Online Appendix A: Tables and Additional Analysis

Study 1: Florida Sample

After weighting for age, party registration, and media market, the Florida sample consisted of:

Table A1. Demographic Characteristics of Florida Statewide Sample	
Variable	Percentage
Sex	
Male	42.9
Female	57.1
Ethnicity	
Non-Hispanic Whites	74.5
Non-Whites	25.5
Education	
High school graduates or less	26.5
Some college	30.9
College graduates	20.8
Some post-graduate education	21.8
Party Identification	
Democrats (including leaners)	40.9
"Pure" Independents	6.7
Republicans (including leaners)	44.9
Other	7.4
Surveys conducted in Spanish	2.5
Note: The survey did not ask about ideology.	

Table A2. Vote Choice by Party Identification and Level of Ambivalence

		Vote for Scott (Percent)	Vote for Crist (Percent)	Total (Percent)	Weighted N
Democrats	High Ambivalence	15.1	84.9	100.0	69.8
	Moderate Ambivalence	9.5	90.5	100.0	149.0
	Low Ambivalence	15.4	84.6	100.0	81.3
Republicans	High Ambivalence	86.8	13.2	100.0	74.7
	Moderate Ambivalence	89.4	10.6	100.0	199.7
	Low Ambivalence	89.4	10.6	100.0	59.3

Table A3. Logistic Regression of Vote Choice on Own Party Ambivalence, Party, Control, and Interactions

	X= Issue Dim 1	X= Issue Dim 2	X= Traits	X = Economy
(Intercept)	-3.12*	-2.17*	-1.10*	-2.94*
Own Party Ambivalence	-0.13	-0.59*	0.20	-0.15
X	1.09*	0.37	1.40*	1.12*
Party identification	2.92*	4.13*	3.30*	4.78*
Ambivalence * X	-0.24	0.22	0.06	-0.32
Ambivalence * Party	0.74	0.58	-0.58	0.50
AIC	382.52	439.06	165.00	465.36

* indicates $p < .05$

Table A4. Logistic Regression of Vote Choice on Combined Party Ambivalence, Party, Control, and Interactions

	X= Issue Dim 1	X= Issue Dim 2	X= Traits	X = Economy
(Intercept)	-3.64*	-3.09*	-1.37*	-3.96*
Combined Ambivalence	0.52	0.40	0.47	0.89
X	1.08*	0.66	1.64*	1.46*
Party identification	4.06*	5.77*	4.23*	6.74*
Ambivalence * X	-0.26	-0.04	-0.16	-0.59
Ambivalence * Party	-0.51	-1.11	-1.41	-1.47*
AIC	380.17	434.90	161.95	456.27

* indicates $p < .05$

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We tested the hypothesis that (affective) ambivalence increases the effect of issues on voter preference, and decreases that of partisanship, by estimating a logit model of the form:

- Vote choice = logit (party, issue, conflicting, consistent, conflicting * issue, consistent * issue)

Our expectation was that (a) the estimated coefficient for the conflicting * issue interaction term would be positive and significant, and (b) the estimated coefficient for the consistent * issue interaction term would be negative and significant.

The results in Table A5 indicate, not surprisingly, that both partisanship and issues had a strong independent effect on voter choice in each of our basic models (Models 1 and 3). Contrary to the "effortful thinking" hypothesis, however, the coefficient for the interaction between issues and conflicting evaluations (ambivalence) is not statistically significant in either Model 2 or Model 4. While both coefficients are in the hypothesized positive direction, they are far from significant at conventional levels (p = 0.84 in Model 2 and p = 0.63 in Model 4) – a finding that is consistent with the results reported in Lavine, Johnston, and Steenbergen's (2012, 241) analysis of the 2008 American National Election Study data (but only partially consistent with results for the 1984- 2004 ANES cumulative file, where the conflicting * economic issues interaction is significant but the conflicting * social issues interaction is not; see p. 240). Thus, we have no basis to conclude that issues are weighted any differently by ambivalent partisans than they are by univalent partisans.

Table A5. Logit Regression of Vote Choice on Issues, Party, and Consistent/ Conflicting Party Evaluations				
	Issue Dimension 1 (ACA, Medicaid, Immigration, Min. Wage)		Issue Dimension 2 (Marriage, Medical Marijuana)	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	-3.18*	-1.70	-2.78*	-2.18
Issue	0.81*	0.20	0.66*	0.18
Party	3.63*	3.48*	4.64*	4.66*
Consistent	_	-0.17	_	-0.02
Conflicting	_	-0.14	_	-0.13
Consistent * Issue	_	0.91	_	0.02
Conflicting * Issue	_	0.03	_	0.10
Number of Cases	545	536	589	579
AIC	386.66	386.57	444.97	443.82

$^*p < .01$

Data are from a September 2014 telephone survey of likely voters in Florida, conducted by the University of Florida Bureau of Business and Economic Research. The dependent variable is vote choice (Republican Rick Scott = 1, Democrat Charlie Crist = 0). Table entries are logit coefficients.

Study 2: National Sample

Table A6. Counterbalancing Order for Each of Sixteen Research Groups				
Research Group	Challenger (attacker)	Incumbent (responder)	Issue	Response Type
1	R – Warner	D – Peterson	environment	counterattack
2	D – Peterson	R – Warner	environment	counterattack
3	R – Warner	D – Peterson	environment	counterimaging
4	D – Peterson	R – Warner	environment	counterimaging
5	R – Warner	D – Peterson	immigration	counterattack
6	D – Peterson	R – Warner	immigration	counterattack
7	R – Warner	D – Peterson	immigration	counterimaging
8	D – Peterson	R – Warner	immigration	counterimaging
9	R – Warner	D – Peterson	national security	counterattack
10	D – Peterson	R – Warner	national security	counterattack
11	R – Warner	D – Peterson	national security	counterimaging
12	D – Peterson	R – Warner	national security	counterimaging
13	R – Warner	D – Peterson	inequality	counterattack
14	D – Peterson	R – Warner	inequality	counterattack
15	R – Warner	D – Peterson	inequality	counterimaging
16	D – Peterson	R – Warner	inequality	counterimaging

Table A7: Demographic Characteristics of National Sample	
Variable	Percentage
Sex	
Male	50.9
Female	49.1
Ethnicity	
Non-Hispanic Whites	71.8
Non-Whites	28.2
Age	
18-29	10.8
30-44	31.2
45-59	31.5
60 and over	26.6
Education	
High school graduates or less	23.6
Some college	25.8
College graduates	34.2
At least some post-graduate education	16.4
Party Identification	
Democrats (including leaners)	44.2
"Pure" Independents	19.3
Republicans (including leaners)	31.5
Other	5.0
Ideology	
Liberals	29.9
Moderates	25.5
Conservatives	33.3
Other (including 9.6% who said they "haven't thought much about it")	11.4

Table A8. Republican Party Affective Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)				
	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-0.5	158	24.1	24.1
Low	0.0	98	14.9	39.0
Moderate	0.5	68	10.4	49.4
Moderate	1.0	36	5.5	54.9
Moderate	1.5	121	18.4	73.3
High	2.0	143	21.8	95.1
High	2.5	1	0.2	95.3
High	3.0	18	2.7	98.0
High	4.0	14	2.1	100.1
Total		657	100.1	

Table A9. Democratic Party Affective Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)				
	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-0.5	177	26.9	26.9
Low	0.0	110	16.7	43.6
Moderate	0.5	61	9.3	52.9
Moderate	1.0	43	6.5	59.4
Moderate	1.5	137	20.9	80.3
High	2.0	99	15.1	95.4
High	2.5	2	0.3	95.7
High	3.0	17	2.6	98.3
High	4.0	11	1.7	100.0
Total		657	100	

Table A10. Vote Choice by Party Identification and Level of Affective Ambivalence among Respondents who Share the Party of the Incumbent

		Vote for Incumbent	Vote for Challenger	Total	N
Democrats	High Ambivalence	94.1%	5.9%	100.0%	34
	Moderate Ambivalence	92.6	7.4	100.0	54
	Low Ambivalence	89.1	10.9	100.0	46
Republicans	High Ambivalence	92.3%	7.7%	100.0%	39
	Moderate Ambivalence	89.5	10.5	100.0	38
	Low Ambivalence	93.3	6.7	100.0	30

Table A11. Republican Party Emotional Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)

	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-2.0 to -0.17	195	29.6	29.6
Moderate	0 to 1.17	247	37.5	67.1
High	1.33 to 4.0	216	32.8	99.9
Total		658	99.9	

Note: Each of the three categories of emotional ambivalence includes between 19 and 22 values. These values are combined in each category above to simplify the table.

Table A12. Democratic Party Emotional Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)				
	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-2.0 to -0.17	222	33.7	33.7
Moderate	0 to 1.17	253	38.5	72.2
High	1.33 to 4.0	183	27.8	100.0
Total		658	100.0	

Note: Each of the three categories of emotional ambivalence includes between 19 and 22 values. These values are combined in each category above to simplify the table.

Table A13. Republican Party Evaluative Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)				
	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-1.0	154	23.4	23.4
Moderate	-0.5	198	30.1	53.5
Moderate	0.0	119	18.1	71.6
Moderate	0.5	17	2.6	74.2
High	1.0	149	22.6	96.8
High	2.0	21	3.2	100.0
Total		658	100.0	

Table A14. Democratic Party Evaluative Ambivalence Scores (All Respondents)				
	Ambivalence Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low	-1.0	173	26.3	26.3
Moderate	-0.5	198	30.1	56.4
Moderate	0.0	99	15.1	71.5
Moderate	0.5	41	6.2	77.7
High	1.0	132	20.1	97.8
High	2.0	15	2.3	100.1
Total		658	100.1	

Table A15. Correlations of Three Ambivalence Measures							
		Affective Ambivalence		Emotional Ambivalence		Evaluative Ambivalence	
		Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Republican	Democrat
Affective Ambivalence	Rep.	1.000					
Affective Ambivalence	Dem.	0.305	1.000				
Emotional Ambivalence	Rep.	0.435	0.149	1.000			
Emotional Ambivalence	Dem.	0.161	0.454	0.536	1.000		
Evaluative Ambivalence	Rep.	0.382	0.097	0.463	0.266	1.000	
Evaluative Ambivalence	Dem.	0.146	0.399	0.241	0.480	0.404	1.000

Note: All correlations (r) are significant at $p < .02$ or better.

Table A16. Emotional In-Party Ambivalence by Party Identification			
	Democrats	Republicans	Both
Low (SIM < 0)	22.3%	19.8%	21.3%
Medium (SIM = 0 to 1.17)	37.5	44.0	40.2
High (SIM ≥ 1.33)	40.2	36.2	38.6
Number of Cases	291	207	498
Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. Respondents who say they lean toward one party or the other are classified as partisans.			

Table A17. Evaluative In-Party Ambivalence by Party Identification			
	Democrats	Republicans	Both
Low (SIM = -1)	16.8%	18.8%	17.7%
Medium (SIM = -0.5 to +0.5)	50.5	46.4	48.8
High (SIM ≥ 1)	32.7	34.8	33.5
Number of Cases	291	207	498
Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. Respondents who say they lean toward one party or the other are classified as partisans.			

Table A18. Effectiveness of Campaign Attack, by Levels of Emotional Ambivalence (Partisans Only)

Ambivalence about Incumbent's Party, Incumbent Co-Partisans					
		Vote for Incumbent		Favorability, Incumbent	
		N	*Prop*	*N*	*Mean*
High (SIM ≥ 2)	Baseline eval.	84	0.905 (0.032)	83	5.120 (0.141)
	Post-attack eval.	83	0.747 (0.048)	83	4.771 (0.173)
	diff		*-0.158 (0.057)*		*-0.349 (0.138)*
			$p = 0.004$		$p = 0.007$
Medium	Baseline eval.	114	0.921 (0.025)	114	5.175 (0.111)
	Post-attack eval.	114	0.763 (0.040)	114	4.667 (0.141)
	diff		*-0.158 (0.047)*		*-0.509 (0.121)*
			$p = 0.001$		$p = 0.000$
Low (SIM ≤ 0)	Baseline eval.	44	0.932 (0.038)	44	5.795 (0.164)
	Post-attack eval.	44	0.841 (0.055)	44	5.568 (0.226)
	diff		*-0.091 (0.067)*		*-0.227 (0.197)*
			$p = 0.090$		$p = 0.128$
Significance of Differences in Effects Across Levels of Ambivalence					
Moderate vs. Low		n.s.		n.s	
High vs. Low		n.s.		n.s	
Moderate vs. High		n.s.		n.s	

Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. The analysis is based on paired t-tests. For vote choice, difference is calculated as proportion (post- attack vote) – proportion (baseline vote). For favorability, difference is calculated as mean (post- attack) – mean (baseline). Significance tests are 1-tailed.

Table A19. Effectiveness of Campaign Attack, by Levels of Evaluative Ambivalence (Partisans Only)

Ambivalence about Incumbent's Party, Incumbent Co-Partisans					
		Vote for Incumbent		Favorability, Incumbent	
		N	*Prop*	*N*	*Mean*
High (SIM ≥ 1)	Baseline eval.	75	0.893 (0.036)	75	5.160 (0.160)
	Post-attack eval.	75	0.773 (0.048)	75	4.773 (0.196)
	diff		*-0.120 (0.060)*		*-0.387 (0.148)*
			p = 0.024		*p* = 0.006
Medium	Baseline eval.	121	0.917 (0.025)	120	5.208 (0.098)
	Post-attack eval.	120	0.725 (0.041)	120	4.792 (0.134)
	diff		*-0.192 (0.048)*		*-0.417 (0.119)*
			p = 0.000		*p* = 0.000
Low (SIM = -1)	Baseline eval.	46	0.957 (0.030)	46	5.609 (0.190)
	Post-attack eval.	46	0.891 (0.046)	46	5.217 (0.226)
	diff		*-0.065 (0.055)*		*-0.391 (0.185)*
			p = 0.119		*p* = 0.020
Significance of Differences in Effects Across Levels of Ambivalence					
Moderate vs. Low		*p* = 0.042		n.s	
High vs. Low		n.s.		n.s	
Moderate vs. High		n.s.		n.s	

Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. The analysis is based on paired t-tests. For vote choice, difference is calculated as proportion (post- attack vote) – proportion (baseline vote). For favorability, difference is calculated as mean (post- attack) – mean (baseline). Significance tests are 1-tailed.

Table A20. Effect of Issue-Based Attacks (Incumbent Co-Partisans or Challenger Co-Partisans) on Incumbent and Challenger Favorability, by Ambivalence Measure

	Affective Ambivalence		Emotional Ambivalence		Evaluative Ambivalence	
	Incumbent Favorability	Challenger Favorability	Incumbent Favorability	Challenger Favorability	Incumbent Favorability	Challenger Favorability
	Coeff. (S.E.)	Coeff. (S.E.)	Coeff. (S.E.)	Coeff. (S.E.)	Coeff. (S.E.)	Coeff. (S.E.)
Democratic Incumbent	-0.064 (0.174)	0.107 (0.144)	-0.082 (0.176)	0.110 (0.144)	-0.086 (0.176)	0.105 (0.144)
Ambivalence	0.184** (0.087)	-0.015 (0.067)	0.023 (0.074)	0.024 (0.052)	0.039 (0.104)	-0.023 (0.086)
Issue Salience	-0.231*** (0.089)	0.042 (0.072)	-0.247*** (0.091)	0.041 (0.072)	-0.244*** (0.090)	0.045 (0.072)
Ideological Strength	0.129 (0.086)	0.131** (0.064)	0.103 (0.086)	0.133** (0.064)	0.100 (0.086)	0.132** (0.064)
Follow Politics	0.053 (0.093)	-0.024 (0.078)	0.081 (0.093)	-0.023 (0.078)	0.080 (0.094)	-0.023 (0.078)
Policy Consistency	-0.097** (0.043)	0.035 (0.032)	-0.087** (0.043)	0.037 (0.032)	-0.086** (0.043)	0.035 (0.032)
Criticize Opponents	0.006 (0.067)	-0.054 (0.056)	0.018 (0.068)	-0.052 (0.056)	0.015 (0.068)	-0.054 (0.056)
Environment Attack	0.064 (0.241)	-0.431** (0.195)	0.023 (0.244)	-0.429** (0.195)	0.014 (0.242)	-0.433** (0.195)
National Security Attack	0.660** (0.262)	-0.374* (0.208)	0.616** (0.267)	-0.367* (0.209)	0.598** (0.264)	-0.373* (0.208)
Immigration Attack	0.312 (0.236)	-0.393* (0.212)	0.280 (0.238)	-0.386* (0.212)	0.279 (0.238)	-0.394* (0.212)
Constant	-0.223 (0.524)	-0.310 (0.437)	-0.058 (0.524)	-0.376 (0.430)	-0.022 (0.530)	-0.334[2] (0.422)
N	227	243	227	243	227	243
R²	0.10	0.05	0.08	0.05	0.08	0.05

Note: Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. Models are OLS regressions in which the dependent variable is change in incumbent (or challenger) favorability from baseline to post-attack (T_2 rating - T_1 rating).

Significance tests are 2-tailed: *$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$.

Table A21. Effect of Issue-Based Attacks (Incumbent Co-Partisans) on Vote for Incumbent, by Ambivalence Measure

	Affective Ambivalence		Emotional Ambivalence		Evaluative Ambivalence	
	Coeff.	*Odds Ratios*	*Coeff.*	*Odds Ratios*	*Coeff.*	*Odds Ratios*
Vote for Incumbent, Baseline	2.353***	10.517***	2.383***	10.841***	2.315***	10.120***
Democratic Incumbent	-0.187	0.829	-0.192	0.825	-0.204	0.815
Ambivalence	0.130	1.139	-0.008	0.992	-0.196	0.822
Policy Consistency	0.043	1.044	0.022	1.022	0.027	1.027
Issue Salience:						
Somewhat important	0.441	1.555	0.378	1.460	0.445	1.560
Very important	1.525	4.595	1.227	3.410	1.283	3.607
Extremely important	0.627	1.871	0.408	1.504	0.439	1.551
Policy Consistency x Issue Salience						
Somewhat important	-0.347	0.707	-0.337	0.714	-0.345	0.708
Very important	-0.453	0.636	-0.401	0.670	-0.406	0.666
Extremely important	-0.346	0.707	-0.309	0.734	-0.303	0.738
Criticize Opponents:						
Avoid criticizing (feel not so strongly)	0.308	1.361	0.367	1.443	0.378	1.459
Mixed, in-between	-0.517	0.596	-0.485	0.616	-0.467	0.627
Need to criticize (feel not so strongly)	-0.603	0.547	-0.591	0.554	-0.592	0.553
Need to criticize (feel strongly)	0.751	2.120	0.773	2.167	0.818	2.266
Perceptions of Ad:						
Not really negative at all	-1.910***	0.148***	-1.907***	0.148***	-1.864***	0.155***
Negative but acceptable	-1.870***	0.154***	-1.856***	0.156***	-1.838***	0.159***
Follow Politics:						
Hardly at all	-1.255*	0.285*	-1.341**	0.262**	-1.389**	0.249**
Only now and then	-0.542	0.581	-0.608	0.544	-0.702	0.496
Some of the time	-1.202**	0.301**	-1.246***	0.288***	-1.243***	0.289***
Environment Attack	0.088	1.092	0.074	1.077	0.112	1.118
National Security Attack	0.430	1.537	0.425	1.529	0.484	1.622
Immigration Attack	0.484	1.623	0.472	1.603	0.464	1.591

Table A21. (*continued*) Effect of Issue-Based Attacks (Incumbent Co-Partisans) on Vote for Incumbent, by Ambivalence Measure						
Constant	2.159	8.662	2.425	11.301	2.402	11.042
N	240		240		240	
R^2	0.266		0.264		0.267	

Note: Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. Models are logit models in which the dependent variable is a dummy measuring post-attack vote for the incumbent (1 = yes, 0 = no). Significance tests are 2-tailed: *$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p \leq .01$.

Table A22. Effect of Issue-Based Attacks (Incumbent Co-Partisans) on Incumbent Favorability, by Ambivalence Measure			
	Affective Ambivalence	Emotional Ambivalence	Evaluative Ambivalence
	Coeff.	*Coeff.*	*Coeff.*
Democratic Incumbent	-0.085	-0.094	-0.095
Ambivalence	0.150*	0.026	0.047
Policy Consistency	0.016	-0.007	-0.009
Issue Salience	-0.007	-0.072	-0.074
Policy Consistency x Issue Salience	-0.036	-0.025	-0.024
Criticize Opponents	0.022	0.031	0.027
Perceived Ad as Negative	0.029	0.022	0.021
Follow Politics	0.006	0.025	0.021
Environment Attack	0.006	-0.020	-0.030
National Security Attack	0.556**	0.539**	0.521**
Immigration Attack	0.296	0.271	0.272
Constant	-0.415	-0.160	-0.105
N	240	240	240
R^2	0.07	0.06	0.06

Note: Data are from a July 2015 national survey of registered voters, conducted by qSample. Models are OLS regressions in which the dependent variable is change in incumbent favorability from baseline to post-attack (T2 rating - T1 rating). Significance tests are 2-tailed: *$p < .10$; **$p < .05$; ***$p < .01$.

Figure A1. Emotional Partisan Ambivalence by Party Identification

Note: Data points indicate mean SIM score (which can range between -2.0 and +4.0, higher scores reflecting greater ambivalence) for each partisan category.

Figure A2. Evaluative Partisan Ambivalence by Party Identification

Note: Data points indicate mean SIM score (which can range between -2.0 and +4.0, higher scores reflecting greater ambivalence) for each partisan category.
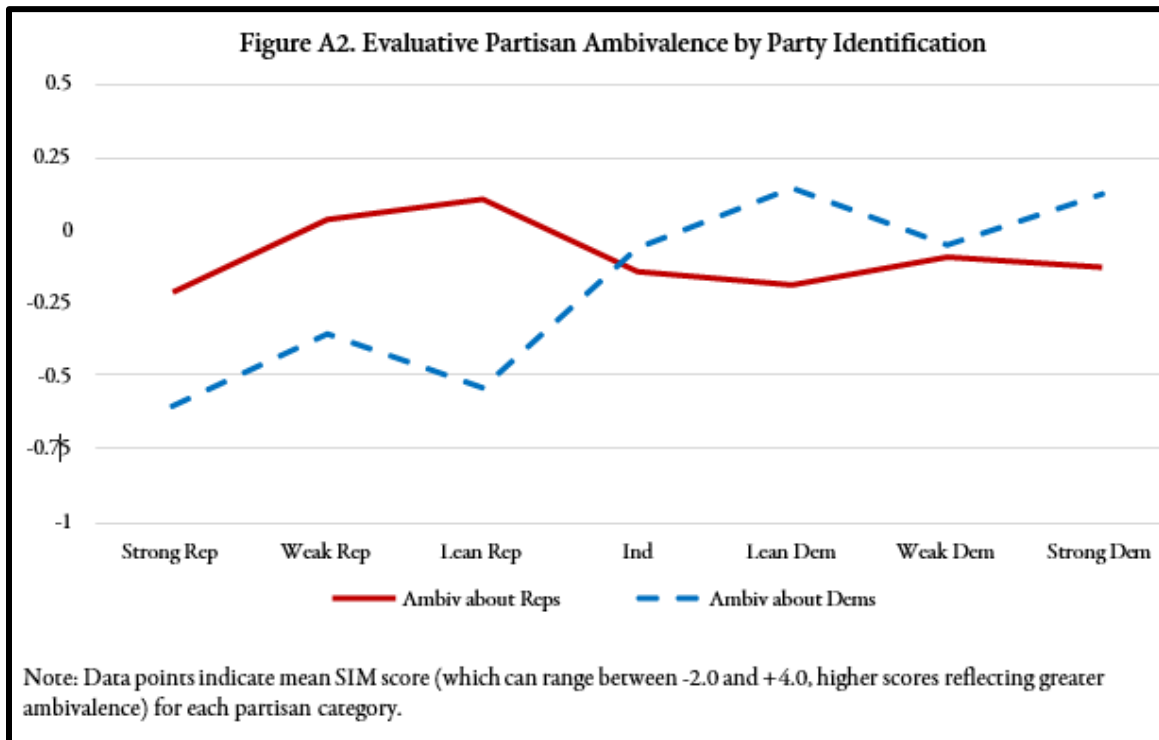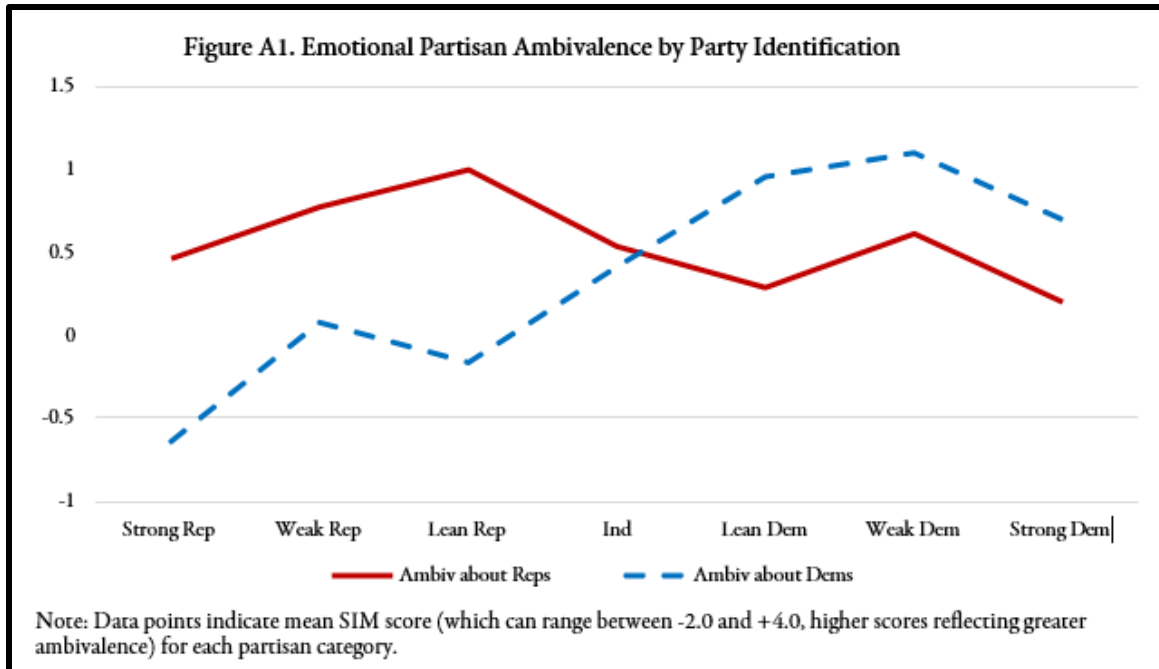
Because items comprising the three ambivalence measures illustrated in Figures A1, A2, and A3 were coded differently, each has a different range of scores when the Thompson-Zanna-Griffin algorithm is applied: affective ambivalence from -0.5 to +4.0, emotional ambivalence from -2 to

+4, and evaluative ambivalence from -1 to +2. We therefore cannot determine whether the "average" level of one type of ambivalence is greater or lesser than another, or whether one distribution is flatter or more peaked.

Online Appendix B: Questionnaires and Experimental Treatments

Florida Sample

I. <u>Background Questionnaire</u>

We are conducting research to understand the views of registered voters about state government and some of the issues facing Florida. We are working with the Graham Center for Public Service, the Tampa Bay Times, and Bay News 9 (and News 13).

Your name was selected from a list of Florida registered voters. You don't have to answer any question you don't want to answer, and I want you to know this call may be recorded for quality control purposes. (This survey should take around 12 minutes.)

In November 2014, there will be an election for Florida governor. To what extent are you INTERESTED in the election? Would you say...

1 A great deal of interest,
2 A fair amount of interest,
3 Only a little interest, or
4 No interest at all?
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question LIKELYSC
How likely are you TO VOTE in the election for Governor and other political offices in November? Where would you place yourself on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means there is no chance you will vote and 10 means that you are absolutely certain that you will vote?

0-10 ACTUAL RESPONSE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question HOWVOTE

When and where do you plan to vote?

1 On election day at your precinct
2 At an early voting location
3 By absentee ballot
4 Haven't decided yet
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question ELSC

If the election for governor were being held today and the candidates were Rick Scott and Charlie Crist, for whom would you vote?

1 Scott
2 Crist
-6 RESPONDENT NAMES SOMEONE ELSE
-7 NEITHER/THEY WOULDN'T VOTE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question ELSCW

If the election for governor were being held today and the candidates were Rick Scott, Charlie Crist and Adrian Wyllie, for whom would you vote?

1 Scott
2 Crist
3 Wyllie
-6 RESPONDENT NAMES SOMEONE ELSE
-7 NEITHER/THEY WOULDN'T VOTE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question OTHPRTY1

Do you happen to know which candidate for governor used to have a different party affiliation than he has now?

   1 Rick Scott
   2 Charlie Crist
   3 Neither
   4 Both
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question TRAITS

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate that I name.

Question TRUSTS

First, with regard to Rick Scott. In your opinion, does the phrase 'can be trusted' describe Scott?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question UNDERS

In your opinion, does the phrase 'understands the problems of people like me' describe Scott?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question LEADS

Does the phrase 'provides leadership' describe him?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question INTELS

Does the word 'intelligent' describe Scott?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question HONS

Does the phrase 'honest and ethical' describe Scott?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question TRUSTC

Now, with regard to Charlie Crist. In your opinion, does the phrase 'can be trusted' describe Crist?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question UNDERC

In your opinion, does the phrase 'understands the problems of people like me' describe Crist?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question LEADC

Does the phrase 'provides leadership' describe him?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question INTELC

Does the word 'intelligent' describe Crist?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question HONC

Does the phrase 'honest and ethical' describe Crist?

  1 Yes
  2 No
  -8 DON'T KNOW
  -9 REFUSED

Question TRUSTW

Now, with regard to Adrian Wyllie ('WHY-lee'). In your opinion, does the phrase 'can be trusted' describe Wyllie?

  1 Yes
  2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question UNDERW

In your opinion, does the phrase 'understands the problems of people like me' describe Wyllie?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question LEADW

Does the phrase 'provides leadership' describe him?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question INTELW

Does the word 'intelligent' describe Wyllie?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question HONW

Does the phrase 'honest and ethical' describe Wyllie?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question OTHPRTY2

Do you happen to know which candidate for governor used to have a different party affiliation than he has now?

  1 Rick Scott
  2 Charlie Crist
  3 Neither
  4 Both
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question GOV1

Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Rick Scott is handling his job as Governor?

1 Approve
2 Disapprove
-8 DON'T KNOW/ UNSURE
-9 REFUSED

Question GOV3

Thinking back to when Charlie Crist was Florida Governor from 2007 to 2011, did you approve or disapprove of the way that he handled his job as Governor?

  1 Approve
  2 Disapprove
-7 DID NOT LIVE IN FL AT THAT TIME
-8 DON'T KNOW/ UNSURE
-9 REFUSED

Question ECO3

Which of these best describes your opinion about Florida's economy?

1 Florida's economy is recovering.
2 The economy is not yet recovering but will recover soon.
3 It will be a long time before the economy recovers.
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question ECO4

Is the condition of Florida's economy something the Governor can do a lot about, or is that beyond any Governor's control?

  1 Can do a lot about
  2 Beyond any Governor's control
-8 DON'T KNOW/ UNSURE
-9 REFUSED

Question ISSUES

Now I'd like to ask you about a few issues facing our state.

Question ACADO

First, we'd like to ask you about the Affordable Care Act, the health reform law that is frequently known as Obamacare. What would you like to see Congress do with the health care law? Would you say...

  1 Keep the health care law in place as it is
  2 Make minor changes to the health care law
  3 Make major changes to the health care law 4
  4 Or repeal the health care law entirely?
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question MEDALT

Medicaid is the government's medical insurance program for citizens who have low incomes. Some people favor expanding Florida Medicaid to cover more people, but others oppose any Florida Medicaid expansion. Do you favor expanding Florida Medicaid coverage, or leaving it as is? Or haven't you thought much about this?

1 Expanding Florida Medicaid coverage 2 Leaving it the way it is now
3 Haven't thought much about it
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PATH

Do you support federal immigration reform, including a pathway to citizenship?

1 Yes, support

2 No, don't support

-8 DON'T KNOW

-9 Refused

Question MARRIAGE

Would you support overturning Florida's constitutional ban on same-sex marriage?

1 Yes, overturn

2 No, don't overturn

-8 DON'T KNOW

-9 REFUSED

Question MINWAGE

Some people support increasing the minimum wage in Florida, while others oppose doing so. Do you favor or oppose increasing the minimum wage in Florida? Or haven't you thought much about this?

1 Favor increasing minimum wage

2 Oppose increasing minimum wage

3 Haven't thought much about this

-8 DON'T KNOW

-9 REFUSED

Question MARIJ1

Some people believe that marijuana use should be allowed for medicinal purposes such as helping with the side effects of chemotherapy, while others believe that allowing medicinal uses of marijuana will just lead to more recreational use of the drug. Do you...

1 Support medical marijuana use?

2 Oppose medical marijuana use?

3 Or haven't thought much about this?

-8 DON'T KNOW

-9 REFUSED

Question MARIJ2

This fall's ballot includes Amendment 2, which "Allows the medical use of marijuana...as determined by a licensed Florida physician." Do you think you will...

  1 Vote Yes,
  2 Vote No,
  3 Or haven't you thought much about this?
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PARTYID

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

  1 Republican
  2 Democrat
  3 Independent
-6 NEITHER
-7 OTHER (includes Libertarian, Green, "something else" or any other specified party)
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PSTRENR

Do you consider yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PSTREND

Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1 Strong
2 Not very strong
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PLEAN

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1 Closer to republican
2 Closer to democrat
-7 NO/NEITHER
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question TPARTY

How do you feel about the Tea Party movement? Do you...

1 Support,
2 Oppose,
3 Or neither support nor oppose?
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question AMBINTRO

Next are some questions asking how you feel about the two major political parties in American politics today. First, we are going to ask about how positive you feel, then how negative you feel. Please rate each party based solely on how positively you feel about it, while IGNORING OR SETTING ASIDE for the moment any negative feelings you may also have.

Question RPOS

First, the Republican Party. Would you say you have...

1 No positive feelings
2 Some positive feelings
3 Generally positive feelings
4 Extremely positive feelings
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question DPOS

Next, the Democratic Party. Would you say you have...

1 No positive feelings
2 Some positive feelings
3 Generally positive feelings 4 Extremely positive feelings
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question C2016

Next, I'd like to get your response to some people who have emerged as possible candidates for the 2016 Presidential Election. When I read a name, please rate that person using something called "the feeling thermometer." Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.

Question QC2016B

How about Jeb Bush?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question QC2016R

How about Marco Rubio?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question QC2016P

How about Rand Paul?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question QC2016CC

How about Chris Christie?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question QC2016HC

How about Hillary Clinton?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question QC2016JB
How about Joe Biden?

(Choose any number between 0 and 100. The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward that person; the lower the number, the colder or less favorable.)

(0 to 100)
-7 DON'T RECOGNIZE
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question RNEG

Going back to your feelings about political parties, we would now like you to indicate how negatively you feel about both the Republicans and the Democrats, while IGNORING OR SETTING ASIDE for the moment any positive feelings you may also have.
First, the Republican Party. Would you say you have...

1 No negative feelings
2 Some negative feelings
3 Generally negative feelings 4 Extremely negative feelings
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question DNEG
Next, the Democratic Party. Would you say you have...

1 No negative feelings
2 Some negative feelings
3 Generally negative feelings 4 Extremely negative feelings
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question COUNTY
The next set of questions will help us analyze your answers along with the answers of others.

In what Florida county do you live?

Question ISEX

Are you...

1 Male
2 Female
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question AGE

And what is your age?

(18-110)
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question MARRY

Are you currently married, separated, divorced, widowed or have you never been married?

1 Now married
2 Now widowed
3 Never married
4 Divorced or separated
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question HISPAN

Are you of Spanish or Hispanic origin?

1 Yes (Spanish or Hispanic)
2 No (Not Spanish or Hispanic)
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question RRACE

What race do you consider yourself?

1 White (Caucasian)
2 Black (African-American)
3 Asian or Pacific Islander
4 American Indian or Alaska native
5 Other
6 Multi-racial or mixed race
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question ALTRACE

And what would that be?

Question EDUCAT

What is the highest grade of school or year in college you yourself completed?

0 None/less than 1st grade
1 1st grade
2 2nd grade
3 3rd grade
4 4th grade
5 5th grade degree (BA, BS)
6 6th grade
7 7th grade
8 8th grade;
9 9th grade
10 10th grade
11 11th grade
12 12th grade/GED/Highschool diploma
13 1 year of college
14 2 years of college/Associate's degree (AA, AS)
15 3 years of college
16 4 years of college/Bachelor's
17 Some Graduate School
18 Graduate/Professional Degree: (Master's: MA; MS, Doctorate: PhD; EdD; Medicine/MD; Dentistry/DDS; Law/JD/JJ/LLB, etc.)
-8 DON'T KNOW

-9 REFUSED

Question EMPLOY
Are you currently employed outside the home?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question LOOKWK
Would you describe yourself as Unemployed but looking for work, Not looking for work, or Retired?

1 Unemployed but looking for work
2 Not looking for work
3 Retired
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question RELIG1
Would you say your religious affiliation is Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, something else, or do you have no affiliation?

1 Protestant (Includes "Christian," Methodist, Episcopalian, Baptist, Congregational,
   Lutheran, Presbyterian, 7th Day Adventist, etc.)
2 Catholic (Including Greek Orthodox)
3 Mormon
4 Jewish
5 Muslim
6 No affiliation (INCLUDING ATHEISTS, AGNOSTICS)
7 Other (SPECIFY)
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question RELIG1a

Do you identify as a Born Again or Evangelical Christian?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question RELIG3

Apart from occasional weddings, baptisms, or funerals, do you attend religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

1 Every week
2 Almost every week
3 Once or twice a month
4 A few times a year
5 Never
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question INCOM2

Now consider your family's household income from all sources. As I read a list, please stop me when I get to the income level that best describes your household income in 2013 (Before Taxes).
1 less than $10,000
2 $10,000 to $20,000
3 $20,000 to $30,000
4 $30,000 to $40,000
5 $40,000 to $50,000
6 $50,000 to $60,000
7 $60,000 to $80,000
8 $80,000 to $100,000
9 $100,000 to $150,000
10 Over $150,000
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question PHNTYPE

Finally, have I reached you today on...

1 A landline phone?
2 Or your cell phone?
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

*NOTE: Question **CONTACT1** asked only on August 27 & 28*

Question CONTACT1

Our research partners at *The Tampa Bay Times* are interested in contacting a few voters for an interview for an upcoming article. Would you be willing to talk with a reporter?

1 Yes
2 No
-8 DON'T KNOW
-9 REFUSED

Question CONTACT2

What is the best phone number for them to reach you during the day?

Question THANKYOU

Thank you very much. That's all I need to know.

National Sample

Stage One (Background Questionnaire)

The following questions were answered by respondents prior to the introduction of any experimental stimuli.

Please answer the following questions. In each case, indicate the number that comes closest to describing how you feel. *If you have <u>no opinion</u>, do not indicate any number*. **Do not look ahead until you have completed this stage.**

1. Some people seem to <u>follow what's going on in government and public affairs</u> most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. How closely would you say that you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?

   1   Most of the time
   2   Some of the time
   3   Only now and then
   4   Hardly at all

2. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. On a scale of one through seven, where "1" is <u>very liberal</u> and "7" is <u>very conservative</u>, where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought much about it?

   1   Very liberal
   2   Liberal
   3   Slightly liberal
   4   Moderate, middle of the road
   5   Slightly conservative
   6   Conservative
   7   Very conservative
   8   Other
   9   Haven't thought much about it

3. Where would you place the <u>Democratic Party</u> on this scale, or haven't you thought much about it?

      1   Very liberal
      2   Liberal
      3   Slightly liberal
      4   Moderate, middle of the road
      5   Slightly conservative
      6   Conservative
      7   Very conservative
      8   Other
      9   Haven't thought much about it

4. Where would you place the <u>Republican Party</u> on this scale, or haven't you thought much about it?

      1   Very liberal
      2   Liberal
      3   Slightly liberal
      4   Moderate, middle of the road
      5   Slightly conservative
      6   Conservative
      7   Very conservative
      8   Other
      9   Haven't thought much about it

5. Would you say the government, as a whole, is pretty much run by a <u>few big interests</u> looking out for themselves, or that it is run for the benefit of <u>all the people</u>? [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about this?*]

      1   Government is run by a few big interests (feel strongly)
      2   Government is run by a few big interests (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
      3   Mixed, about half and half
      4   Government is run for the benefit of all the people (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
      5   Government is run for the benefit of all the people (feel strongly)

6. We want to know how you feel about the two major political parties in American politics today. Please indicate how <u>positively</u> you feel about each party in the following manner: If you <u>do not have any positive feelings</u> about the party, give it the lowest rating of 1; if you have <u>some positive</u> feelings, rate it a 2; if you have <u>generally positive</u> feelings, rate it a 3; and if you have <u>extremely positive</u> feelings, rate it a 4. Please rate each party based solely on how positively you feel about it, while <u>ignoring or setting aside for the moment any negative feelings you may also have</u>.

   a. the Republican Party

      1   no positive feelings
      2   some positive feelings
      3   generally positive feelings
      4   extremely positive feelings

   b. the Democratic Party

      1   no positive feelings
      2   some positive feelings
      3   generally positive feelings
      4   extremely positive feelings

7. Next are a series of <u>paired statements</u>. Although you might agree to some extent with both statements in a given pair, please indicate the number next to the one that comes closest to <u>your own opinion</u>.

   a. In general, political candidates should <u>avoid criticizing</u> their opponents because campaigns have become too negative.

<div align="center">OR</div>

Candidates <u>need to criticize</u> their opponents because it is important for voters to know the strengths and weaknesses of all candidates. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

      1   Candidates should avoid criticizing (feel strongly)
      2   Candidates should avoid criticizing (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
      3   Mixed, in-between
      4   Candidates need to criticize (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
      5   Candidates need to criticize (feel strongly)

b. The <u>honesty and ethical standards</u> of government officials are less than what you find in other professions.

<div align="center">OR</div>

People <u>in government</u> are as honest and ethical as anyone else. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Government officials less honest and ethical (feel strongly)
2	Government officials less honest and ethical (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Government officials same as anyone else (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Government officials same as anyone else (feel strongly)

c. Politics is <u>about</u> compromise, and a good politician will try to find the common ground that brings different groups together.

<div align="center">OR</div>

A good politician <u>stands on principle</u> and doesn't like to compromise except as a last resort. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Politics is about compromise (feel strongly)
2	Politics is about compromise (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Good politician stands on principle (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Good politician stands on principle (feel strongly)

d. It is important to <u>protect the environment</u> even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living.

<div align="center">OR</div>

Protecting the environment is not as important as <u>maintaining jobs and our standard of living</u>. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Protect environment even if it costs jobs and reduces standard of living (feel strongly)
2	Protect environment even if it costs jobs and reduces standard of living (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Maintaining jobs and standard of living more important (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Maintaining jobs and standard of living more important (feel strongly)

e. The U.S. should continue to combat international terrorism by using <u>air strikes</u> and attacks by <u>ground troops</u> against terrorist training camps and other facilities.

OR

The best way for the U.S. to combat international terrorism is to <u>help poor countries</u> develop their economies. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Combat terrorism with air strikes and ground attacks (feel strongly)
2	Combat terrorism with air strikes and ground attacks (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Help poor countries develop their economies (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Help poor countries develop their economies (feel strongly)

8. Going back to your feelings about political parties, we would now like you to indicate how <u>negatively</u> you feel about both the Republicans and the Democrats: If you <u>do not have any negative feelings</u> about the party, give it the lowest rating of 1; if you have <u>some negative</u> feelings, rate it a 2; if you have <u>generally negative</u> feelings, rate it a 3; and if you have <u>extremely negative</u> feelings, rate it a 4. Please rate each party based solely on how negatively you feel about it, while <u>ignoring or setting aside for the moment any positive feelings you may also have</u>.

a. the Republican Party

1	no negative feelings
2	some negative feelings
3	generally negative feelings
4	extremely negative feelings

b. the Democratic Party

1	no negative feelings
2	some negative feelings
3	generally negative feelings
4	extremely negative feelings

9. Here are a few more <u>paired statements</u>. Although you might agree to some extent with both statements in a given pair, please indicate the number next to the one that comes closest to <u>your own opinion</u>.

a. Immigrants today <u>strengthen our country</u> with their hard work and talents.

<div align="center">OR</div>

   Immigrants today are a <u>burden on our country</u> because too many of them either take our jobs or end up on welfare. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Immigrants strengthen our country (feel strongly)
2	Immigrants strengthen our country (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Immigrants are a burden on our country (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Immigrants are a burden on our country (feel strongly)

b. Government should take steps to ensure that the money and wealth in this country is <u>more evenly distributed</u> among a larger percentage of the people.

<div align="center">OR</div>

It's <u>not the government's business</u> to try and make the distribution of money and wealth in this country more fair. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Money and wealth should be more evenly distributed (feel strongly)
2	Money and wealth should be more evenly distributed (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Distribution of money and wealth not the government's business (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Distribution of money and wealth not the government's business (feel strongly)

c. The best way to ensure peace is for the U.S. to maintain <u>superior military power</u> worldwide.

<div align="center">OR</div>

The best way to ensure peace is through <u>diplomacy</u>, with the U.S. and its allies working together to keep our enemies in check. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Ensure peace through superior military power (feel strongly)
2	Ensure peace through superior military power (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	U.S. can no longer afford to be the world's policeman (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	U.S. can no longer afford to be the world's policeman (feel strongly)

d. Climate change is a <u>serious problem</u>, and our government should be doing more now to try and limit its effects.

<div align="center">OR</div>

The threat posed by climate change has been exaggerated, and <u>no government action</u> to deal with it is needed at the present time. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Climate change is a serious problem requiring government action (feel strongly)
2	Climate change is a serious problem requiring government action (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	The threat posed by climate change has been exaggerated (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	The threat posed by climate change has been exaggerated (feel strongly)

e. Taxes on the wealthy and on corporations <u>should be raised</u> so that programs to help poor people can be expanded.

<div align="center">OR</div>

The poor would be helped more by <u>lowering taxes</u> on wealthy people so as to encourage investment and economic growth. [*Do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?*]

1	Taxes on the wealthy and corporations should be raised (feel strongly)
2	Taxes on the wealthy and corporations should be raised (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
3	Mixed, in-between
4	Taxes on the wealthy should be lower to spur economic growth (feel <u>not</u> so strongly)
5	Taxes on the wealthy should be lower to spur economic growth (feel strongly)

10. Which comes closer to your view about how to handle <u>undocumented immigrants</u> who are now living in the country?

1	They should not be allowed to stay in this country legally.
2	If certain requirements are met, they should be able to apply for permanent residency but not for U.S. citizenship.
3	If certain requirements are met, they should be able to apply for U.S. citizenship.

11. What do you think are the good and bad points about the two <u>national parties</u>?

   a. Is there anything in particular that you <u>like about the Democratic Party</u>?

1	good candidates
2	good policy ideas
3	has done a good job when in office
4	all of the above
5	nothing in particular that you <u>like</u>

   b. Is there anything in particular that you <u>don't like about the Democratic Party</u>?

1	bad candidates
2	bad policy ideas
3	has done a bad job when in office
4	all of the above
5	nothing in particular that you <u>don't like</u>

   c. Is there anything in particular that you <u>like about the Republican Party</u>?

1	good candidates
2	good policy ideas
3	has done a good job when in office
4	all of the above
5	nothing in particular that you <u>like</u>

   d. Is there anything in particular that you <u>don't like about the Republican Party?</u>

1	bad candidates
2	bad policy ideas
3	has done a bad job when in office
4	all of the above
5	nothing in particular that you <u>don't like</u>

12. People have different views about how well government works. Imagine a scale with scores ranging from 1 through 7, where "1" means that our government can almost always be counted on to do the <u>right thing</u>, "7" means that government can almost always be counted on to do the <u>wrong thing</u>, and "4" means that government is <u>right about half of the time and wrong the other half</u>. Where on this scale would you place yourself?

1   Government can almost always be counted on to do the <u>right thing</u>

2

3

4   Government is right about half the time and wrong the other half

5

6

7   Government can almost always be counted on to do the <u>wrong thing</u>

13. Please indicate which political party you think would do a <u>better job</u> of dealing with each of the following issues and problems.

   a. Immigration

      1   Democrats
      2   Republicans
      3   Both equally well
      4   Neither would do a good job

   b. the environment

      1   Democrats
      2   Republicans
      3   Both equally well
      4   Neither would do a good job

   c. national security and the war on terror
      1   Democrats
      2   Republicans
      3   Both equally well
      4   Neither would do a good job

d. health care

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Both equally well
    4   Neither would do a good job

e. wealth and income distribution

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Both equally well
    4   Neither would do a good job

f. foreign affairs

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Both equally well
    4   Neither would do a good job

g. the economy

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Both equally well
    4   Neither would do a good job

h. looking out for the middle class

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Both equally well
    4   Neither would do a good job

14. How <u>important</u> will each of the above issues be in determining your <u>vote for president and Congress</u> in 2016 – will it be extremely important, very important, somewhat important, or not that important?

   a. immigration

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

   b. the environment

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

   c. national security and the war on terror

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

   d. health care

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

   e. wealth and income distribution

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

f. foreign affairs

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

g. the economy

      1   Extremely important
      2   Very important
      3   Somewhat important
      4   Not that important

h. looking out for the middle class

      5   Extremely important
      6   Very important
      7   Somewhat important
      8   Not that important

15. We would like to know a little more about your feelings toward the two major political parties. First, think about the Democratic Party. Has the Democratic Party – because of its policies, its leaders, or something else the party has done – ever made you feel . . .

a. afraid
      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

b. proud
      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

c. angry

      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

d. enthusiastic

      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

e. anxious

      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

f. hopeful

      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

16. Now think about your feelings toward the <u>Republican Party</u>. Has the Republican Party – because of its policies, its leaders, or something else the party has done – ever made you feel . . .

a. afraid

      1.   very often
      2.   fairly often
      3.   occasionally
      4.   rarely
      5.   never

b. proud
1.   very often
2.   fairly often
3.   occasionally
4.   rarely
5.   never

c. angry
1.   very often
2.   fairly often
3.   occasionally
4.   rarely
5.   never

d. enthusiastic
1.   very often
2.   fairly often
3.   occasionally
4.   rarely
5.   never

e. anxious
1.   very often
2.   fairly often
3.   occasionally
4.   rarely
5.   never

f. hopeful
1.   very often
2.   fairly often
3.   occasionally
4.   rarely
5.   never

17. Some people think it is better when one party controls both the White House and Congress, while others feel that it's better when control is split between the Republicans and the Democrats. What about you ... When the president is a <u>Republican</u>, do you prefer that the Democrats control Congress or the Republicans control Congress?

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Doesn't matter

18. When the president is a <u>Democrat</u>, do you prefer that the Democrats control Congress or that the Republicans control Congress?

    1   Democrats
    2   Republicans
    3   Doesn't matter

19. <u>Generally speaking</u> (setting aside how you might vote in a particular election), which of the following best describes how you think of yourself?

    1   Strong Democrat
    2   Democrat
    3   Independent, leaning toward the Democrats
    4   Independent, not leaning toward either party
    5   Independent, leaning toward the Republicans
    6   Republican
    7   Strong Republican
    8   Other

20. What is your current age?

    1   18-29
    2   30-44
    3   45-59
    4   60-69
    5   70 or over

21. How much formal education have you received?

    1   less than a high-school degree
    2   high-school graduate
    3   some college, but did not graduate
    4   college graduate
    5   some graduate work, but did not receive advanced degree
    6   advanced graduate degree

22. What is your gender?

    1   Male
    2   Female

23. What is your religious affiliation?

    1   Protestant
    2   Evangelical/Born-again Protestant
    3   Catholic
    4   Jewish
    5   other affiliation
    6   not religious

24. How often do you attend religious services?

    1   at least once a week
    2   once or twice a month
    3   a few times a year
    4   never
    5   not religious

25. What is your race or ethnic identity?

    1   White (or Caucasian)
    2   Black (or African American)
    3   Hispanic (or Latino/a)
    4   Asian
    5   Native American
    6   other

26. Would you say that your household's approximate yearly income bracket is . . .

      1   less than $15,000
      2   between $15,000 and $35,000
      3   between $35,000 and $50,000
      4   between $50,000 and $70,000
      5   between $70,000 and $90,000
      6   between $90,000 and $120,000
      7   between $120,000 and $150,000
      8   between $150,000 and $200,000
      9   over $200,000

Read the information presented below and then answer the questions that immediately follow. **Remember, <u>Do not look ahead</u> until you have completed this stage.**

Stage Two (Pre-Attack)

After reading the candidate biographies, respondents answered the following questions. Note: Only the Republican incumbent version is shown both here and below (Stages Three and Four).

Please answer the following questions. Once again, indicate the number that comes closest to describing how you feel. *If you have <u>no opinion</u>, do not indicate any number.*

1. Based on the information you currently have, which candidate would you vote for if the election were held today?

    1   Andrew Warner (Republican)
    2   Zach Peterson (Democrat)

2. Based on the information you currently have, how do you feel about each of these candidates? Depicted below is a scale with scores ranging from 1 to 7, where "1" means that you feel very unfavorably about the candidate, "7" means that you feel very favorably, and "4" means that you have an equal mix of favorable and unfavorable feelings.

a. Andrew Warner (Republican)

    1   Very unfavorable (or negative)
    2
    3
    4   Equal mix of favorable and unfavorable
    5
    6
    7   Very favorable (or positive)

b. Zach Peterson (Democrat)

1	Very unfavorable (or negative)
2	
3	
4	Equal mix of favorable and unfavorable
5	
6	
7	Very favorable (or positive)

Imagine now that it is late in the campaign and you receive the information presented below in a direct mail appeal sent by **challenger Zach Peterson (D)**. Please read this information carefully and then answer the questions that immediately follow. **<u>Do not look ahead</u> until you have completed this stage.**

Stage Three (Post-Attack, Pre-Response)

After reading one of the four issue-based attacks on the Republican incumbent made by the Democratic challenger, respondents answered the following questions.

Please answer the following questions. Once again, indicate the number that comes closest to describing how you feel. *If you have <u>no opinion</u>, do not indicate any number.*

1. Based on the information you currently have, which candidate would you vote for if the election were held today?

   1   Andrew Warner (Republican)
   2   Zach Peterson (Democrat)

2. Based on the information you currently have, how do you feel about each of these candidates? Depicted below is a scale with scores ranging from 1 to 7, where "1" means that you feel very unfavorably about the candidate, "7" means that you feel very favorably, and "4" means that you have an equal mix of favorable and unfavorable feelings.

a. Andrew Warner (Republican)

   1   Very unfavorable (or negative)
   2
   3
   4   Equal mix of favorable and unfavorable
   5
   6
   7   Very favorable (or positive)

b. Zach Peterson (Democrat)

   1   Very unfavorable (or negative)
   2
   3
   4   Equal mix of favorable and unfavorable
   5
   6
   7   Very favorable (or positive)

3. You just read a direct mail piece that Zach Peterson sent to voters in your congressional district. Do you believe that these criticisms of Andrew Warner are (1) too negative and should not be made publicly, (2) negative but acceptable within the context of a competitive political campaign, or (3) not really negative at all?

       1   Too negative, should not be made

       2   Negative but acceptable

       3   Not really negative at all

4. Do you believe that Zach Peterson's criticisms of Andrew Warner in this direct mail piece are
  (1) very fair, (2) somewhat fair, (3) somewhat unfair, or (4) very unfair?

       1   Very fair

       2   Somewhat fair

       3   Somewhat unfair

       4   Very unfair

Imagine that it is nearing Election Day and you receive the information presented below in a direct mail appeal sent by **incumbent Andrew Warner (R)**. Please read this information carefully and then answer the questions that immediately follow. **<u>Do not look ahead</u> until you have completed this stage.**

Stage Four (Post-Response)

After reading one of two responses by the Republican incumbent (not part of the analysis in this paper), respondents answered the following questions.

Please answer the following questions. Once again, indicate the number that comes closest to describing how you feel. *If you have no opinion, do not indicate any number.*

1. Based on the information you currently have, which candidate would you vote for if the election were held today?
    1   Andrew Warner (Republican)
    2   Zach Peterson (Democrat)

2. Based on the information you currently have, how do you feel about each of these candidates? Depicted below is a scale with scores ranging from 1 to 7, where "1" means that you feel very unfavorably about the candidate, "7" means that you feel very favorably, and "4" means that you have an equal mix of favorable and unfavorable feelings.

a. Andrew Warner (Republican)

    1   Very unfavorable (or negative)
    2   Unfavorable
    3   Slightly unfavorable
    4   Equal mix of unfavorable and favorable
    5   Slightly favorable
    6   Favorable
    7   Very favorable (or positive)

b. Zach Peterson (Democrat)

    1   Very unfavorable (or negative)
    2   Unfavorable
    3   Slightly unfavorable
    4   Equal mix of unfavorable and favorable
    5   Slightly favorable
    6   Favorable
    7   Very favorable (or positive)

3. You just read a direct mail piece that Andrew Warner sent to voters in your congressional district. Do you believe that these criticisms of Zach Peterson are (1) too negative and should not be made publicly, (2) negative but acceptable within the context of a competitive political campaign, or (3) not really negative at all?

1   Too negative, should not be made

2   Negative but acceptable

3   Not really negative at all

4. Do you believe that Andrew Warner's criticisms of Zach Peterson in this direct mail piece are (1) very fair, (2) somewhat fair, (3) somewhat unfair, or (4) very unfair?

1   Very fair

2   Somewhat fair

3   Somewhat unfair

4   Very unfair

Thank you for your cooperation!

Candidate Biographies: Republican Incumbent

Imagine that it is the **fall of 2016**, and the general election campaign is under way. One of the races on your ballot is for U.S. House of Representatives, **where incumbent Andrew Warner (R)** is being challenged by **state senator Zach Peterson (D)**. Please read the following short biographical sketches of these candidates, and then answer the questions that immediately follow.

Andrew Warner (Republican), incumbent

Age: 51

Family: married since 1990 to Helen (owns and manages a small flower shop), two children aged 13 and 19

Born, raised, and continues to live in your local area

Education: B.S. and M.S. (both in accounting) from a major state university Military service: U.S. Army Reserves (10 years), no combat experience

Profession: financial management/consulting (owns local office of nationally franchised company)

Civic: serves on local board of directors for United Way; active in a variety of church activities, including missions to Central America and Africa

Political: served one term (4 years) as member of the County Commission, two terms (4 years) in the state legislature; seeking third term as member of the U.S. House

Zach Peterson (Democrat), challenger

Age: 52

Family: married since 1988 to Lea (elementary schoolteacher), three children aged between 15 and 21

Born, raised, and continues to live in your local area

Education: B.S. (math major) and Ph.D. (engineering) from a major state university Military service: commissioned officer through ROTC, four years active duty in U.S. Air Force, no combat experience

Profession: environmental engineer (owns own business with clients nationwide)

Civic: Public library (advisory board), Big Brothers (active for over 20 years), volunteer coach for youth sports leagues

Political: served three terms (6 years) in the state House of Representatives; currently in first term (3rd year) as member of the state Senate

Attack (*Environment*): Republican Incumbent

Like an Ostrich, Andrew Warner Has His Head in the Sand about Climate Change.

Out of 100 scientists, 97 agree that climate change is real – and that it has already contributed to extreme weather events **costing precious lives and billions of dollars.**

What does Andrew Warner have to say about this?

- He has called it "a hoax on the American people" – even though the U.S. military says that climate change is real and poses a **serious threat to our national security.**

- He claims the weather is "always changing," and there is no reason to believe that recent patterns represent a long-term trend – but doesn't it look like a trend when **14 of the 15 warmest years on record** have occurred in the first 15 years of this century?

- He maintains that even if warming trends are real, there is no proof that humans bear responsibility for them – an argument that **ignores considerable scientific evidence** to the contrary.

Warner says he is "not a scientist."

With all of the facts against him, Andrew Warner, like many Republicans, has resorted to the **ultimate cop-out:**

- He insists that he is "not a scientist," and is not qualified to evaluate (or even to speak publicly about) the **overwhelming evidence** regarding climate change that has been presented by the scientific community.

Warner opposes restrictions on carbon pollution.

Excuse me? Not a scientist? This is a **cowardly** way for Warner and other climate-change deniers to avoid answering an important policy question. Meanwhile, they accept hundreds of thousands of dollars in **campaign donations** from the oil and gas industry, and then vote to allow those industries to spew massive amounts of **carbon pollution** into the air every day.

By ignoring the scientific evidence, Andrew Warner **puts our families, homes, and businesses at risk** both now and in the future. Warner had his chance to help find a solution . . . and failed miserably.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

Attack (*Environment*): Democratic Incumbent

Zach Peterson Just Doesn't Get It.

Peterson says that he wants to protect the environment, and there's nothing wrong with that. But in today's uncertain economic climate, America needs policies that not only respect our land and natural resources – but that also **create jobs** rather than destroying them, keep **energy prices affordable** for working families, and aren't beholden to **environmental extremists**. Are these the kinds of policies that Zach Peterson has been supporting in Congress?

You be the judge . . .

- He voted against the **Keystone XL Pipeline** that would transport oil from Canada to the United States and create up to 43,000 new jobs.

- He supports a moratorium on oil and gas exploration in the Gulf of Mexico, which makes the U.S. more dependent on the Middle East, threatens our national security, and **costs American jobs**.

- He backs stricter EPA pollution controls on coal-fired power plants – regulations that will raise electricity prices, increase the chance of blackouts, and even force some plants to close because compliance with the new rules is **too costly**.

- He supports President Obama's **job-crushing climate deal with China** that sets a new emissions-cutting goal for the United States while letting China's pollution grow for another 16 years before the limits even kick in.

Peterson puts the environment before public health and safety.

Zach Peterson and his fellow Democrats would have you believe that Republicans don't care about the environment – but that's just plain wrong. Republicans believe that **people are our country's most valuable resource**, and that protecting human health and safety should be the government's highest priority.

But we also believe that any effort to achieve these objectives must be balanced against its economic impact. We simply cannot afford to enact policies that **cost billions of dollars**, lead to **higher energy prices**, and **destroy American jobs**. This is what Peterson doesn't seem to understand.

In the end, the only job Zach Peterson fights for is his own.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

Attack (*Immigration*): Republican Incumbent

Andrew Warner Just Doesn't Get It.

Zach Peterson supports **comprehensive immigration reform** that upholds our basic principles by securing the nation's borders, protecting workers, uniting families, and offering hardworking immigrants an earned pathway to citizenship.

What kind of immigration "reform" does Andrew Warner support?

- Rather than targeting criminals and repeat violators, he co-sponsored a bill to **deport immigrant children** – including those who were brought to this country at a young age by their parents.

- He opposes creating a **"path to citizenship,"** even for undocumented workers who pay a fine and any back taxes that are owed, hold a steady job, pass a security background check, and meet certain other requirements.

- Warner blocked a bill to expedite citizenship for foreign nationals who possess **high-tech skills** that could help jumpstart the American economy.

- He joined with fellow House Republicans in attaching a series of controversial immigration-related amendments to a bill funding the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) – thereby setting the stage for a possible **shutdown of DHS** at a time when the threat of international terrorism continued to be a major concern.

With Andrew Warner, it's all about politics.

Warner and other immigration extremists try to score points by telling voters that immigrants have taken millions of jobs away from American workers. The only problem with this? **It isn't true.**

What is the truth?

Studies actually show that immigration creates **more jobs** and contributes to **wage growth** by boosting productivity. Acknowledging these facts would not, of course, be in the best interests of ambitious politicians like Andrew Warner who prefer to **play on voters' fears** rather than tell the truth about immigration.

Tell Warner that it's time for the political grandstanding to stop.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

> PAID FOR BY ZACH PETERSON
> FOR CONGRESS

Attack (*Immigration*): Democratic Incumbent

When It Comes to Immigration, Zach Peterson Is Missing in Action.

In today's tough economy, where jobs are scarce and state and local governments are strapped for cash, **illegal immigration** is a bigger problem than ever. Illegal immigrants take jobs away from Americans, and cost taxpayers billions of dollars.

Peterson supports amnesty for illegals.

What has Zach Peterson done to deal with this problem? He pretends it doesn't exist. Not only does he support giving **amnesty to illegals** and even allowing them to become **citizens**, but he has voted against **building a fence** along our southern border on three separate occasions. Americans go through security before they get on a plane, enter a government building, or attend a ball game – but those who come to America illegally can just **walk across the border**. That's why we have an immigration crisis in the first place.

Still not convinced?

Consider that Peterson has also

- voted against hiring more **border patrol agents**;

- supported proposals to give illegals taxpayer-funded benefits like **drivers licenses** and even **Social Security**; and

- resisted the efforts of states and towns from Arizona to Pennsylvania to enact their own tough laws, including revoking the **business licenses** of employers who hire undocumented workers.

Peterson allows illegals to play by their own rules.

The border is a mess – one that Zach Peterson and his fellow Democrats have helped to create. Peterson supports open borders, **unconditional amnesty**, and providing aid and comfort to foreign nationals who are in the country illegally. This is just wrong. America is a **nation of laws**, and we should welcome those who enter the country legally seeking a better future for themselves and their children. It's time, however, to **draw a line in the sand** for anyone who thinks they can play by their own rules.

Zach Peterson is the best friend an illegal alien ever had.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

Attack (*National Security*): Republican Incumbent

Andrew Warner Hasn't Learned from the Mistakes o f the Past.

The U.S. invaded Iraq in 2003 based on **falsified evidence** that Saddam Hussein's government possessed weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical, and possibly nuclear). President Bush wanted to overthrow that government, and he **took our country to war** in order to do it.

Warner supported invading Iraq . . . regardless of the costs.
When Andrew Warner was recently asked whether he would have supported sending troops to Iraq in '03, he said, "The world is a better place without Saddam Hussein." Maybe so, but is that enough? The war in Iraq was a **costly mistake** in terms of both money spent and lives lost – and yet Warner and his fellow Republicans appear ready to make **the same mistake again**.

Warner has called for
- substantially higher levels of **military spending**, and
- increased funding for a **national missile defense system**.

Continuing this pattern of **reckless spending** will dramatically increase our national debt . . . unless it's accompanied by a tax increase, which the Republicans refuse even to consider.

Making matters worse . . .
Warner says that the U.S. should consider sending **new ground troops** to fight the Islamic State and other terrorist groups in the Middle East, and that we should do so **unilaterally** if other countries choose not to be involved. He seems to have forgotten that the Iraq War **dragged on for years** while doing little to bring peace to the region (or to protect America from terrorist threats). What makes him think the outcome would be any different this time, least of all with a **go-it-alone approach** that ignores our allies' concerns about their own security?

A reckless approach to national security:
We **must be prepared to respond** with any means necessary when the lives and interests of Americans are in peril, but the U.S. can **no longer afford** to be the world's policeman – and military force should be viewed as a last-ditch option. Andrew Warner was **wrong about Iraq** a dozen years ago, and now he wants to make the same deadly mistake again. Don't let him get away with it.

Andrew Warner is <u>dangerously</u> wrong on national security.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

PAID FOR BY ZACH PETERSON
FOR CONGRESS

Attack (*National Security*): Democratic Incumbent

On National Security, Zach Peterson Is Missing in Action.

America faces serious challenges in an increasingly uncertain world. In the Middle East, **radical terrorists** are on the march — destabilizing our allies, beheading Americans, and committing other brutal atrocities every day. Iran moves closer to developing a **nuclear weapons** capability that threatens Israel and increases the prospects of all-out war in the region.

Add to this the continued belligerence of a nuclear-armed North Korea, Russia's invasion of Ukraine, rising Chinese hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region, and ongoing threats from **cyber espionage and terrorism**.

The dangers of inaction are clear — except to Zach Peterson.

How does he propose that we deal with these threats? Mostly by pretending they don't exist. Along with many of his fellow Democrats, Peterson

- has called for **deep cuts in military spending**, an ill-advised action that would deprive our troops of the equipment and logistical support they need;

- opposed renewal or even modification of the Patriot Act, ignoring the potential of an effective domestic surveillance program to help prevent another attack like the one on 9/11;

- is willing to **negotiate with foreign nations** even if they harbor or have financial ties to terrorist groups; and

- believes that we should **ask other nations for permission** before taking military action to protect our own security.

A weak approach to national security:

Peterson seems oblivious to the threat facing America today. True security comes from being **willing and able to act** — collaboratively with our allies when possible, but alone if necessary. Unlike Zach Peterson, Andrew Warner wants our enemies to have no doubt that America's capabilities, our commitment, and our will to defeat them are clear, unwavering, and unequivocal.

Zach Peterson is <u>dangerously</u> wrong on national security.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

> PAID FOR BY ANDREW WARNER
> FOR CONGRESS

Attack (*Inequality*): Republican Incumbent

Being Asked to Pay Your Fair Share Isn't Class Warfare.
It's Patriotism.

Millions of working- and middle-class citizens feel as if **the American Dream** is now out of their reach, that the opportunities open to earlier generations have vanished, and that the playing field is no longer fair or level. Meanwhile, Andrew Warner wants to **lower taxes for the rich** and for **wealthy corporations**, including those that ship American jobs overseas.

Here are the facts:

- **Income inequality** in America is the highest it's been since the 1920s. The **top 1%** receives about 22% of all pretax income, while the top 10% receives more than half.

- A study of **31 developed countries** showed that, after taking taxes into account, the U.S. ranks 2nd (behind only Chile) in the level of **income inequality**.

- The **distribution of wealth** (the value of a household's property and assets, minus the value of its debts) is even more unbalanced, with the **richest 3%** holding more than half of the nation's wealth.

Warner wants you to wait for wealth to "trickle-down" from the top.
Warner claims, like Republicans always do, that the benefits of lowering taxes on the rich would eventually **"trickle down"** to working families in the form of new jobs and higher wages.

The only problem is that it doesn't work this way – never has, never will.
Inequality has risen steadily since the 1970s despite policies enacted by politicians, like Andrew Warner, who buy into the **"trickle-down"** fantasy. Even worse, while promoting tax cuts for the rich and more corporate welfare, Warner opposes

- an increase in the **minimum wage** (preferring to have no minimum wage laws at all);

- **child-care** tax credits and **paid sick leave** for working families; and

- a federal jobs program aimed at rebuilding our nation's **crumbling infrastructure**.

Zach Peterson wants an economic system that **works for all Americans** and ensures that our children grow up in an America where **opportunity is real**.

Andrew Warner . . . for the <u>powerful few</u>, not you.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

PAID FOR BY ZACH PETERSON
FOR CONGRESS

Attack (*Inequality*): Democratic Incumbent

Bigger Government Isn't the Solution to Inequality.
It's the Cause.

Under President Obama, the **rich have gotten richer**, **income inequality** has gotten worse, and there are **more people in poverty**. Even as the economy has started to recover, so far it has benefited only the rich – **the top 1%**, whose incomes have increased while the average incomes of the remaining 99% have remained stagnant or even declined.

What do Zach Peterson and his fellow Democrats want to do about this? What they always want to do – **throw money at the problem**: higher taxes, more spending, and bigger government. To level the playing field and revive the American Dream, **everyone needs to have an opportunity** to rise up. And that won't happen until **government gets out of the way** so the economy can create new and better jobs for all of our citizens.

Here are some inconvenient facts that Zach Peterson doesn't want you to know:

- If all the money spent on federal antipoverty programs were given to those below the poverty line, a family of four would have an annual income near $70,000. As it is, the poor get **less than half the money appropriated** in their name – most of it goes to fund the bureaucracies whose budgets Peterson wants to increase.

- Since 2008, **liberal blue states** (like California) have **worse income inequality** and **lower median incomes** than conservative red states (like Texas), which have resisted adopting policies such as a higher minimum wage and generous family leave that Democrats want to force on the rest of the country.

- The multitude of **rules and regulations** imposed by the federal government and supported by Peterson and his allies in Congress makes it harder for businesses to create new jobs – or even to keep people at work in the jobs they already have.

It's time for the class warfare to stop.

Zach Peterson wants to **punish those at the top** of the economic ladder for their success. This is **immoral** and **it won't work**. The war on poverty has had limited success over the years because it helps people deal with poverty – but does little to help them escape it. Andrew Warner believes that politicians like Peterson should stop trying to pit the rich against the poor, and focus instead on **creating opportunities** for all citizens to build a better life.

Zach Peterson's ideas are outdated and ineffective.

The people in this congressional district deserve better.

PAID FOR BY ANDREW WARNER
FOR CONGRESS