when making a judgment or choice (Billings & Marcus, 1983; Elrod, Johnson, &

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[13] For the purposes of this chapter, the terms "deliberation", "learning", and "information search" can be thought of as relatively synonymous. They all reference the patterns of information that voters seek and use during their decision making process.

White, 2004). Other work examines the influence of the ultimate decision (judgment versus choice) on information seeking, finding that judgments lead to greater information seeking than choice decisions (Billings & Scherer, 1988; Westenberg & Koele, 1992).

This focus on the process of decision making carried over into many studies of *political* information search. Lau and Redlawsk's (2006) seminal work on information processing is a prime example of this type of research. They lay out six potential decision rules that voters may employ, deeming some compensatory and others mixed or non-compensatory and then proceed to test what factors lead different voters to employ different decision rules. Other work examines the motivation or goals of the individual, showing that different motivations lead to different patterns of information search (for example, a desire to engage in more cognitively intense processing predicts more "within-candidate" search) (Huang, 2000; Huang & Price, 2001).

Still others focus on the individual or structural limits that voters face when making decisions. Herstein (1981) explicitly confronts the assumptions made in many classic works of political science (including Brody and Page, 1973; Campbell et al., 1960; and Lazarsfeld et al., 1944), arguing that voters have only a limited amount of processing ability and must prioritize what information they use when making a voting decision. Mintz, Geva, Redd, and Carnes (1997) shift the focus to structural differences, examining how receiving information in a dynamic (as opposed to static) fashion alters the decision strategies employed by officers in the U.S. Air Force. They find that, when information is dynamic (that is, new information appears throughout the decision task),

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officers were more likely to change their decision strategy than when the information was static.

In a far-reaching study, Graber (1984) examines the interaction between structural aspects of the news media with the cognitive limitations of citizens, finding that citizens are surprisingly adept at navigating the extensive amount of information present at any given time. They do this by ignoring a large number of stories (around 66%) and taking advantage of the relatively constant structure of news articles (the so-called "reverse pyramid") to effectively glean the important information that they need. In an encouraging conclusion, Graber states that "average Americans are capable of extracting enough meaningful political information from the flood of news…to perform the moderate number of citizenship functions that American society expects of them" (p. 204).

The preponderance of process tracing literature, therefore, focuses on the strategies employed by individuals while making decisions. This focus, however, belies an alternative perspective on information seeking; one far more common in studies of political communication. Rather than treating the *process* or *pattern* of information search as the dependent variable, we can also look at the *amount* of information sought or consider the implications for information seeking on the health of democracy.

For instance, Kaid (2002) treats amount of information sought as a useful dependent variable in its own right, without regard to the patterns exhibited by voters. She demonstrates that internet advertisements were more effective than "traditional" advertisements at increasing news consumption and talking with friends about the

election. While she also examines vote choice and political cynicism, the most striking results demonstrate marked differences in the amount of information seeking behavior exhibited by individuals exposed to traditional versus internet advertisements.

Similarly, Valentino, Hutchings, and Williams (2004) examine the number of issue pages visited by voters, finding that political advertisements reduce the informational needs of voters, leading to less information search. However, these results are driven almost entirely by individuals high in political awareness. Xenos and Becker (2009) also find communication effects on information seeking, showing that the least politically interested are positively influenced by political comedy shows, which lead them to greater amounts of information seeking. Finally, Valentino, Hutchings, Banks, and Davis (2008) demonstrate the important role that emotions play in altering information search, with anger directly leading to decreases in time and volume of information search but anxiety mediates the influence of threats, thereby increasing the volume and duration of search.

A common theme throughout these studies is a focus on the interaction of individual level factors such as political engagement or knowledge with the broader political communication environment. This roughly mimics the campaign by personality interaction this dissertation examines. However, while these previous studies focus on political moderators, this dissertation examines the *pre-political* forces of individual personality traits.

This dissertation focuses explicitly on the interaction of political campaigns and individual personality. While one consequence of this is a potential for reduced reliance

on personality traits when making decisions (as evidenced by many of the findings from the previous two chapters), another implication is that, if political campaigns increase thought and consideration of political messages, voters should increase the amount of information they seek and use. The focus of this study, therefore, more closely matches the work of political communication scholars who examine the volume of information search rather than the pattern or decision rules employed by voters. Thus, information search can be seen as an indicator of increased deliberation and learning, regardless of the order that information was viewed. Furthermore, the campaign by personality interaction should hold again in this context, with personality variables playing an important role in the absence of political communication but influencing the decision making process less when messages are present.

Personality, Campaigns, and Deliberation Activities

Diverging from previous studies that examine political moderators, I proceed to theorize about the potential personality interactions that drive the volume of information seeking in the campaign context. The ten personality aspects prove extremely useful in understanding this interaction in the area of political deliberation and campaign learning. As each of these aspects has been discussed in some detail in the previous two chapters, I proceed quickly through each description and lay out the theoretical relationship that each aspect should display.

Once again, the predictions I make draw on prior work, especially scholars who examined the relationship between personality and information and news consumption. Interestingly, openness to experience results are contradictory, with some finding that

openness to experience increases television and internet news consumption (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011a) while other found that it decreased television consumption (Mondak, 2010). I argue that this could potentially result from imprecision in measurement, as Gerber and his colleagues use the TIPI while Mondak uses a different adjective scale. My expectation, therefore, is that the ***Openness*** aspect increases information search in all conditions, as found by Gerber et. al (H1a). Openness should predict increased information search because these individuals are inherently inclined to seek new experiences, including new information. This results not from an enjoyment of cognitive effort (associated with Intellect) but rather from a desire for novelty. Thus, Openness should predict increased seeking of new and novel information regardless of the experimental condition. ***Intellect***, however, interacts with the campaign environment, as these individuals are more curious and capable of interpreting and integrating campaign information. Thus, I expect that high Intellect individuals should seek to counter-argue such that pro-attitudinal campaign advertisements should increase counter-attitudinal information search and counter-attitudinal advertisements increase pro-attitudinal search (H1b). That is, while Openness is associated with novelty and new information in all conditions, political campaigns alter the expression of Intellect, resulting in individuals seeking contrary information depending on the campaign context.

Following the patterns from earlier, the aspects of conscientiousness should function independently of each other. ***Industriousness***, driven by a sense of duty and discipline, should exert no effect absent campaign communications, but this should be activated by counter-attitudinal advertisements. This should result in highly industrious

individuals seeking more information about candidates after viewing counter-attitudinal information (H2a). This matches findings from Mondak (2010) showing a positive correlation between conscientiousness and news consumption. That is, dutiful and driven individuals, when given counter-attitudinal advertisements, should do the "right" thing and learn more about the candidates. On the other hand, I continue to expect **Orderliness** to exert no influence in politics (H2b).

While extraversion was found to correspond with increased news consumption (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011a; Mondak, 2010), Mondak also finds that extraversion is negatively correlated with political knowledge. This suggests that, while extraverts may be more likely to consume news, they may not actually be learning much from this information. Given the nature of the DPTE and these experiments, it would not be surprising to find that extraverts enjoy reading newspaper and watching TV but do not actually enjoy seeking explicitly political information as required of in the DPTE, as the hypothetical information would not further their sociability, which is the mechanism that Mondak suggest for the underlying relationship between extraversion and information consumption. Lacking this connection in the hypothetical news environment, I expect neither **Enthusiasm** nor **Assertiveness** to positively predict either pro- or counter-attitudinal information search in any condition (H3).

Similar to extraversion, agreeableness positively predicts TV news consumption in prior studies (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011a; Mondak, 2010). I argue, however, that this relationship is driven by both the campaign by personality interaction and differences in the personality aspects. In particular, **Compassion**, with its facets of

altruism and sympathy, should continue to exert an influence on those who already hold a candidate preference. In particular, when faced with information that counters their beliefs, they should look to bolster their existing beliefs, as they are more sympathetic to those they agree with (H4a). On the other hand, **_Politeness_**, which is characterized by morality and modesty, should increase an individual's desire to learn about candidates, as their personality may lead them to believe both that being well-informed is morally right and they may hold a modest opinion of their current knowledge. However, information does not need to come in the form of information search, it can also come from campaign advertisements. Thus, I expect that Politeness predicts greater information search in the control condition but not in the pro- or counter-attitudinal advertisement conditions. That is, campaign advertisements provide the information necessary to satisfy psychological tendencies towards learning.

Finally, the aspects of neuroticism present an interesting challenge for theorizing about informational effects. Mondak and Halperin (2008) present evidence that neuroticism predicts increased television news consumption, but other scholars investigating this relationship found no pattern between neuroticism and information consumption (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, & Dowling, 2011a; Mondak, 2010). Once again, I suspect much of the inconsistency can be explained by imprecise measurement and theory. In particular, **_Volatility_**, which deals with tendencies towards anger and impulsiveness, should be particularly responsive to targeted persuasive advertisements. Negative advertisements like the one featured in figure 3-2 should cue Volatility, resulting in increases in information search when viewing advertisements intended for

these viewers, especially pro-attitudinal advertisements (H5a). On the other hand,

Withdrawal and its attendant tendencies towards negative emotions like anxiety and

depression should increase information consumption across the board in order to reduce

anxiousness towards the pending vote decision (H5b).

The following section summarizes these hypotheses. The rest of the chapter

proceeds to test these hypotheses using the data source from chapter 5. As the basic set

up of the experiments has already been discussed, I briefly describe the unique aspects of

the DPTE that allow me to test these hypotheses. Following this, I discuss the

implications of these findings for the campaign by personality interaction.

Summary of Hypotheses

H1a: Individuals high in the aspect of Openness will be more likely to seek information, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Openness.

H1b: Individuals high in the aspect of Intellect will be more likely to seek confirming or disconfirming information, resulting in greater pro-attitudinal information search when presented with counter-attitudinal advertisements (and vice versa) compared to those low in the aspect of Intellect.

H2a: Individuals high in the aspect of Industriousness will be more likely to seek information after viewing counter-attitudinal advertisements than those low in the aspect of Industriousness.

H2b: Individuals high in the aspect of Orderliness will be no more or less likely to seek information, regardless of experimental condition, than those low in the aspect of Orderliness.

H3: Individuals high in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness will be no more or less likely to seek information, regardless of experimental condition, than those low in the aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness.

H4a: Individuals high in the aspect of Compassion will be more likely to bolster their existing opinions when faced with counter-attitudinal advertisements than those low in the aspect of Compassion.

H4b: Individuals high in the aspect of Politeness will be more likely to seek information in the control condition compared to those low in the aspect of Politeness.

H5a: Individuals high in the aspect of Volatility will be more likely to seek information in the pro-attitudinal condition compared to those low in the aspect of Volatility.

H5b: Individuals high in the aspect of Withdrawal will be more likely to seek information, regardless of experimental condition, compared to those low in the aspect of Withdrawal.

Data and Methods

The empirical tests in this chapter come from the second experiment detailed in chapter 3 and discussed fully in chapter 5. I focus this section primarily on the ways in which the DPTE allow me to explicitly record information search behavior and how I use these data to test my deliberation hypotheses.

One primary advantage of the DPTE is the vast amount of data that is produced by the program. While standard ways of measuring information search, such as verbal elicitation or static information boards, provide data for researchers, the depth of information available from the DPTE is far greater (Kühberger et al., 2011). Instead of relying on self-reports or the relatively limited data from a static information board, the DPTE provides researchers with information on the pattern of information search (i.e. what order individual items were viewed in), the volume of information sought, as well as the duration of time spent with each piece of information. Furthermore, all of these data are based on measurement of behaviors by subjects, rather than self-reports. Thus, the DPTE data is a direct measure of political deliberation and learning.

As I detailed earlier, work on information search in political science, psychology, and mass communication has taken two primary paths; one examining the *pattern* of

information search (Billings & Marcus, 1983; Billings & Scherer, 1988; Lau & Redlawsk, 2006) and another examining the *volume* of information acquired (Kaid, 2002; Valentino et al., 2008, 2004). This dissertation follows in the path of the latter research, examining the volume of information search as a proxy for learning about political candidates. The implicit assumption here is that increases in the amount of information that people learn about candidates is normatively good as it leads to a more informed electorate. Of course, this search is likely directionally motivated, but I leave these concerns for the conclusion and future research (Kunda, 1990).

Recall that the DPTE features a scrolling list of headlines that participants can click on to view additional information related to the headline. The process tracing aspect of the DPTE records each headline that participants click on and how long the associated story is open in the environment. This chapter uses these data to create two primary dependent variables for analysis. The variables are a simple count of the number of stories accessed post-treatment. I create two variables, one for pro-attitudinal information search (information about the preferred candidate) and one for counter-attitudinal information search (information about the non-preferred candidate).

The modeling strategy mimics those from chapters 4 and 5. Each model includes one of the ten personality variables, a condition variable (two dummy variables, one each for the pro-attitudinal and counter-attitudinal advertisement conditions), and the two-way interactions between the personality variable and the condition dummies. Because the dependent variable is a count of stories accessed and the data are overdispersed, a negative binomial regression is used. In all count models, the likelihood-ratio test is

highly significant, indicating over-dispersed data that requires a negative binomial as opposed to a Poisson regression.

Results

The analyses that follow are divided into pro-attitudinal and counter-attitudinal information search. Results from the negative binomial regressions can be found in tables 6-1 and 6-3, while the marginal effects for pro- and counter-attitudinal search are located in tables 6-2 and 6-4, respectively. The simple slopes in the three experimental conditions are graphed in figures 6-1 and 6-2.

Pro-Attitudinal Information Search

Beginning with information search in relation to the preferred candidate, I find strong support for many of my hypotheses. However, beginning with Openness/Intellect, there is little evidence that either aspect functions as expected. While the marginal effect for Openness is positive in all conditions (as expected), the effect only reaches statistical significance in the control condition. Similarly, I expected greater information search in the counter-attitudinal condition for those high in Intellect. Instead, Intellect predicts greater pro-attitudinal information search in the control and pro-attitudinal conditions. Future research should investigate why Openness and Intellect fail to predict increases in pro-attitudinal information consumption, especially under conditions of campaign exposure. Using these data, I find partial support for H1a and no support for H1b regarding pro-attitudinal information search.

The results for the remaining four domains, however, are significantly more encouraging. As predicted by H2b, Orderliness exerts no influence on information search

in the control or counter-attitudinal conditions. However, contrary to predictions, there is a significant negative effect in the pro-attitudinal treatment condition. On the other hand, as predicted by H2a, Industriousness is activated in the counter-attitudinal condition and exerts a strong, positive, and significant effect on information search. Across the range of Industriousness, an industrious individual is expected to read over five more pro-attitudinal stories post-treatment than an individual at the low end of Industriousness. Thus, when faced with information that contradicts prior attitudes, industrious citizens seek out more information about their preferred candidate.

While not particularly interesting, the results for Enthusiasm and Assertiveness reflect the prediction that neither should influence information search. As fictional candidates (versus real candidates) diminish the social currency of political information, I expect extraversion to play no role in this conception of information search, and these null expectations are confirmed by these data. However, future research should explore this effect more fully using measures of information search dealing with real political candidates to examine whether extraversion continues to function in this manner. These results support H3 strongly.

The data also support both H4a and H4b (partially). H4a predicted that Compassion would be activated in the counter-attitudinal condition and lead to greater information search in support of a prior position. This expectation is borne out in the data, with movement from low to high on Compassion predicting over four more pro-attitudinal stories being read in the counter-attitudinal condition. The effects of Politeness, on the other hand, should diminish in the treatment conditions, and this

occurred partially as expected. Movement along the length of Politeness produced a very large shift in the number of pro-attitudinal stories read (over 8 and a half more stories), yet this effect was attenuated in the pro-attitudinal condition and partially attenuated in the counter-attitudinal condition (with the coefficient halved and statistical significance reduced). Thus, H4a is supported by the data and H4b is partially supported.

Finally, the results in tables 6-1 and 6-2 offer support for H5a and H5b. Pro-attitudinal advertisements activate Volatility, producing a statistically significant increase across the range of Volatility of nearly five more stories read. Compared to the control and counter-attitudinal conditions, pro-attitudinal advertisements drastically increase the influence of Volatility on pro-attitudinal information search. The expectation for Withdrawal was supported as well, with significant positive effects for the aspect found in all three conditions. Movement across the full range of Withdrawal led to more than three more pro-attitudinal stories being read in all three conditions. The effect sizes are roughly equivalent as reported in table 6-2, although the effects obtain statistical significance in the control and counter-attitudinal conditions only.

In totality, strong support emerged for a number of the aspect-level hypotheses in the area of pro-attitudinal information search. These results demonstrate differences between same-domain aspects as well as between treatment and control conditions, providing support for both the aspect-level approach and the campaign by personality interaction. The next section replicates these analyses using a count of counter-attitudinal information search, as opposed to pro-attitudinal search.

Counter-Attitudinal Information Search

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The results for counter-attitudinal information search largely reflect the findings for pro-attitudinal information search while at times providing stronger support for expectations. While Openness/Intellect did not influence pro-attitudinal information search as expected, both aspects function relatively closely to predictions with the counter-attitudinal dependent variable. Openness, as predicted, positively predicts counter-attitudinal information search in all conditions, showing support for H1a. In contrast, the effects for Intellect should be conditional on condition assignment, and I find some support for this expectation. I expected that Intellect would only influence counter-attitudinal information search in the pro-attitudinal condition, and while this expectation was confirmed, Intellect also predicts search in the control condition, providing only partial support for H1b. Future research should seek out the conditions under which Intellect does and does not influence information search. These results imply that it may increase search primarily when campaign advertisements are not present.

As with pro-attitudinal search, Industriousness functions exactly as expected for counter-attitudinal search. Orderliness, however, offers some value in explaining political behavior, with a negative and statistically significant effect emerging in the control condition. On the other hand, Industriousness is activated by counter-attitudinal advertisements and increases information search, both pro- and counter-attitudinal. This result contrasts with the findings for Compassion, where dissonant advertisements only increase pro-attitudinal search. Instead of simply bolstering prior attitudes, Industriousness leads individuals to seek information in an unbiased manner, learning about both their preferred and non-preferred candidate. The effect is substantively large

as well, with movement along the scale of Industriousness leading to over six and a half more stories being read about a political opponent in the counter-attitudinal condition.

The results for the extraversion aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness (H3) are mixed, with Assertiveness exhibiting the predicted pattern of null effects and Enthusiasm doing the same in two of the three conditions. However, with pro-attitudinal advertisements, higher levels of Enthusiasm predicted significantly less information seeking about the political opponent. While not predicted, this effect isn't particularly surprising, as a tendency towards enthusiasm could be activated by persuasive advertisements from a preferred candidate. This enthusiasm could translate to lower interest in learning about the other candidate, resulting in lower counter-attitudinal information search when shown advertisements from a preferred candidate. I am hesitant to emphasize these results too strongly, though, and will simply conclude by saying that H3 is supported for Assertiveness and either not supported or partially supported for Enthusiasm.

The counter-attitudinal search results are mixed as well for H4a and H4b. I predicted that Compassion plays no role in counter-attitudinal information search, as Compassion drives pro-attitudinal search in an effort to boost or support prior beliefs, allowing these individuals to only seek information about their preferred candidate (as opposed to learning about both candidates in an unbiased manner). These results, however, suggest that Compassion predicts greater counter-attitudinal search in both the control and counter-attitudinal conditions. H4a, therefore, is not supported by these data. H4b is partially supported, with Politeness predicting greater information search in the

control condition (as predicted) as well as in the counter-attitudinal condition. This reflects the results for pro-attitudinal search, with counter-attitudinal advertisements reducing but not eliminating the influence of Politeness.

Finally, H5a and H5b are partially supported by these data. The expectation was that pro-attitudinal advertisements would activate Volatility and lead to an increase in information search. This is exactly what I found, with higher levels of Volatility increasing counter-attitudinal information search. However, counter-attitudinal advertisements reduced information search, which was not predicted. Movement from low to high on Volatility produced an increase in counter-attitudinal stories read of over three and a half stories in the pro-attitudinal condition but a *reduction* of over three stories in the counter-attitudinal condition. In contrast, Withdrawal was expected to predict greater information search in all conditions. Instead, I find that Withdrawal only increases counter-attitudinal search when faced with campaign advertisements from your preferred candidate or in the control condition. The effect size in the control condition is similarly sized to the effect in the pro-attitudinal condition, but the effect in the counter-attitudinal condition is incorrectly signed and insignificant. H5b, therefore, is partially supported, with the personality aspect being activated by advertisements from your preferred candidate.

In totality, the information search results represent some of the strongest evidence in support of the campaign by personality interaction and the necessity of relying on lower-order measures of personality. Of the 20 hypotheses proposed, 9 were fully supported, 6 were partially supported, and only 5 were met with no empirical support.

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These results further underscore the importance of considering both situational influences on dispositional traits and proper measurement levels of personality.

Conclusions

This chapter presents the strongest evidence yet for the presence and importance of the campaign by personality interaction. The influence of personality on political deliberation is highly conditional on the presence or absence of political advertisements. These results demonstrate that personality not only influences behavioral intentions like vote likelihood and participation in a variety of political acts. In fact, personality even influences observed behavior like the number of stories accessed and read. As tables 6-5 and 6-6 show, nine of the twenty aspect hypotheses found support in the data, with an additional six obtaining partial support. In the arena of political deliberation, the campaign by personality interaction finds strong support.

Importantly, for the power of this interactive theory, the effects of personality are often conditional on the various campaign treatments. Were the observed effects simply the result of personality, we would find effects across all three experimental conditions. Instead, the effect of personality depends upon whether a subject received no campaign advertisements, advertisements from their preferred candidate, or advertisements from the other candidate.

While statistical significance gives us faith in the existence of our observed effects, it provides no information as to whether the effects are substantively important. Fortunately, the observed results in this chapter are substantively significant as well. Over a relatively short time span post-treatment (around 3 minutes) we see a drastic increase in

story access across the range of personality. At times, the effect of personality approaches almost two more stories read per minute. Extrapolated to a full campaign season, political campaigns can alter the expression of personality in such a way to enact large differences in information acquisition and knowledge.

These results suggest an important role for personality in driving the amount of information sought by voters. Campaigns interact with personality traits to either *reduce* or *increase* the amount of information seen by some voters. Again, the personality effects are not homogeneous (that is, personality does not reduce search volume under all environments). Instead, voters who may be normally inclined (based on their personality traits) to search out more information and learn about candidates reduced their reliance on personality at times, while at other times their personality traits were activated by political campaigns.

These results confirm expectations from previous chapters that political advertisements serve an informational purpose in and of themselves. Rather than viewing advertisements in isolation, as a unique stimulus in the broad political environment, these results support the idea that campaign advertisements provide voters with useful and valuable information as they form their opinions about candidates. In this chapter, that translates to differential needs for candidate information depending on the campaign circumstances.

Once again, these results indicate support for both the campaign by personality interaction and the importance of personality aspects. On the first count, the aspects of Intellect, Industriousness, Enthusiasm, Politeness, Compassion, Withdrawal, and

Volatility all show evidence of some type of cross-situation interaction. Whether that is a deactivation of personality's influence (as is the case with Intellect, Politeness, and Withdrawal) or an activation under conditions of persuasive campaign advertisements (like we see with Industriousness, Compassion, Volatility, Withdrawal, and Enthusiasm), the results are clear: the effect of personality on information search is not homogeneous. Instead, situational differences like political campaigns alter when and how strongly personality influences campaign deliberation and learning.

Additionally, the results from this chapter mimic findings from chapters 3, 4, and 5 that show aspects offer increased theoretical and methodological traction towards a full understanding of personality in politics. Industriousness, for example, appears more relevant than Orderliness for explaining information search. Likewise, Openness may exert direct effects on learning while Intellect interacts with the environment. Future research should explore whether different situational influences alter personality expression within a domain (for instance, activating Volatility while deactivating Withdrawal). Echoing the sentiments expressed by prior scholars, our understanding of political behavior and public opinion is incomplete without a consideration of political predisposition, apolitical long-term dispositional factors (such as personality), and the interaction of these with the broad political environment. The findings from this chapter, as well as the previous three chapters, empirically support this notion while also offering a word of caution about the appropriate measurement of dispositions, both political and pre-political.

This analysis of information search volume, viewed holistically, presents the final piece of empirical evidence supporting the campaign by personality interaction. Moving forward, scholars would be wise not only to consider the implications of assumptions about heterogeneous campaign effects but also the possibility that political campaigns exert an influence beyond traditional measures of political behavior or public opinion. Voters interact with the political environment in a variety of ways. While attitudes (such as candidate evaluations) and behaviors (such as volunteering or voting) are important for understanding the relationship between voters and elected officials, so too is the path voters take to arrive at these decisions. Examining deliberation and learning through search volume is just one of many ways that future scholars should consider voting behavior when evaluating the totality of the democratic experience.

Table 6-1: Effects of Personality Aspects, Persuasion Messages, and Interaction on Pro-Attitudinal Information Search

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	0.09	0.05	-0.18	-0.03	-0.03	-0.21	0.69**	0.01	-0.05	-0.17*
	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.30)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.32)	(0.24)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	0.05	0.14	-0.56**	-0.12	-0.01	-0.09	0.19	-0.26	-0.08	-0.03
	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.32)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Personality Aspect	0.44*	0.42**	-0.13	-0.17	-0.11	-0.11	0.79***	0.19	0.33**	0.17
	(0.28)	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)
Pro-Attitudinal x Personality	-0.23	-0.14	0.16	-0.05	-0.05	0.31	-0.99***	-0.09	-0.00	0.30
	(0.39)	(0.27)	(0.40)	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.35)	(0.42)	(0.32)	(0.28)	(0.29)
Counter-Attitudinal x Personality	-0.23	-0.28	0.65*	0.08	-0.10	0.03	-0.34	0.26	0.01	-0.08
	(0.40)	(0.26)	(0.42)	(0.20)	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.41)	(0.32)	(0.27)	(0.29)
Constant	2.12***	2.09***	2.48***	2.50***	2.45***	2.45***	1.79***	2.25***	2.26***	2.32***
	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.16)	(0.09)	(0.09)
N	477	515	489	514	491	500	504	500	488	514
pseudo R^2	0.002	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.002	0.003	0.002

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p<0.10$, ** $p<0.05$, *** $p<0.01$ (one-tailed)

Table 6-2: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Pro-Attitudinal Information Search, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	4.93*	4.60**	-1.37	-1.89	-1.21
	[-1.23,11.09]	[0.62,8.59]	[-7.43,4.70]	[-5.01,1.22]	[-5.56,3.13]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	2.26	2.86*	0.37	-2.28*	-1.70
	[-3.20,7.73]	[-1.26,6.98]	[-5.42,6.16]	[-5.28,0.72]	[-5.79,2.39]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	2.18	1.47	5.33**	-0.92	-2.13
	[-3.35,7.71]	[-2.28,5.23]	[-0.90,11.57]	[-3.76,1.92]	[-6.01,1.74]
N	477	515	489	514	491

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	-1.17	8.57***	2.03	3.55**	1.79
	[-6.51,4.18]	[2.14,15.00]	[-2.34,6.39]	[-0.42,7.53]	[-2.55,6.14]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	2.12	-2.06	1.01	3.35*	4.78**
	[-3.04,7.29]	[-8.10,3.99]	[-3.90,5.92]	[-1.00,7.70]	[0.56,9.00]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.73	4.56*	4.53**	3.37**	0.84
	[-6.18,4.72]	[-0.97,10.09]	[-0.46,9.52]	[-0.56,7.31]	[-3.39,5.08]
N	500	504	500	488	514

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 6-3: Effects of Personality Aspects, Persuasion Messages, and Interaction on Counter-Attitudinal Information Search

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.11 (0.27)	-0.11 (0.22)	-0.34 (0.31)	-0.15 (0.15)	0.09 (0.17)	-0.10 (0.19)	0.49* (0.34)	0.09 (0.26)	-0.12 (0.14)	-0.28** (0.14)
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	-0.21 (0.28)	-0.04 (0.21)	-0.98*** (0.34)	-0.29** (0.15)	-0.26* (0.18)	-0.28* (0.21)	0.00 (0.33)	-0.24 (0.27)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.13)
Personality Aspect	0.51** (0.29)	0.41** (0.20)	-0.31 (0.30)	-0.24* (0.15)	-0.06 (0.22)	0.01 (0.26)	0.66** (0.31)	0.32* (0.23)	0.31* (0.20)	-0.04 (0.22)
Pro-Attitudinal x Personality	0.01 (0.41)	0.04 (0.30)	0.35 (0.42)	0.11 (0.22)	-0.30 (0.31)	0.02 (0.37)	-0.79** (0.45)	-0.25 (0.34)	0.07 (0.30)	0.45* (0.31)
Counter-Attitudinal x Personality	0.04 (0.42)	-0.16 (0.29)	1.10*** (0.45)	0.22 (0.22)	0.24 (0.30)	0.24 (0.39)	-0.20 (0.43)	0.11 (0.35)	-0.47* (0.29)	-0.32 (0.32)
Constant	1.99*** (0.19)	2.00*** (0.15)	2.52*** (0.22)	2.44*** (0.11)	2.31*** (0.12)	2.29*** (0.13)	1.80*** (0.24)	2.06*** (0.17)	2.16*** (0.09)	2.32*** (0.09)
N	477	515	489	514	491	500	504	500	488	514
pseudo R^2	0.006	0.005	0.004	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.004	0.004	0.004	0.004

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 6-4: Marginal Effects of Personality Aspects on Counter-Attitudinal Information Search, Control and Treatment Conditions

	Openness	Intellect	Industriousness	Orderliness	Enthusiasm
Control	5.15**	4.02**	-3.10	-2.41*	-0.63
	[-0.57,10.87]	[0.12,7.91]	[-8.88,2.67]	[-5.41,0.59]	[-4.84,3.57]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	4.70**	4.06**	0.33	-1.21	-3.31**
	[-0.57,9.97]	[0.16,7.96]	[-4.94,5.60]	[-4.03,1.61]	[-7.11,0.49]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	4.70**	2.13	6.57**	-0.18	1.52
	[-0.40,9.79]	[-1.31,5.57]	[0.95,12.18]	[-2.74,2.37]	[-1.93,4.98]
N	477	515	489	514	491

	Assertiveness	Politeness	Compassion	Withdrawal	Volatility
Control	0.07	6.49**	3.20*	3.04*	-0.42
	[-4.98,5.12]	[0.36,12.62]	[-1.27,7.68]	[-0.86,6.94]	[-4.74,3.89]
Pro-Attitudinal Treatment	0.21	-1.19	0.59	3.40**	3.64**
	[-4.41,4.83]	[-6.91,4.53]	[-3.98,5.16]	[-0.53,7.33]	[-0.24,7.52]
Counter-Attitudinal Treatment	2.09	3.92*	3.67*	-1.41	-3.11*
	[-2.80,6.97]	[-1.04,8.89]	[-0.87,8.21]	[-4.95,2.12]	[-6.88,0.67]
N	500	504	500	488	514

95% confidence intervals in brackets
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 (one-tailed)

Table 6-5: Summary of Hypotheses and Support Regarding Pro-Attitudinal Information Search

	Prediction (Control)	Prediction (Pro-Attitudinal)	Prediction (Counter-Attitudinal)	Results
H1a: Openness	+	+	+	Not Supported
H1b: Intellect			+	Not Supported
H2a: Industriousness			+	**Supported**
H2b: Orderliness				**Supported**
H3: Enthusiasm				**Supported**
H3: Assertiveness				**Supported**
H4a: Compassion			+	**Supported**
H4b: Politeness	+			**Supported**
H5a: Volatility		+		**Supported**
H5b: Withdrawal	+	+	+	*Partially Supported*

Table 6-6: Summary of Hypotheses and Support Regarding Counter-Attitudinal Information Search

	Prediction (Control)	Prediction (Pro-Attitudinal)	Prediction (Counter-Attitudinal)	Results
H1a: Openness	+	+	+	**Supported**
H1b: Intellect		+		*Partially Supported*
H2a: Industriousness			+	**Supported**
H2b: Orderliness				**Supported**
H3: Enthusiasm				Not Supported
H3: Assertiveness				**Supported**
H4a: Compassion				**Supported**
H4b: Politeness	+			**Supported**
H5a: Volatility		+		**Supported**
H5b: Withdrawal	+	+	+	*Partially Supported*

**Figure 6-1: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Pro-Attitudinal Information Search, by Experimental Condition**

Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.
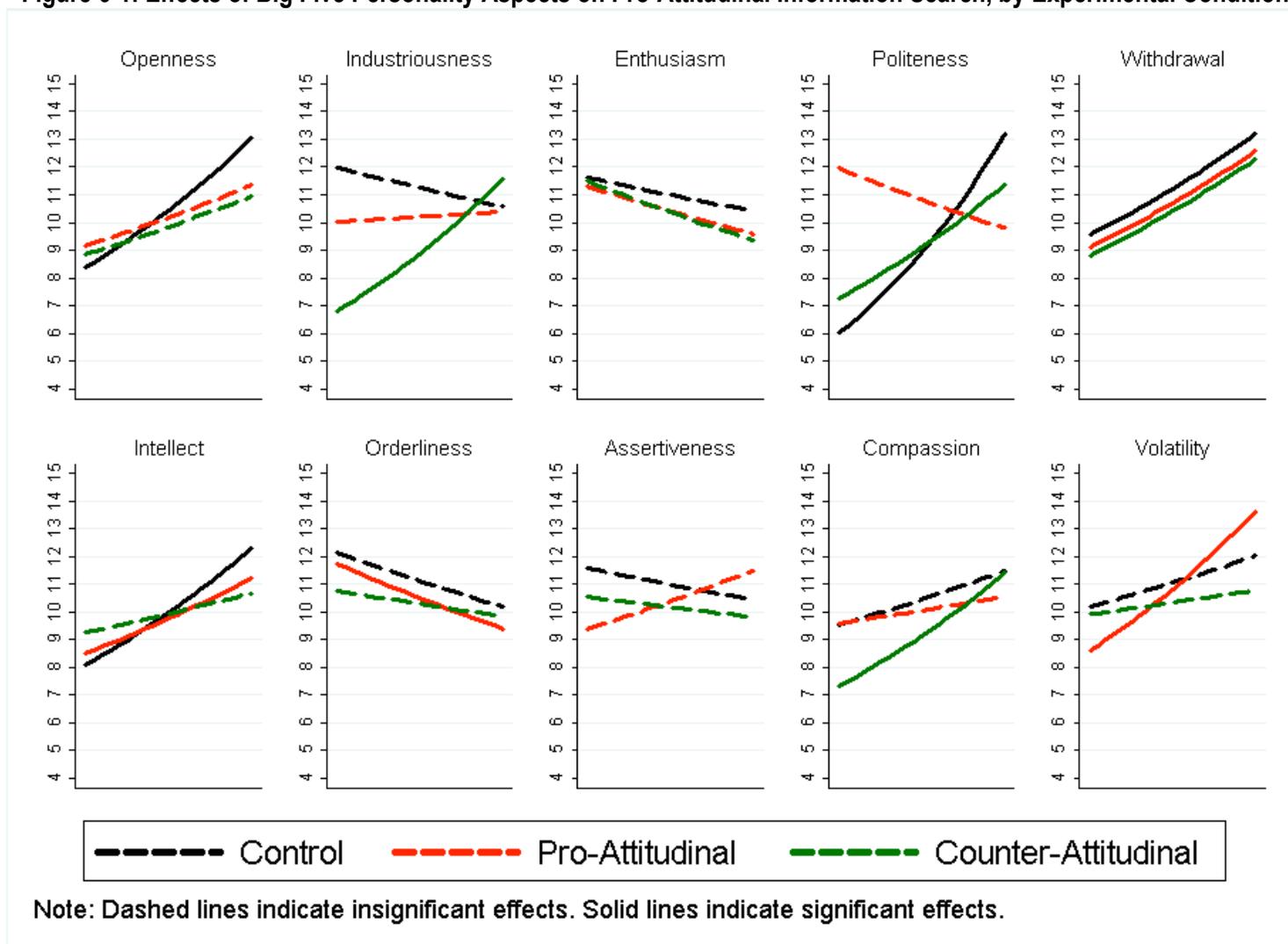
Figure 6-2: Effects of Big Five Personality Aspects on Counter-Attitudinal Information Search, by Experimental Condition

Note: Dashed lines indicate insignificant effects. Solid lines indicate significant effects.
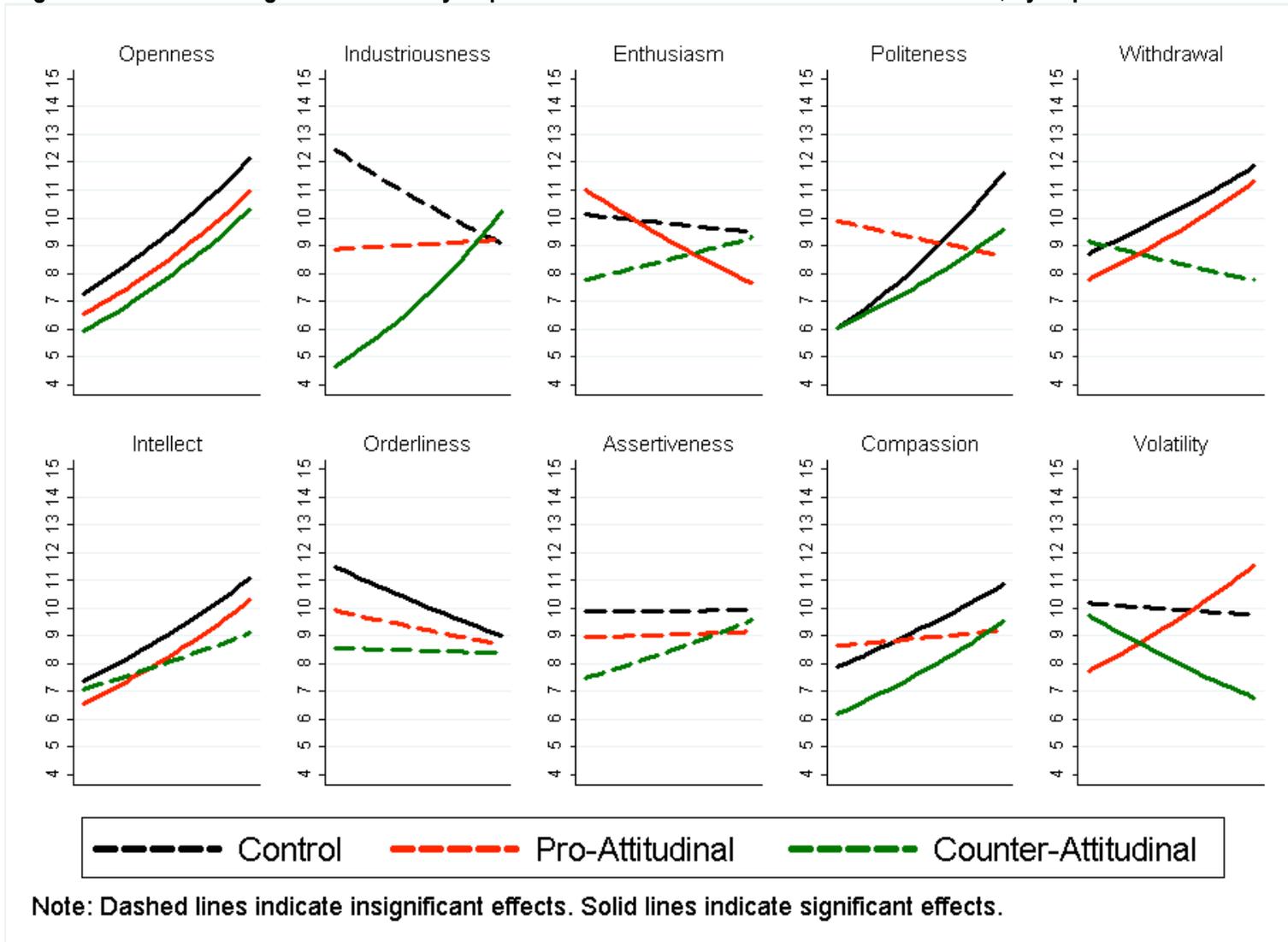
Chapter 7: Conclusion

Over the course of this dissertation, I provide theoretical and empirical evidence for a variety of claims about the study of personality and political campaigns. The two primary arguments I make are that, first, in order to understand the role and effect of political campaigns in American politics, we must move away from a direct effects model of campaign effects (advocated most strongly by Kaid, 2002, 2008) and embrace the heterogeneity of voter reactions to political campaigns. The variety of voter reactions, however, are not driven simply by political predispositions (though they surely are, for a variety of examples, see Ridout & Franz, 2011), but also by *pre-political* predispositions such as personality traits. This is not to say that personality, and specifically the Big Five facets, are the only or even the most important apolitical predisposition. The empirical results clearly support the claim that the Big Five aspects are moderated by political campaign, but nothing found throughout this investigation suggests that these results are unique to these personality traits.

The second argument I posit relates closely to the choice of the Five-Factor Theory of personality. While early work by political scientists looking for direct (and occasionally indirect) personality effects on political attitudes and behavior were a necessary first step towards understanding the role of personality, this research missed a key component of personality theory (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2013; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008). To wit, the beauty of the Big Five personality traits is that they are broad and multi-dimensional. Contained within each of the five domains are two aspects, each of which owns distinct genetic bases (DeYoung et al., 2007). While the domains are useful for describing personality, the

assumptions that we make are tenuous at best when we start to use the domains as predictors of political attitudes and behavior. In essence, we must be confident first that the broad domain is the appropriate level of measurement for personality and second that each of the aspects contained within that domain are exerting roughly the same effect on our outcome, both in direction and magnitude. As the results throughout this project demonstrate, both of these assumptions are rarely met in the case of the campaign by personality interaction.

The remainder of this chapter proceeds as follows. I begin with a brief summary of the substantive findings from the three empirical chapters and then discuss potential strengths and limitations of this approach. I then set forth a series of recommendations for future work on personality and campaign effects. I end the chapter with a discussion of the implications of these findings, for both academics looking to advance our understanding of campaigns and personality as well as for the general health of American democracy.

Summary of Results

Chapter 3 presents evidence for the use of MTurk samples for the study of personality as well as the importance of considering personality aspects in addition to domains, while chapters 4, 5, and 6 presented the empirical support from a series of experimental tests of the campaign by personality interaction. To varying degrees, support was found for both the general theoretical framework as well as the specific hypotheses in all three chapters. In the fourth chapter, which focused on political participation, several hypotheses were supported, primarily regarding the effects of personality aspects of Intellect and Industriousness.

At times, these results are normatively encouraging, as the effect of mobilizing campaign advertisements was to increase participation among certain subsets of the population, such as those high in Intellect and Industriousness. Unfortunately, a counter-vailing effect often accompanied these results, with individuals low in Intellect and Industriousness becoming less likely to vote or participate. In addition to activating personality aspects, I also found support for deactivation with the aspect of Withdrawal. In essence, while individuals higher in Withdrawal are less likely to vote than those low in Withdrawal, mobilizing campaign advertisements can alleviate these participatory differences and reduce the influence of personality. The normative picture may be muddled, but the empirical portrait appears clear: political campaigns, in this case mobilizing direct mail pieces, alter the expression of personality and change the influence of dispositional traits on political participation.

While increases in political participation are nearly universally seen as beneficial to society, the results from chapter 5 come with less clarity about the positive or negative implications. Beliefs about attitude polarization and political persuasion are mixed, as polarization and attitude certainty can be seen as a negative precursor to political intolerance or as a positive end result as voters settle on the candidate that best represents their interests. While remaining agnostic about the implications of the results from chapter 5, I note that in almost all cases, persuasive political advertisements, be they from a pro- or counter-attitudinal candidate, led to greater attitude polarization and engagement with the political environment.

In addition, chapter 5 continued the trend of demonstrating the value of lower-order personality measures. Compassion, rather than Politeness (both under the

agreeableness domain) exhibits political relevance, even if the effects are generally

unconditional on political situation. Similarly, Orderliness appears less relevant than

Industriousness (from the conscientiousness domain), and the differential aspect effects

may help explain the rather inconsistent empirical support found for the theoretical

relationship between conscientiousness and politics. Rather than attempt to explain why

conscientiousness may influence politics in a certain way, scholars would be wise to

consider the components of conscientiousness (both the aspects of Orderliness and

Industriousness as well as the uni-dimensional facets of self-efficacy, dutifulness,

achievement striving, self-discipline, cautiousness, and orderliness).

The strongest evidence supporting the campaign by personality interaction from

this chapter emerged for attitude polarization, with seven of the ten aspects showing an

activation or deactivation of trait influence dependent on the presence or absence of

persuasive political advertisements. Even for the index of persuasive activities, of the ten

aspects tested, four exhibited some evidence of heterogeneous personality effects,

conditional on condition assignment. The implications of these findings are clear and

reflective of the broad theoretical claim; political campaigns interact with personality

traits to increase interest, involvement, and thoughtful consideration of candidate options.

Chapter 6 extended the analyses to the amount of information sought by voters in

the hypothetical campaigns. Using the same experiment from chapter 5 but leveraging a

unique feature of the DPTE, I predicted information search volume occurred because of

the interaction between campaigns and personality. Without going into detail

summarizing the results from this chapter, I simply note that political campaigns alter not

just behavioral intentions, but actual political behavior such as learning about and researching candidates.

Interestingly, political campaigns often led individuals with certain personality traits to learn *less* about candidates. At first blush, this seems like faint praise for the campaign by personality interaction. Yes, campaigns interact with personality traits to change deliberative behavior, but instead of increasing engagement, campaigns actually lead individuals to *lower* levels of engagement. An alternative view of the results from chapter 6 would be that political campaigns are an important information source for voters. Yes, voters gather information about candidates from the general media environment, leading them to an eventual decision about participation and candidate choice. However, political advertisements reduce the need to learn from the broader environment. Campaigns, in essence, act as informational subsidies for voters.

Another way to look at these results is by examining the aspects that consistently produced interactive effects across a variety of dependent variables. This approach yields an interesting pattern which suggests past scholars may have been misguided in their focus on the domains. Of the ten aspects, Intellect and Industriousness consistently interacted with the political environment, producing differential personality effects depending on the experimental condition. This is particularly noteworthy because previous work often focused on the domains of openness to experience and conscientiousness. These results, along with the relatively weak interactive results for Openness and Orderliness, suggest that the domain level approach may mask variation between the aspects that depends on the political environment.

Beginning with Intellect, we see that across all six dependent variables, the Intellect aspect exhibited significant marginal effects under some, but not all, experimental conditions. When looking at mobilizing efforts, Intellect fails to predict turnout or non-voting participation absent campaign communications, but once campaigns mobilize their supporters, Intellect positively predicts participation. The results are more mixed for persuasive appeals, but the same interactive pattern holds. Intellect predicts more divergent candidate attitudes in the control condition, but persuasive ads, regardless of the sponsor, reduce the influence of Intellect. In addition, counter-attitudinal advertisements seem to have the greatest influence on Intellect; when these ads are present, Intellect predicts participation in persuasive activities. Furthermore, counter-attitudinal advertisements eliminate the influence of Intellect on information seeking.

When looking for evidence of the campaign by personality interaction, the Intellect aspect provides consistent strong support. Campaign advertisements alter the influence of the Intellect aspect, at times reducing its influence on political behavior (in the case of candidate attitudes and information search) while sometimes activating the aspect (for vote likelihood and mobilizing/persuasive activity participation).

The Industriousness aspect also provides consistent support for the campaign by personality interaction. With mobilizing advertisements, Industriousness (and its dutifulness facet) was activated, leading to greater likelihood of turning out and participating in the campaigns under the mobilizing advertisement condition (compared to the control condition). In fact, in line with previous findings, Industriousness actually negatively predicts non-voting participation in the control condition, but the effect

reverses direction with the presence of the political campaigns. While no effects for Industriousness were found for attitude differences, we again see that Industriousness predicts persuasive activity involvement in the control and counter-attitudinal conditions. However, in the pro-attitudinal condition, the effect of Industriousness is reduced. The pro-attitudinal advertisement could be seen as an information source and the results from Chapter 6 offer tentative support for this notion. While Industriousness fails to predict information search in either the control or pro-attitudinal condition, when faced with disagreeable information, Industriousness predicts greater information search, perhaps in an effort to counter-argue the information present in the advertisement.

These results imply that future scholars would be wise to turn their attention not only to the possibility that personality effects are contingent on the political environment, but also that specific aspects may prove particularly relevant for political science. My research suggests that future studies should begin their investigations with the Intellect and Industriousness aspects. Intellect, characterized by an openness to new ideas and thought, seems a natural fit for the campaign by personality interaction. We should expect individuals who enjoy thought and complexity to react to campaigns differently. Absent an activating message, politics may prove uninteresting, yet campaign advertisements may be uniquely interesting and increase the influence of Intellect on political behavior. The effect of Intellect, interestingly, may not be unique to *political* communication and may simply result from generalized engagement with complex environments. Nonetheless, political scientists would be wise to consider its effects moving forward.

In contrast, the results for Industriousness are likely at least partially driven by the political nature of this investigation. While conscientiousness is often characterized by goal-seeking behavior, self-determination, and orderliness, Industriousness captures the efficacy and duty components of this domain without conflating them with order or organization. This results in an aspect that is uniquely influential for politics. While industrious individuals may indeed leave politics "to the experts" as Mondak (2010) suggests, they may also be easily persuaded to view politics through a civic duty lens. Once convinced of the importance of political involvement, Industriousness should positively predict a variety of political behaviors, including campaign participation, persuasion, and information seeking. The results from this dissertation demonstrate this to be the case across a variety of dependent variables and campaign advertisements. Moving forward, scholars interested in a finer grain approach to personality in politics should consider both the Intellect and Industriousness aspects as productive starting points for their investigations.

Strengths and Limitations

The empirical results presented over the previous four chapters, while substantively strong, are not without their limitations. First and foremost on the list of potential drawbacks in the experimental nature of the studies and the Mechanical Turk sample. Critics may argue that viewing campaign advertisements in isolation fails to replicate the conditions faced by voters in the real world. While acknowledging the validity of this concern, I would remind readers that experiments are often a necessary component of any theory testing that hopes to isolate the causal nature of a relationship. Yes, observational data from a nationally representative sample would be ideal, but these

data come with their own set of problems, not the least of which is an inability to control advertising exposure and therefore isolate campaign effects.

Concerns about the Mechanical Turk sample are similarly valid, though again I note that these samples, while potentially problematic for some studies, should not be considered invalid for this study. While claims have been made that certain demographic groups on Mechanical Turk may be unrepresentative of the general population (e.g. Democrats or conservatives), this study does not depend on these groups. Instead, the only necessary assumption about Mechanical Turk workers is that personality works similarly in guiding behavior among this sample as it does in the general population. This assumption is far less tenuous that, say, a claim that Mechanical Turk Democrats are similar to a random sample of Democrats in America.

In fact, good evidence exists that psychological factors do, in fact, work similarly among Mechanical Turk workers as they do among the general population (Berinsky et al., 2012; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Scholars in social psychology have made extensive use of Mechanical Turk samples, replicating established empirical results using Mechanical Turk samples on a variety of personality traits (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Crawford, Brady, Pilanski, & Erny, 2013; Crawford & Pilanski, 2013). Additionally, I present my own evidence in chapter 3 that furthers the claim that, while demographically distinct, MTurk workers are surprisingly psychologically representative of the general population. While I do not deny potential drawbacks to the Mechanical Turk sample, I will continue to pursue replication of these results using other data sources and I encourage other scholars to do the same.

While there are drawbacks to the approach employed herein, I believe that the benefits of this research strategy far outweigh the potential faults. In particular, a drawback of many observational studies of campaign effects is their reliance on self-reports of campaign exposure. While voters may be able to self-report a number of behaviors, good evidence exists that these self-reports may be biased or correlated with other important political variables (Schwarz, 1999; Vavreck, 2007) or even potentially personality traits. The experimental approach represents a viable alternative to observational campaign studies, as it allows for precise control of exposure to campaign advertisements (Ansolabehere, 2006).

Perhaps more importantly, the controls given to the researcher to design and include multiple survey questions in an original experiment were vital to the success of this project. The limitations of the domain-based approach to studying personality in politics have been discussed earlier, but the way to move beyond this approach requires a significantly larger personality battery in order to measure the variety of personality facets and aspects. Even the short form employed here requires 120 items in order to measure each facet in a psychometrically sound manner (Johnson, 2014). This type of detail is simply impossible on most nationally representative political surveys.

The ability to isolate the effects of political campaigns and measure personality in a thoughtful and meaningful manner greatly outweighs the potential drawbacks of the Mechanical Turk sample and the experimental approach. Great pains were taken to create a hypothetical environment that could approximate the real political environment, including realistic campaign advertisements and a dynamic media environment. Scholars

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would be wise to continue to consider multiple methods when choosing how best to answer questions about political campaign dynamics.

Recommendations Moving Forward

One strength that was identified earlier, the ability to include a more extensive personality battery, can also be seen as a drawback of the lower-order approach to personality in politics. If we need *at least* 120 items to measure each facet, what is a researcher to do? The feasibility of including this many questions on any study, even an original experiment like this, should be carefully considered against the possibilities of bias or imprecision due to respondent fatigue or the way the response options are formatted.

With these concerns in mind, I by no means suggest that scholars include a full facet scale when studying personality in the future. Instead, I would hope future research considers the theoretical predictions and implications of personality *before* designing and implementing the study. While this work was in many ways exploratory, future work need not be that way.

For instance, if scholars are interested in the role of negative emotional traits and tendencies, there should be no need to measure all 30 facets or even the 10 aspects. Instead, driven by clear theory, scholars need only include the measures for the four negative emotion facets of neuroticism (anxiety, anger, depression, and self-consciousness) or the twenty items for the Withdrawal and Volatility aspects. With this strategy, the 120-item scale (or 100-item BFAS) can be paired to a much more manageable 16 to 20 questions. Additionally, while not ideal, closer attention to personality theory could reduce the item requirements further if scholars consciously

choose items that load strongly on the facets or aspects of greatest interest. This ad hoc approach may fail to provide a psychometrically sound personality measure, but it would avoid many issues with the scales currently employed in political science work.

Additionally, scholars could begin with the results from this dissertation and narrow their choice of aspects to those most likely to interact with the environment of interest. For campaign advertisements, I find that the Intellect and Industriousness aspects were particularly important. However, this may not always be the case, and scholars should choose wisely. For instance, a researcher interested in enthusiastic appeals or the effects of stump speeches might be particularly interested in the extraversion aspects of Enthusiasm and Assertiveness and measure these in their study. The choices of aspects or facets is limited only by the ingenuity of the researcher's theory.

The suggestions, therefore, are less to measure personality using better measures (though this is an admirable and appropriate goal for future research), but rather to be more thoughtful in what relationships we expect to find and how we want to test these predictions. Exploratory personality research, the type conducted by Mondak, Gerber, Huber, and their colleagues, was a necessary first step for political science (Gerber, Huber, Doherty, Dowling, et al., 2011; Gerber et al., 2010, 2013; Mondak, 2010; Mondak & Halperin, 2008; Mondak et al., 2010). This does not, however, imply that we should automatically adopt their research strategies without question. The TIPI may be useful for some research, but it presents a startlingly incomplete picture of the role that personality plays in political attitudes and behavior (Gosling et al., 2003; Romero et al., 2012). As scholars continue this work, let us become more conscious of the consequences, both positive and negative, of the measurement decisions we make. When appropriate, use

precise measures of personality facets, aspects, or specific domains, and utilize extremely short forms such as the TIPI when the opportunity to include any personality measure on a survey trumps the need for theoretical or methodological specificity.

Broader Implications

What, then, are we as political scientists to make of these findings? This research speaks to a number of research agendas in political science, including the study of personality in politics and the effects of political campaigns. Yet the implications of this dissertation should be thought of in broader political and cultural terms. Political campaigns serve an important role in the American democratic experience because they encourage individuals to alter their reliance on personality traits when forming attitudes and behavioral intentions.

This, in turn, translates into normatively desirable behaviors, primarily in the form of political participation (voter turnout) and attention to campaigns. Interestingly, while political campaigns lead to increases in these behaviors, they generally lead to a *reduction* in the actual amount of information voters use when making decisions. This, however, is further evidence that campaign advertisements are not simply epiphenomenal to the decision process; instead, they provide voters with useful information and alter voter reliance on dispositional traits. This information can decrease the need for voters to seek more information, leading to lower search volume while still affecting behaviors and opinion.

Our understanding of political campaigns and their influence on the electorate must move beyond the expectation that all voters react similarly to advertisements and embrace the individual differences inherent in human psychology. This dissertation

demonstrates that campaigns alter the expression of personality traits in the realm of politics. These changed expressions lead to a variety of behaviors and attitudes that would be markedly different were political campaigns not present.

By expanding our expectations for the effects of political campaigns, we also gain a better understanding of the strategies employed by campaign professionals. In an increasingly data-driven and micro-targeted political world, campaign strategists are already relying on consumer data that goes far beyond partisan voter registration. By leveraging for-purchase data sources, these professionals are able to build *de facto* personality profiles of voters and target campaign advertisements to the most easily persuaded or mobilized voters (Back et al., 2010, 2008).

This dissertation moves us closer to understanding both why campaign professionals do this as well as why their tactics are so effective. As campaigns and candidates have embraced the heterogeneity of the American voter, political communication scholars have lagged behind. Combining an increased focus on campaigns as a moderator of pre-political dispositions with our existing understanding of the role that political predisposition play in the process helps complete the picture of how political campaigns influence individual voters.

We would be wise to accept the complexity of political campaigns. Campaigns are not monolithic; there are a variety of forms they can take (negative, positive, mobilizing, persuasive, etc.). Voters are not homogenous; they differ on a variety of political and apolitical traits (personality, political knowledge and interest, partisanship, etc.). Campaigns directly influence voter behavior and decision, but they also do so indirectly through interactions with voter traits. As we continue our study of voters and

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campaigns, we must keep this complexity in mind. This dissertation welcomes the

intricacy of these relationships and moves us closer to a complete understanding of how

political campaigns interact with voters and, in turn, affect political behavior and opinion.

Politicians employ campaign advertisements in pursuit of a variety of electoral goals;

these results demonstrate the effectiveness of these appeals at changing the influence of

personality and, ultimately, achieving those goals.

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