From Shame to Populism: The Role of Pride in Political Attitude

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Table of Contents

Abstract

Research on the role of emotions in populist movements is a rising trend, yet one type of set of emotions has been understudied: Self-Conscious Emotions. 'Cooley-Scheff conjecture' states that "adults are virtually always in a state of either pride or shame, usually of a quite unostentatious kind" to monitor social bonds (Scheff, 1988, p. 399). So, how would this phenomenon pertain to individual's political behavior in terms of their group identity? In this paper, I investigate (1) *whether exposure to populist messages will elicit pride more among shame-prone individuals*, and (2) *the role of pride as a mediator for an explanation for populist attitudes* through 3-sample survey experiment (Gender, Race, and Party Identity) in the United States.

1. Introduction

Individuals' growing resentment in elites is a persistent element of contemporary politics, hence the literature in populism enhances day by day. On the flip side of the coin, scholars widely investigate the roots of the mass appeal from the politician's angle. While majority of the research considers the "rising populism among opposition", populist actors already have been "in power" in many countries such as Turkey, Hungary, Poland etc. where elite-rhetoric and partisanship can also stimulate the populism among voters of the incumbent who are socially, economically and politically satisfied (Aytaç et al., 2021). Since not many scholars have studied this angle of populism, a cross-cutting explanation to the mass appeal that accounts for the attractiveness of both individuals' resentment and populist parties is compulsory.

One connection in this plea lies in individuals' experience of the Self-Conscious Emotions (SCE) and the self-regulation of these emotions. SCE are vitally important in both driving and regulating individuals' beliefs, thoughts, and behaviors and may explain the variance in people's favoritism toward their own identities and dislike toward others. Hence, the connection between individuals' experience of the self-conscious emotions and their emotional response to the actions of others may tell us about the rising social distance among different identities and the rising populist movements.

This research zooms in on one piece of this puzzle by building on previous research where I investigated the variance in individuals' out-group bias. This was studied by looking at how shame and guilt-proneness moderate the relationship between information about in-group's past wrongdoing and the degree of affective polarization. As shame, the least desirable emotion (Izard, 1971), doesn't provide a stress-free environment in times of encountering information regarding past wrongdoings, people try to develop a coping mechanism (e.g., increased negative evaluation of others) to avoid negative feelings.[1] I expand the level of analysis by investigating how group identity fits into individuals' perspective of themselves, and inquire whether 'pride'

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[1] While the previous study (see: https://osf.io/h8mtp) focuses on the psychological effects of the phenomenon, here I discuss the political implications of these psychological consequences that populist messages reinforce individuals' alienation from out-groups. Even though these two claims differ in their central points, it should also be understood as complementary arguments which supports each other rather than a zero-sum game.

provides an explanation for the (right-wing) populist movements through the lens of self-regulation in emotion-eliciting events. I hypothesized that (1) Populist messages will elicit pride, especially among shame-prone individuals rather than guilt-prone ones, and (2) Populist messages will intensify individuals' populist attitudes through its impact on their pride level.

2. Literature Review

Traditionally, emotion theorists discussed the self-conscious emotions as an individual's experience of these emotions to regulate self-behavior concerning personal objectives or social norms (Beer et al., 2003). Although it's correct in the key functionality of the self-conscious emotions, Lickel et al. (2007) rightly argues that our sense of self as social creatures is defined by our relations to others, at least partly if not fully. Since group identity plays a crucial role in finding the selfhood in our social relationships, our very own self-conscious emotions might be stimulated by others' actions along with experiencing them by self-actions. Salmela (2019) posits that classic cases of a person's shame experience are both social and individual and that they negatively evaluate the failures of their social identity that is shared by other in-groups.

Individuals' self-representation is important in their interactions with others due to several factors. Tracy & Robins (2007) argue that one of these factors is their role in the social structure that defines their status compared to others in an intricate design within and across their respective identities. In these social dynamics, SCE help people to defend and improve their self-representations by providing sustainability of their position in the social hierarchy, certifying their status roles, and preventing them from social refusal (Keltner & Buswell, 1997; Sedikides & Skowronski, 2000; Tracy & Robins, 2004). The evolutionary functions of self-conscious emotions are studied by various scholars who say that they come to the surface through different means: "embarrassment and shame evolved for purposes of appeasement and avoidance of social approbation, guilt for encouraging communal relationships, and pride for establishing dominance" (Tracy & Robins, 2007; for further reading, please see: Baumeister et al., 1994; Keltner & Buswell, 1997; Gilbert, 1998; Tracy & Robins, 2004). Additionally, Jefferson (2019) investigates the role that respectability plays in punitive action towards in-group that individuals of the stigmatized social groups (the Black Americans in this case) may seldom be perceived as a

threat to their own social status and social identity because of the ways they behave that induce shame and embarrassment, hence emotional and instrumental deliberation influence individuals' support for in-group policing.

A natural impression individuals can feel during their interactions is psychological distress due to the emotion-eliciting event's inconsistency with their beliefs, thoughts, or behaviors. The literature in various fields acknowledge that individuals generate various defense mechanisms to overcome with this mental suffering. A particular instrument of this defense mechanism is self-regulation. Tracy & Robins (2007), building on several theoretical concepts (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Lewis, 2000; Scherer & Schorr, 2001), acknowledge that individuals' experience of the self-conscious emotions depends on several complex emotion-eliciting stages that determine which specific emotion occurs (see Figure 1 below). These numerous paths also serve as "emotion regulation" since SCE, they claim, may be amenable to it due to the severity of experiencing negative feelings (e.g., shame is the strongest negative emotion that individuals will less likely want to experience – Izard, 1971) and requires cognitive reappraisals.
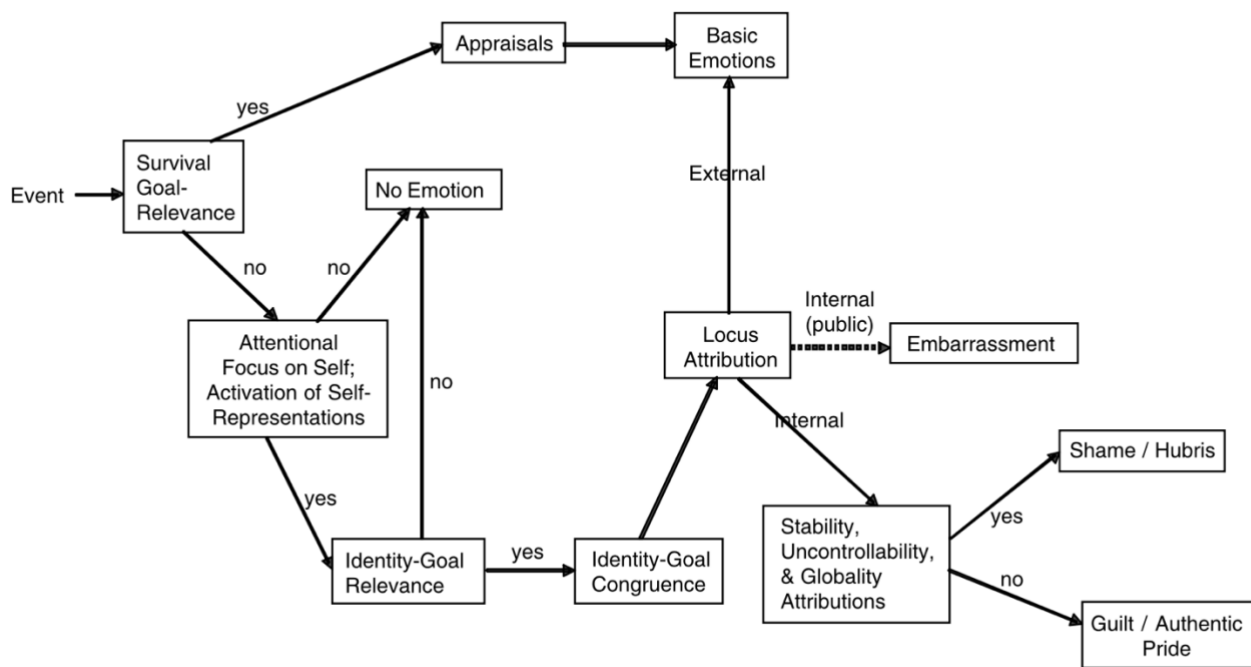

Figure 1 – Process model of self-conscious emotions. (Taken from Tracy & Robins, 2007; p:192).

Primarily, they discuss that individuals' reaction to an event must require "cognition" element rather than activating a survival mechanism such as "fight or flight" response. Otherwise, individuals will appraise the situation to induce basic emotions such as fear, disgust, happiness, etc. Later, four key cognitive junctures separate individuals' experience of SCE from basic emotions to no emotions at all as primary affective mechanisms:

(1) *Attentional focus on the self:* Individuals can regulate their deliberation by circumventing the focus (external environment rather than the self), in return they would feel no emotion rather than experiencing self-conscious emotions through activating self-representations.

(2) *Identity-goal relevance:* Individuals assessment of the stimulation may or may not be relevant to their goals regarding their identity. Several studies indicate that individuals use this mechanism as a "regulatory strategy" where they find the negative feedback about themselves as unimportant, invalid, and diagnostically wrong (Brown, 1998; Sedikides, 1993; Shrauger, 1975) and embrace self-serving perceptions of their own distinct abilities (Dunning & Cohen, 1992).

(3) *Identity-goal congruence:* Individuals may adjust their self-representation depending on the congruency of the emotion-eliciting event with their identity goals.

(4) *Locus attribution:* The fourth mechanism comes into play as an easier solution by reconsidering the cause of the emotion-eliciting event if the individual is devoted to a steady identity goal. Rather than an internal attribution, individuals may direct the reason of the event to an external source, hence they feel better about their self-representation. Several scholars say this mechanism is closely related to "self-serving attributional bias" (Campbell & Sedikides, 1999; Mezulis, Abramson, Hyde, & Hankin, 2004) where individuals choose to feel positive about themselves rather than experiencing negativity through acclaiming the self for the accomplishment and rejecting the blame for failure.

Tracy & Robins (2007) further argue that while individuals' affective experiences facilitate these self-serving interpretations regarding the sources of everyday experiences, they take a step

further by acknowledging that these mechanisms are comprised of a specific set of emotions rather than simple positive or negative feelings. For example, they argue that individuals' self-serving attributions help them to circumvent upsetting feelings of shame or guilt into pride or reduce the degree of self-destructive sensation by transforming shame into anger. They further acknowledge that even if the attribution is made internally rather than externalizing the blame, individuals can regulate their self-conscious emotions (i.e., experiencing guilt rather than shame since the former is a less excruciating emotion than the latter).

Other scholars also extended the work on "defense mechanisms" by arguing that restraining the vulnerable emotions (including shame) is likely to determine the trajectories of violence and collective hatred where the 'chosen traumas' may be the cause of "rightful for revenge" sensation as a collective feeling (Volkan, 2004); and repressing the shame feeling makes individuals insensitive to both conscience and fear, in turn may result in physical aggression as one of the central patterns of hypermasculinity (Scheff, 2007). Additionally, shame can potentially be converted into anger to defend individuals' self-esteem as a defense mechanism (Tracy & Robins, 2003). Individuals with high narcissistic tendencies may externalize the blame as a personality trait through anger as a way to cover their self-incompetence when encountering a threat to their ego (Tracy & Robins, 2007).

The question then is how does reducing the psychological discomfort relate to the populist movements? I argue that the connection primarily lies in the *definition* and *approaches to the support for populism* in connection with the psychological discomfort. Mudde defines populism as "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people" (Mudde, 2004: p. 543; see also: Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). The definition itself manifests a resentment in its core that reflects the psychological distress forced upon individuals due to the political dissatisfaction of not being heard. Scheff (2007: 431) states that "one way to deal with the feeling that one has been rejected as unworthy is to 'reject the rejector', rather than to blame one's self as unworthy".

One of the fundamental aspects of several protest movements embraces the endeavors that aim to convert the shame into pride (Jasper, 2011), because populist charges' main focus is context-dependent that is grounded on an "us versus them" oratory (Aytaç et al., 2021; Barr, 2009). The Descamisado movement is a prime example of Scheff's argument. While it was first used by press as a pejorative term to describe lower class, in 1946 Perón and his supporters embraced the label and converted it into a sign for honor and pride that denotes their poverty and also their hard work. In identity politics, Britt & Heise (2000) argue that the shift from invisible identity that creates the shame (both individual and collectively) to coming out as a new identity that provides pride is a vital dynamic through affect control processes.

Second, in light of the definition of populism, the link can be established through the academics' perspective on populism. Aytaç et al. (2021) summarize the literature into three alternative approaches to the support for populism: (1) Economic roots of populism such as inequality problem, stagnant wages, shrinking welfare, job insecurity etc.; (2) socio-psychological reaction to progressive cultural change by focusing on some demographics related adjectives such as "old, men, less educated" to explain the mass appeal to anti-change/anti-immigrant attitudes; (3) a sense of dissatisfaction with the society or political system where individuals who feel relatively deprived, unfairly treated by society, and distrust the political institutions show the political discontent. In all three explanations, the most evident aspect of the frustration towards the politics or the politicians is that individuals' relative position in the social hierarchy is dismissed or declined. They are unhappy with their respective identity's position in the social status roles, and ultimately their struggle is about regaining the status quo in which they were satisfied in their lives (or were never able to achieve yet and want to achieve).

An example to attempt finding this causal link in the literature is that Salmela (2019) investigates the motivations behind right-wing populist support in present-day neoliberal societies. He argues that social identities of contemporary capitalist societies that involve competition in resource allocation (i.e., occupational identities of low/middle skilled blue-collar workers, entrepreneurs in older ages that finds technological advancement harder to adapt) are inherently shame prone. He classifies two emotional mechanisms that may give rise to the populist trend to cope with the insecurity: *Ressentiment* – curbing and transforming negative

self-conscious emotions (mainly shame into anger/hatred) – towards the outgroup (such as political/cultural elites, immigrants, etc.) who are seen as a threat to the individuals' social identities; and *Emotional Distancing* from the occupation-based social identities that stimulate shame and other negative self-caused emotions; instead pursuing quality, purpose, and self-worth in different social identities that are stable and exclusive such as nationality, religion, traditional gender roles, etc. (Salmela & Von Scheve, 2017; Salmela, 2019). Additionally, Hochschild (2005) explains a comparable defensive reasoning by emphasizing the social and emotional appeal about why working-class men advocate President Bush and his aggressive actions although their economic interests are not aligned with it.

Overall, it is safe to acknowledge that individuals may develop different coping mechanisms when they encounter an emotion-eliciting event to ensure replacing the negativity with the positivity. This raises the question of whether regulating SCE and mainly 'pride' accounts for the populist attitudes. To address this issue, I espouse the political psychology approach to the study of how individuals' political behavior varies through regulating their emotion.

3. Argument

Does pride emotion provide an escape from psychological distress? And if so, does it account for the (right-wing) populist movements? In light of the arguments above, I investigate the issue from identity/emotions perspective. The focus of the research is that pride emotion may play a major role in reducing the cognitive dissonance generated by shame (rather than guilt) and whether pride emotion explains the populist attitude of individuals that experienced this cognitive dissonance.

To begin with, pride is the most ignored member of the SCE family. Both empirical and theoretical studies emphasize the achievement-oriented pride, yet little is investigated on individual differences in pride-proneness regarding the self and the behavior (Tangney et al., 2007). According to Mascolo & Fischer's definition, pride is "generated by appraisals that one is responsible for a socially valued outcome or for being a socially valued person" (Mascolo & Fischer, 1995; p. 66). They consider pride as the emotion that assists to improve self-worth and to embolden the potential behavior that matches the social norms of self-esteem (Barrett, 1995).

On the political behavior side, improving self-worth and restoring the status in the social hierarchy is one of the main themes of the populist arguments. Wirz (2018; p 1114) argues that "populist appeals elicit stronger emotions than non-populist appeals and that these emotions mediate the persuasiveness of the appeals". Since the nature of populist communication is grounded on its emotional appeal, I hypothesize that:

H1 – Populist messages will elicit pride.

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1 * T) + (b_2 * P) + (b_3 * D) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Pride} = b_0 + (b_1 * \text{Populist message}) + (b_2 * \text{Placebo message}) + (b_3 * \text{Dummy}) + \text{Error}$$

Second, within the emotions' impact on the political behavior framework, I extend the research by delving into the variance across individuals through different kinds of pride and their relationship with the other SCE. Scholars were also able to distinguish two facets of pride[2] by looking at the attributions in parallel with guilt vs shame distinction[3]. Tracy & Robins (2007) denote that whereas **hubristic pride** (*I am proud of who I am*) may result from attributions to internal, stable, and uncontrollable causes (I did it because I am always great); **authentic pride** (*I am proud of what I did*) may arise from attributions to internal, unstable, and controllable sources (I did it because I trained). They further argue that highly narcissistic and self-aggrandized nature of hubristic pride is positively related with the shame-proneness, while the authentic pride has a negative correlation.

Considering individuals' defensive mental apparatuses to handle with the psychological pain created by the past wrongdoings, shame undoubtedly lies in the heart of it as a principal emotion. Tracy & Robins (2007) discuss that individual's protection of the self from the entrenched shame experience and the insufficiency are facilitated by the hubris and overt self-

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[2] Comparable to origins of guilt and shame debate (self vs. behavior), scholars differentiated two types of pride: "Tangney (1990) distinguished between 'alpha' pride (pride in self) and 'beta' pride (pride in behavior), Lewis et al. (1992) distinguished between hubris (pridefulness) and pride (experienced in reference to a specific action or behavior), and Tracy & Robins (2004) distinguished between hubris and more event-specific achievement-oriented pride" (Tangney et al., 2007).

[3] Whereas these two emotions are not mutually exclusive and may indicate connections in some respects, psychology literature primarily differentiates them as guilt being occurred by a response for a specific behavior, shame is related to individual's the attribution of the outcome to the negative sense of the identity. For further information, please see: Tracy & Robins (2004); Tangney et al. (2007); Tracy & Robins (2007).

aggrandizement as a defense mechanism. I argue that individuals induce pride[4] as a conciliator emotion within their multiple social identities to reduce cognitive dissonance and respond to trauma created by shame (since it's a stronger emotion than guilt to bear with). Hence, they may eventually feel accomplished when they identify with more "successful" ones, in that case a populist rhetoric that garners support from the like-minded counterparts. So, I hypothesize that:

H2 – Populist messages will elicit pride more among shame-prone individuals than guilt-prone individuals (Shame/Guilt–Proneness as moderator on pride**)**

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1*T) + (b_2*P) + (b_3*S) + (b_4*T*S) + (b_5*P*S) + (b_6*G) + (b_7*T*G) + (b_8*P*G) + (b_9*S*G) + (b_{10}*T*S*G) + (b_{11}*P*S*G) + (b_{12}*D) + \varepsilon_i$$

Pride = b_0 + (b_1∗Populist message) + (b_2∗Placebo message) + (b_3∗Shame-Proneness) + (b_4∗Populist message∗ Shame-Proneness) + (b_5∗Placebo message∗Shame-Proneness) + (b_6∗Guilt Proneness) + (b_7∗Populist message∗Guilt Proneness) + (b_8∗Placebo message∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_9∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{10}∗Populist message∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{11}∗Placebo message∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{12}∗Dummy) + Error

Type	*I am proud of …*	Attribution category of causes				I did it because …
Hubristic pride (*)	*who I am*	Internal	Stable	Uncontrollable	Global	I am always great (*Ability, correlated with shame*)
Authentic pride	*what I did*	Internal	Unstable	Controllable	Specific	I trained (*Effort, correlated with guilt*)

Table 1 – Summary of the categorization for explaining types of pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007)

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[4] It should be noted that the topic under investigation is identity-based matters rather than peoples' opinion or policy choices, I use "pride" term throughout the paper to indicate what Tracy & Robins (2007) describes the hubristic pride as in "*I am proud of who I am*" context where they elucidate it pride in self rather than event-specific achievement-oriented pride.

Next, I switched the focus to how these emotions impact peoples' political behavior as the second overarching category. I initially start with investigating the second hypothesis from political perspective by replacing the outcome from pride emotion to populist attitudes. Wirz (2018) argues that populist appeals have a better chance of persuading people *indirectly* compared to the pluralist ones, and the influence of these populist appeals are likely to be greater for those who hold robust populist attitudes. Since people seek information or policies that confirm their desires and rehabilitate their emotional state in times of encountering an unfamiliar stimulation (Lerner & Keltner, 2000); it's safe to assume that the populist messages may provide this comfort to avoid the unbearable burden of the negative emotions, especially among shame-prone individuals. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H3 – Populist messages will intensify individual's populist attitudes among those with higher shame proneness. (Shame-Proneness as moderator on populist attitude**)**

$$Y = b_0 + (b_{1*}T) + (b_{2*}P) + (b_{3*}S) + (b_{4*}T_*S) + (b_{5*}P_*S) + (b_{6*}D) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Populist Attitude} = b_0 + (b_1 * \text{Populist message}) + (b_2 * \text{Placebo message}) +$$
$$(b_3 * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_4 * \text{Populist message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) +$$
$$(b_5 * \text{Placebo message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_6 * \text{Dummy}) + \text{Error}$$

In accordance with the previous hypothesis, I also investigate the role of pride emotion by turning my attention to its mediating role in this mechanism. Building on 'Cooley-Scheff conjecture' and Tracy and Robins (2007) process model of SCE, I argue that individuals regulate their emotions through avoiding or accepting the attentional focus on the self, downplay or amplify their goals relevance and congruency with their Identities, and alter the locus of their attribution in times of an emotion-eliciting event. Pride plays the vital role in it as the single positive self-conscious emotion to balance shame, guilt, embarrassment, regret, etc.

While I agree with the 'ressentiment' and 'emotional distancing' argument put forward by Salmela & Von Scheve (2017) and Salmela (2019), I also believe that their argument about motivations behind right-wing populist support can be improved by harmonizing it with the

balancing role of price as a conciliatory emotion through empirical testing. Moreover, I consider that not only the type of the identity to pursue self-worth but also the nature of the (populist) message as being important to activate the populist attitude within this context. Thus, I hypothesize that:

H4 – Populist messages will intensify populist attitudes through its impact on individuals' pride level. (Pride as a mediator on populist attitude**)**

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1 * T) + (b_2 * P) + (b_3 * M) + (b_4 * D) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Populist attitudes} = b_0 + (b_1 * \text{Populist message}) + (b_2 * \text{Placebo message}) + (b_3 * \text{Pride level}) + (b_4 * \text{Dummy variable}) + \varepsilon_i$$

Figure 2 – Model for the pride's mediating effect on populist attitude.

Lastly, as a robustness check, I will investigate whether individuals' reaction to the populist treatment varies within their sub-groups (e.g., Men vs. Women in Gender Identity). Tracy and Robins' (2007) process model specifies that people can alter the attentional focus on the self or evaluate the information's relevance and congruency with their identities in a self-serving way. The importance here is that the chosen identity categories can help this self-serving understanding of the information due to several factors like history, culture, experiences, current political atmosphere, etc. For example, Shi et al. (2015) found that the two-sided pride framework is applicable to the East-Asian culture that has distinct perspective of pride and self-enhancement manners from North America.

Since I chose 'gender', 'race' and 'party' identities to investigate, sub-categories of these identities have a distinct perception of "the other side": Men and Whites can be considered in the "offender" groups, and Women and Blacks can be considered in the "victim" groups due to

history and political culture. In addition, no evident offender/victim relationship exists between Democrats and Republicans, yet both sides contemplate their own identity as being victim to the other side's actions on countless occasions. Therefore, these sub-groups' experiencing a route of shame, guilt, or pride within Tracy and Robins' (2007) process model of SCE will likely differ based on the information, how they process it, their identity attachment, and the collective victimhood sentiment. Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H5 – Those in "offender" groups will give stronger reactions to the populist treatment than those in the "victim" groups (Robustness check**)**

$$Y = b_0 + (b_{1*}T) + (b_{2*}P) + (b_{3*}S) + (b_{4*}T_*S) + (b_{5*}P_*S) + (b_{6*}V) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Populist Attitude} = b_0 + b_1 * \text{Populist message} + b_2 * \text{Placebo message} + b_3 * \text{Shame Proneness}$$
$$+ b_4 * \text{Populist message} * \text{Shame Proneness} + b_5 * \text{Placebo message} * \text{Shame Proneness}$$
$$+ b_6 * \text{Dummy for Victimhood} + \text{Error}$$

where V is;

- 1 if the participants are in the offender group (Men in Gender ID, White in Race ID)
- 0 if the participants are in the victim group (Women in Gender ID, Black in Race ID)

4. Research Design

To test my hypotheses, I will run a 3-sample survey experiment that is originally a continuation of another study[5] where I examined the variance in individuals' out-group bias in their political behavior. The current studies will take place online using MTurk (through Cloud Research) and will be conducted on the same sample of U.S. adults (*questions are embedded at the end of the previous study*).

In the previous experiment[6], participants will initially answer a questionnaire that measures shame/guilt proneness, they will then watch a treatment video based on their selection in the demographics section respective to their identities. In the last step they will respond to the

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[5] To access the pre-registration of the initial study, please click the following link: https://osf.io/h8mtp.

[6] Please see Appendix to retrieve the full questionnaire.

out-group bias questions (please see Figure 3 below). Right after the previous studies are completed, the participants will be combined altogether and then be broken into another three conditions: Treatment, Placebo, and Control.
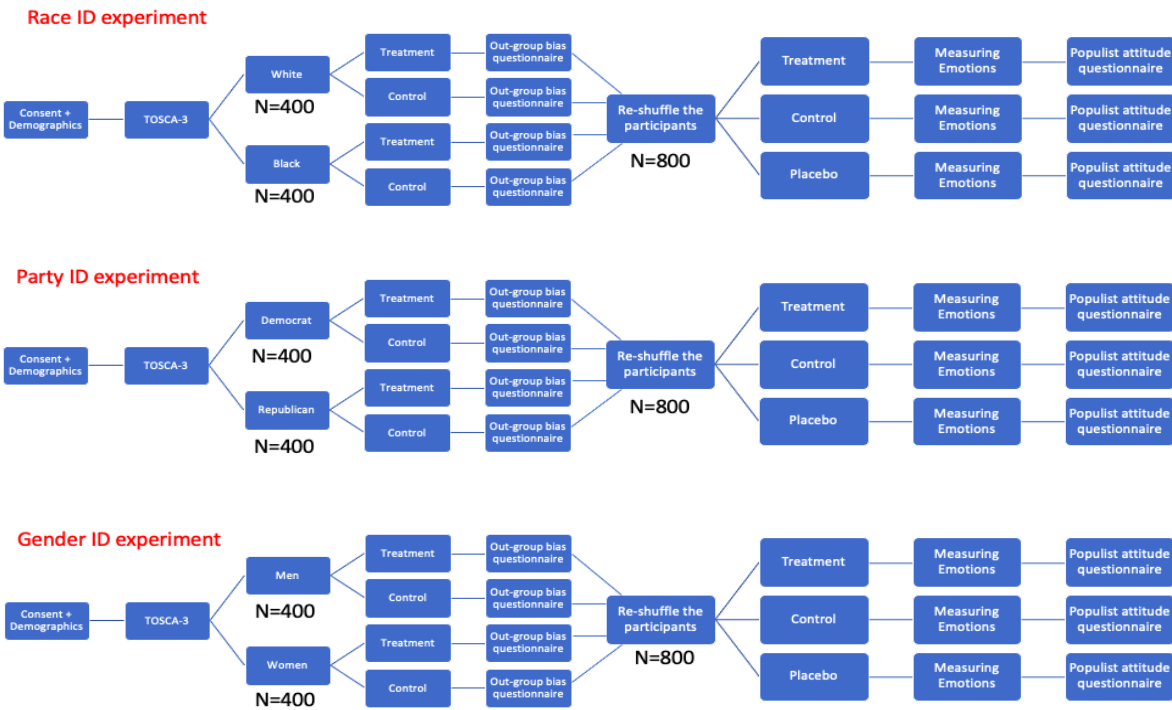

Figure 3 – The overall structure of the research design for each experiment

The treatment will be **priming** individuals through a poster advertisement (see Figure 4 below):

▪ For *Treatment group*, participants will receive a part of Donald Trump's inauguration speech in 2017 in the poster.[7] The populist message on the poster contains an "advocative populist communication" (for a more comprehensive review of populist messages in the literature, please see (Wirz, 2018)) where the speech approves the primacy of the people

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[7] Message taken from: https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/opinion/the-conversation/sd-most-populist-lines-from-trumps-speech-20170120-htmlstory.html, then I edited some parts to provide cohesion based on the intent of the message context.

through 4 key themes: Focusing monolithic people, virtues and achievements, demonstrating closeness, and demanding sovereignty.[8]

- For *Placebo group*, participants will see a poster that reminds them to register to vote without any populist appeal.

- For *Control group*, participants will not receive any messages. They will continue with answering the following questions.

Figure 4 – Priming for the treatment group (left) and the placebo group (right) in each experiment.

Later, the participants will be asked how they feel after seeing the poster along with their **emotions' intensity**. I picked three positive *(pride, hope, joy)* and three negative *(anger, anxiety, fear)* emotions to investigate participants' mindset. Those in placebo group, since they do not receive priming by a poster, will be asked to express their emotions and its intensity when they think of the current situation. Emotions' intensity ratings will be on a 5-point scale (0 = not at all, 1 = Only a little, 2 = To some extent, 3 = Rather much, 4 = Very much).

Finally, the participants will complete a short **populist attitude questionnaire** borrowed from Hawkins et al (2012). Participants will indicate how much they agree or disagree with the provided statements that apprehend populism's fundamental features, mainly "a Manichaean view of politics, a notion of a reified popular will, and a belief in a conspiring elite" (Hawkins et

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[8] The design is borrowed from Wirz (2018) that explains various types of messages' effect on eliciting distinctive emotions. However, while his research focuses on a left-wing ideal by placing the balanced wages to its main claim, my main concentration will be creating a right-wing leaning populist message.

al., 2012:7). Ratings of the statements will be on a 5-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree).

- **POP_ATT#1** Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.
- **POP_ATT#2** The politicians in Congress need to follow the will of the people.
- **POP_ATT#3** The power of a few special interests prevents our country from making progress.
- **POP_ATT#4** The people, not the politicians, should make the most important policy decisions.

5. Analysis

As the current research is the continuation of the previous study, I am using the same participant pool to estimate the treatment effect. To have a satisfactory powered design, the study has the power at 0.95, the p-value at 0.05, and the effect size d at 0.2 that results in a sample size of 651 per each category to detect a small effect. Since I will combine each of the participants in the different identity groups, in total, I will have a sample of 2400 participants (800 in the treatment groups, 800 in the control groups, and 800 in the placebo groups).

I categorize the hypotheses into 2 overarching categories: Emotions and Politics sections. While H1 and H2 compose Pride emotion as the dependent variable; H3, H4 and H5 investigates the impact of treatment on the populist attitudes. The complete summary of all the hypotheses can be found below in Table 2 below.

	IV	Moderator	Mediator	DV
H1	Populist message			Pride
H2	Populist message	Shame-proneness & Guilt-proneness		Pride
H3	Populist message	Shame-proneness		Populist attitude
H4	Populist message		Pride	Populist attitude
H5	Populist message	Victimhood		Populist attitude

Table 2 – The summary of the variables across all hypotheses

H1 – Populist messages will elicit pride.

The first model will test the hypothesis that exposure to populist messages will elicit individuals' pride. The independent variable has 3 categories: Treatment group, Control group, and the Placebo Group. First, I will combine the participants of each of these groups across the three experiments (Gender ID, Race ID, and Party ID). Then, I will use difference in means (MD) tests to see the effects of treatment messages on individuals' emotional response compared to the other groups. I will also add a dummy variable to see whether being in the treatment group of the previous study impacts the pride level in the current study.

Since there are independent samples in the experiment, I will use two-sample t test where each samples variance is expected to be equal. Below is the regression model regarding the overall analysis:

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1 {}_* T) + (b_2 {}_* P) + (b_3 {}_* D) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Pride} = b_0 + b_1 * \text{Populist message} + b_2 * \text{Placebo message} + b_3 * \text{Dummy} + \text{Error}$$

b_0 = The mean of control group

b_1 = The difference in means between treatment group (T) and control group (C)

b_2 = The difference in means between placebo group (P) and control group (C)

b_1 - b_2 = The difference in means between treatment group (T) and placebo group (P)

b_3 = How much the treatment of previous experiment increases the pride level on average.

where D is;

- 1 if the participants are in the Treatment group in the previous study
- 0 if the participants are in the Control group in the previous study

H2 – Populist messages will elicit pride more among shame-prone individuals than guilt-prone individuals (Shame/Guilt – Proneness as moderator on pride**)**

The second model will test the hypothesis that exposure to Populist messages will elicit pride more among shame-prone individuals than guilt-prone individuals. I will use Moderation analysis to investigate whether the treatment effects are moderated by shame-proneness or guilt-proneness. The coefficients of the 3-Group Experiments and the dummy variable that investigate the previous treatment's impact follow the same logic as in Hypothesis 1. The regression model that depicts the analysis is below.

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1*T) + (b_2*P) + (b_3*S) + (b_4*T*S) + (b_5*P*S) + (b_6*G) + (b_7*T*G) + (b_8*P*G) + (b_9*S*G) + (b_{10}*T*S*G) + (b_{11}*P*S*G) + (b_{12}*D) + \varepsilon_i$$

Pride = b_0 + (b_1∗Populist message) + (b_2∗Placebo message) + (b_3∗Shame-Proneness) + (b_4∗Populist message∗ Shame-Proneness) + (b_5∗Placebo message∗Shame-Proneness) + (b_6∗Guilt Proneness) + (b_7∗Populist message∗Guilt Proneness) + (b_8∗Placebo message∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_9∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{10}∗Populist message∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{11}∗Placebo message∗Shame-Proneness∗Guilt-Proneness) + (b_{12}∗Dummy) + Error

where D is;

- 1 if the participants are in the Treatment group in the previous study
- 0 if the participants are in the Control group in the previous study

Like the first hypothesis, I will combine the participants across the three experiments: Gender ID, Race ID, and Party ID (I will also run experiments separately as a robustness check). Here, I created summated rating scales of "pride" variable (DV), "Shame-proneness" and "Guilt-proneness" (Moderator). The specific moderator hypothesis is:

DV= Pride; **Moderator** = SCE (Shame-proneness & Guilt-proneness); **IV**= populist message (*The treatment will increase pride more among shame-prone individuals than guilt-prone individuals*)

H3 – Populist messages will intensify individual's populist attitudes among those with higher shame proneness. (Shame-Proneness as moderator on populist attitude**)**

Here, I switch to the second overarching category: Politics. As the dependent variable change from pride to individual's populist attitudes, the third model will test the hypothesis that exposure to populist messages will intensify individual's populist attitudes among those with higher shame-proneness. I will use a similar Moderation analysis to investigate whether the treatment effects are moderated by shame-proneness. Below is the regression model to demonstrate the analysis:

$$Y = b_0 + (b_{1*}T) + (b_{2*}P) + (b_{3*}S) + (b_{4*}T_*S) + (b_{5*}P_* S) + (b_{6*}D) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Populist Attitude} = b_0 + (b_1 * \text{Populist message}) + (b_2 * \text{Placebo message}) +$$
$$(b_3 * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_4 * \text{Populist message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) +$$
$$(b_5 * \text{Placebo message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_6 * \text{Dummy}) + \text{Error}$$

where D is;

- 1 if the participants are in the Treatment group in the previous study
- 0 if the participants are in the Control group in the previous study

Like in the first two hypothesis, I will combine the participants across the three experiments (along with a separate robustness check). Summated rating scales of "populist attitude" (DV) and "shame-proneness" (Moderator) will help me to analyze the treatment effect across groups. The specific moderator hypothesis is;

DV= Populist attitude; **Moderator** = Shame-Proneness; **IV**= populist message

(*The treatment will raise the populist attitude more among people with higher shame-proneness*)

H4 – Populist messages will intensify populist attitudes through its impact on individuals' pride level. (Pride as a mediator on populist attitude**)**

The fourth model will test the hypothesis that exposure to populist messages will intensify populist attitudes through its impact on individuals' pride level. I will use a mediation analysis and anticipate that the correlation between populist messages and individuals' populist attitude is greater when their pride level is taken into account. Analysis will be as following:

- *Step #1 (the direct relationship between IV & DV -- Regress Y on X)*
    - *Populist attitudes = b_0 + $b_1 * $ Populist messages + ε_i*
- *Step #2 (the link between IV & Mediator -- Regress M on X)*
    - *Pride = b_2 + $b_3 * $ Populist messages + ε_i*
- *Step #3 (Verifying the relationship between the mediator and DV -- Regress Y on M)*
    - *Populist attitudes = b_4 + $b_5 * $ Pride + ε_i*
- *Step #4 including mediator as an IV and testing the relationship between IV & DV -- Regress Y on X and M)*
    - *Populist attitudes = b_6 + $b_7 * $ Populist messages + $b_8 * $ Pride + ε_i*

I expect that the model will have a partial mediating effect of pride (IV's p level = 0 < p < 0.05 in step 4). Then I will add the following extra step for the 3-group experiment:

- *Step #5 (including pride as an IV and testing the relationship between populist messages & populist attitudes across groups)*

$$Y = b_6 + (b_7 * T) + (b_8 * P) + (b_9 * M) + (b_{10} * D) + \varepsilon_i$$

*Populist attitudes = b_6 + ($b_7 * $ Populist message) + ($b_8 * $ Placebo message) + ($b_9 * $ Pride level) + ($b_{10} * $ Dummy variable) + ε_i*

where D is;

- 1 if the participants are in the Treatment group in the previous study
- 0 if the participants are in the Control group in the previous study

I will use a Linear regression analysis by using the summated rating scales of each variable.

DV= Populist attitude; **Mediator** = Pride; **IV**= Populist message

(The treatment will increase the populist attitude through the influence of individuals' pride level)

H5 – Those in "offender" groups will give stronger reactions to the populist treatment than those in the "victim" groups (Robustness check**)**

For H5, I will use another Moderation analysis. In the previous experiment regarding the out-group bias (please see https://osf.io/h8mtp), I stated that exposure to information about in-group's past transgression treatment will likely increase out-group bias more among shame-prone individuals than guilt-prone individuals. Additionally, this variation depends on peoples' identity attachment and collective victimhood sentiment. As a result, I expect that 'Men' and 'Whites' will likely have higher scores in the populist attitude scale than 'Women' and 'Blacks'.[9]

Overall, the fifth model will test the hypothesis that those in "offender" groups will give stronger reactions to the populist treatment than those in the "victim" groups given their shame-proneness levels. I consider this hypothesis as a Robustness check to the previous hypotheses where I investigate whether there is any variance across sub-groups. The regression model is depicted below:

$$Y = b_0 + (b_1*T) + (b_2*P) + (b_3*S) + (b_4*T*S) + (b_5*P*S) + (b_6*V) + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Populist Attitude} = b_0 + (b_1 * \text{Populist message}) + (b_2 * \text{Placebo message}) + (b_3 * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_4 * \text{Populist message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_5 * \text{Placebo message} * \text{Shame Proneness}) + (b_6 * \text{Dummy for Victimhood}) + \text{Error}$$

---

[9] No victim/offender relationship exists between Democrats vs Republicans, hence excluded from the initial analysis. The relationship between them will be explored separately.

6. Appendix

6.1. Questionnaire

Priming: Below, you can see a banner. Please think about the statement when you reflect on the current political atmosphere.

- *Treatment group*: The forgotten people of our country will be forgotten no longer. What's happening is such a disgrace. To everybody in every city near and far, small and large, from Atlantic to Pacific, hear these words: You will never be ignored again! FAIR TREATMENT FOR EVERYONE!
- *Placebo group:* Your vote, your choice. REGISTER TO VOTE.
- *Control Group:* (No message, the participants will advance to the next page)

Emotions: Please select any of the following emotions and its intensity that you felt after seeing it. (*Same question for all groups*)

	Not at all	Only a little	To some extent	Rather much	Very much
Anger					
Pride					
Anxiety					
Hope					
Fear					
Joy					

Populist attitude: Please select how much do you agree or disagree with the statements below. (*Same question for all groups*)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil.					
The power of a few special interests prevents our country from making progress.					
The politicians in Parliament need to follow the will of the people.					
The people, and not the politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.					

6.2. Previous studies' questionnaire

Consent

Q1 How old are you? (Dropdown menu)

- Under 18

- 18

- 19

…

- 85

- Over 85

Q2 Self-Conscious Emotions Study Informed Consent

Researcher: Adam Ziegfeld, Political Science Department, Temple University

This study involves research. The purpose of this study is to examine the role of Self-Conscious Emotions in how people form their political opinions. What you should know about a research study:

· You volunteer to be in a research study.

· Whether you take part is up to you.
· You can choose not to take part in the study.
· You can agree to take part now and later change your mind.
· Whatever you decide, it will not be held against you.
· Feel free to ask all the questions you want before and after you decide.
· By agreeing to participate, you are not waiving any of the legal rights that you otherwise would have as a participant in a research study.
· The estimated duration of your study participation is around 15-20 minutes.

The study procedures consist of watching a video and answering questions on a survey. The reasonably foreseeable risks or discomforts are encountering information that one might encounter in a newspaper. The benefit you will obtain from the research is knowing that you have contributed to the understanding of Self-Conscious Emotions, along with a xx payment. The alternative to participating is not to participate. Please contact the research team with questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and any research-related injuries by e-mailing awz@temple.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by the Temple University Institutional Review Board. Please contact them at (215) 707-3390 or e-mail them at: irb@temple.edu for any of the following: questions, concerns, or complaints about the research; questions about your rights; to obtain information; or to offer input.

Confidentiality: Efforts will be made to limit the disclosure of your personal information, including research study records, to people who have a need to review this information. However, the study team cannot promise complete secrecy. For example, although the study team has put in safeguards to protect your information, there is always a potential risk of loss of confidentiality. In particular, the study team will not connect any personal identifying information with the data collected and published

results will not include identifying information. There are several organizations that may inspect and copy your information to make sure that the study team is following the rules and regulations regarding research and the protection of human subjects. These organizations include the IRB, Temple University, its affiliates and agents, and Temple University Health System, Inc., its affiliates and agents.

Do you consent to take part in this study?

- Yes, I wish to participate in this study
- No, I do not want to participate in this study

Demographics

Q1 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ... (People who choose Independent or Other will take the follow up question in the Party ID experiment)
- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other: (text entry)

Q1.b If you had to choose, do you think of yourself as closer to a ... (People who choose neither will be excluded from the rest of the Party ID experiment)
- Democrat
- Republican
- Neither

Q2 Which of the following do you consider to be your primary racial or ethnic identity? (People who choose Asian, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, American Indian or Alaska Native, Latino, and Other will be excluded from the rest of the Race ID experiment)

- White
- Asian
- Black
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander - American Indian or Alaska Native - Latino
- Other

Q3 Which of the following best describes your gender? (People who choose None of the categories offered will be excluded from the rest of the Gender ID experiment)
- Man
- Woman
- None of the categories offered

Q4 How close do you feel to the following groups? By "close" we mean people who are most like you in their ideas, interests, and feelings? [items presented in random order]

- American...........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Democrats..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Republicans..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Independents..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Whites..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Blacks..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Men..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Women..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close
- Non-binary..........Not at all close / Not close / Somewhat close / Very close

Q5 Where would you place yourself on this scale?
- Extremely liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate / middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely Conservative

Q6 What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
- Less than high school
- High school graduate
- Some college
- 2 year degree
- 4 year degree
- Professional degree
- Masters or Doctorate

Q7 Information about income is very important to understand. Would you please give your best guess? Please indicate the answer that includes your entire household income in (previous year) before taxes.
- Less than 10, 000
- 10, 000 - 19, 999
- 20, 000 - 39, 999
- 40, 000 - 59, 999
- 60, 000 - 79, 999
- 80, 000 - 99, 999
- 100, 000 - 149, 999
- More than 150, 000

Q8 How important is religion in your life? (Whichever religion you practice)

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Mostly
- Extremely

Test of Self-Conscious Affect, Version 3 (TOSCA-3S)

Below are situations that people are likely to encounter in day-to-day life, followed by several common reactions to those situations. As you read each scenario, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate how likely you would be to react in each of the ways described. We ask you to rate all responses because people may feel or react more than one way to the same situation, or they may react different ways at different times.

Please do not skip any items – rate all responses.

1. You make plans to meet a friend for lunch. At 5 o'clock' you realize you stood him up. You would think:
a) I'm inconsiderate (S)
b) I should make it up to him as soon as possible. (G)
c) My boss distracted me just before lunch (E)

2. You break something at work and then hide it. You would think:
a) This is making me anxious. I need to either fix it or get someone else to (G)
b) I should quit. (S)
c) A lot of things aren't made very well these days. (E)

3. At work' you wait until the last minute to plan a project' and it turns out badly. You would think:
a) I feel incompetent. (S)
b) There are never enough hours in the day. (E)
c) I deserve to be reprimanded for mismanaging the project. (G)

4. You make a mistake at work and find out a co-worker is blamed for the error. You would think:
a) The company did not like the co-worker. (E)
b) I should be quiet and avoid the co-worker. (S)
c) I am unhappy and eager to correct the situation. (G)

5. While playing around' you throw a ball, and it hits your friend in the face. You would think:

a) I feel inadequate that I can't even throw a ball. (S)
b) My friend needs more practice at catching. (E)
c) I should apologize and make sure my friend feels better. (G)

Attention Check: Which colors appear in the American flag?

a) Red - Yellow - Green
b) Red - White - Blue
c) Red - White - Black

- 1st time wrong answer: BE CAREFUL! You read the previous question too quickly. Please re-read the question: Which colors appear in the American flag? This is another reminder that you need to re-read the question carefully.

- 2nd time wrong answer: End of survey.

- Correct answer: Continue to the next question.

6. You are driving down the road' and you hit a small animal. You would think:

a) The animal shouldn't have been on the road. (E)
b) I'm terrible. (S)
c) I feel bad and I hadn't been more alert driving down the road. (G)

7. You walk out of an exam thinking you did extremely well. Then you find out you did poorly. You would think:
a) The instructor doesn't like me. (E)
b) I should have studied harder. (G)
c) I feel stupid. (S)

8. While out with a group of friends' you make fun of a friend who's not there. You would think:

a) I feel small. . . like a rat. (S)
b) Perhaps that friend should have been here to defend himself/herself. (E)
c) I should apologize and talk about that person's good points. (G)

9. You make a big mistake on an important project at work. People were depending on you' and your boss criticizes you. You would think:
a) My boss should have been clearer about what was expected of me. (E)
b) I feel like I want to hide. (S)
c) I should have recognized the problem and done a better job. (G)

10. You are taking care of your friend's dog while they are on vacation and the dog runs away. You would think:
a) I am irresponsible and incompetent. (S)
b) My friend mustn't take very good care of their dog or it wouldn't have run away. (E)
c) I promise to be more careful next time. (G)

11. You attend your co-worker's housewarming party and you spill red wine on their new cream-colored carpet' but you think no one notices. You would think:
a) I should stay late to help clean up the stain after the party. (G)
b) I wish I were anywhere but at the party. (S)
c) I wonder why my co-worker chose to serve red wine with the new light carpet. (E)

Treatment Videos

Please watch the video below and think about your … (Gender / Racial / Party) identity. Then hit the next button.

Women – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-4oiBdtPwmQ
Men – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvecqzEXwYM

White – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dVwYLPUXGyc
Black – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LGu3H7sPmko

Democrats – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VARP_oy1B2M
Republicans – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hfAdu6t1THE

Control – https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rc4mFUyMYE

Cognitive Dissonance Battery

Q1) How much does the information provided in the video contradict with your belief or behavior?

Not at all / Only a little / To some extent / Rather much / Very much

Affective Polarization Battery

Gender ID

Note: "..(g).." represents the gender choice selected in the demographics section;

"...(og)..." represents the other gender that wasn't selected.

Q1a "...(og)..." hold too many positions of power and responsibility, hence dominate American politics more than they should
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1b When "...(og)..." are in positions of authority, they discriminate against "...(g)..." in hiring decisions
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1c Too much money is spent on healthcare, childcare, and educational programs that benefit specifically "...(og)...".
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1d Public service agencies (tax, court, electricity, etc.) is more lenient on "...(og)..." than on "...(g)..".
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1e "...(og)..." have more economic and political power than they deserve in this country.
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q2a How often would you say you try to better understand "...(og)..." by imagining how things look from their perspective?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2b Before criticizing "...(og)...", how often do you try to imagine how you would feel if you were in their place?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2c How often would you say that you have tender, concerned feelings for "...(og)..." who are less fortunate than you?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2d When you see "...(og)..." being taken advantage of due to their gender, how often do you feel protective toward them?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Racial ID

Note: "..(r).." represents the gender choice selected in the demographics section;

"...(or)..." represents the other gender that wasn't selected.

Q1a "...(or)..." hold too many positions of power and responsibility, hence dominate American politics more than they should
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1b When "...(or)..." are in positions of authority, they discriminate against "...(r)..." in hiring decisions
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1c Too much money is spent on healthcare, childcare, and educational programs that benefit specifically "...(or)...".
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1d Public service agencies (tax, court, electricity, etc.) is more lenient on "...(or)..." than on "...(r)..".
- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q1e "...(or)..." have more economic and political power than they deserve in this country.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree

- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q2a How often would you say you try to better understand "...(or)..." by imagining how things look from their perspective?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2b Before criticizing "...(or)...", how often do you try to imagine how you would feel if you were in their place?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2c How often would you say that you have tender, concerned feelings for "...(or)..." who are less fortunate than you?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Q2d When you see "...(or)..." being taken advantage of due to their gender, how often do you feel protective toward them?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

Party ID

Note: ".."(p).." represents the party choice selected in the demographics section;

   "...(op)..." represents the other party that wasn't selected.

Q1 We'd like you to rate how you feel towards towards some groups on a scale of 0 to 100, which we call a "feeling thermometer". On this feeling thermometer scale;
- Ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you feel unfavorable and cold (with 0 being the most unfavorable/coldest),
- Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm (with 100 being the most favorable/warmest),
- A rating of 50 degrees means you have no feelings one way or the other.

How would you rate your feeling toward; (Please move the sliders to your desired rating)

   - Democratic Party.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

   - Republican Party.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

   - Elected Democratic Party Officials.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

   - Elected Republican Party Officials.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

   - Voters of Democratic Party.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

   - Voters of Republican Party.........0 / 10 / 20 ...... 80 / 90 / 100

Q2a When talking about "..(p).."s, how often do you use "we" instead of "they"?
- Never
- Rarely
- Sometimes
- Mostly
- Always

Q2b Would you say that you are a "..(p).." because you are for what your party represents, or are you more against what "..(op).."s represent?
- Definitely for what "..(p).."s represent
- Somewhat for what "..(p).."s represent
- Neither for nor against these parties
- Somewhat against what "..(op).."s represent
- Definitely against what "..(op).."s represent

Q3a How comfortable are you having close personal friends who are "..(op).."?

- Extremely comfortable
- Somewhat comfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- Somewhat uncomfortable
- Extremely uncomfortable

Q3b How comfortable are you having neighbors on your street who are "..(op).."?

- Extremely comfortable
- Somewhat comfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- Somewhat uncomfortable
- Extremely uncomfortable

Q3c Suppose a son or daughter of yours was getting married. How would you feel if he or she married someone who is a "..(op).."?
- Extremely happy
- Somewhat happy
- Neither happy nor unhappy
- Somewhat unhappy
- Extremely unhappy

Q4 Would you say that you would unfollow/unfriend a "..(op).." friend on social media because of his/her politics related posts?
- Definitely will not
- Probably will not
- Might or might not
- Probably will
- Definitely will

Q5 How much of the time do you think you can trust a "..(op).." to do what is right for the country?
- Almost never
- Once in a while
- Sometimes
- Most of the time
- Almost always

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