

SYSTEM-CHALLENGING NEWCOMERS

by

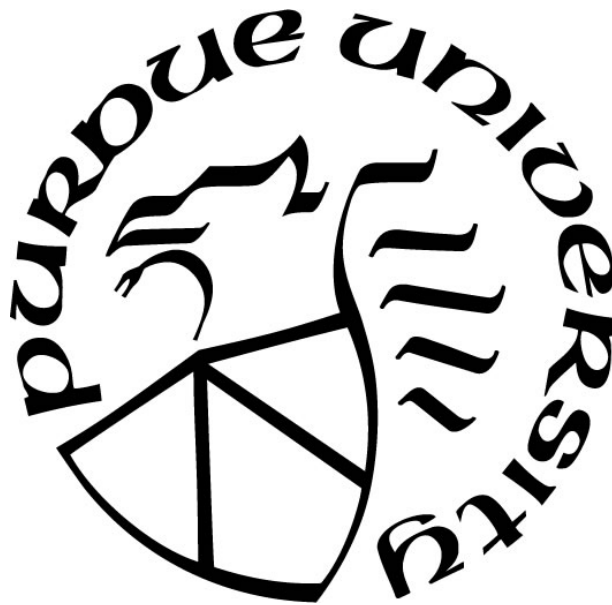
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ABSTRACT

Challenges to or criticisms of existing social arrangements often result in individuals bolstering the status quo rather than becoming inspired to consider avenues for improvement - a phenomenon known as system justification. However, it is not yet known whether characteristics of the individual challenging the system might magnify (or alleviate) system-defensive responding. New entrance into a system might be one such characteristic to heighten defensiveness because new entrants likely have had fewer opportunities to prove their commitment to the system's values. Thus, I conducted three initial studies to develop experimental paradigms testing whether recommendations for change are particularly repudiated when advocated by newcomers. Study 1 examined responses to proposals by a freshman congressperson (vs. senior or control) to change an obscure U.S. policy ($N = 540$). Study 2 examined responses to a proposal by a new employee (vs. senior or control) to change a workplace policy ($N = 515$), and Study 3 investigated student responses to a proposal by a junior transfer student (vs. junior continuing student) to change a proudly-held university policy ($N = 309$). Together, findings across these three paradigms suggest mixed evidence that both newcomers themselves, and their policy ideas, are derogated more than are full members when advocating change, particularly among individuals higher on dispositional system justification. Future, sufficiently-powered research should continue to examine impacts of proposer's membership status on resistance to system change in order to provide insight into the actors most likely to successfully advocate for social progress.

INTRODUCTION

In February 2019, Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Ed Markey introduced the Green New Deal, a resolution calling for the United States to take radical action to address climate change and socioeconomic inequities. In response, both the Green New Deal and Ocasio-Cortez (but to a far lesser extent Markey) have faced significant opposition, punctuated by cartoon images of the congresswoman as a tantrummy child (Garrison, n.d.). I suspect that Ocasio-Cortez's limited tenure in Congress (only one month at the time the resolution was introduced) might play a key role in explaining why she, but not her veteran colleague (who has been a Congressperson since 1976), has been criticized, and why response to the resolution has been so virulent. In the proposed research, I seek to examine whether "newcomers" who propose change experience greater backlash and ultimately less support for their initiatives than when those same changes are proposed by individuals whose tenure in the group is longer (i.e., "full members").

The norms and procedures of social systems, whether they be a federal government, a workplace, or even a family, often develop as a result of careful consideration. Nevertheless, most systems have weaknesses that may benefit from minor revision or even large-scale transformation. However, change is sometimes impeded by the allure of the status quo. Pervasive psychological needs to reduce anxiety and threat can induce motivations to defend and legitimize - rather than seek to alleviate - social problems (system justification motivation, Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Kay et al., 2009). While some individuals are dispositionally higher in this tendency and others lower, system justification is activated for most individuals to some extent when existing social arrangements are challenged, threatened, or criticized (Jost, 2018). Individuals often resist change even when they will personally benefit from it, and even when the costs of change are relatively low (Hoffarth & Jost, 2017). Rather than recognizing weaknesses, people often tend to believe that things are already the way they should be (Kay et al., 2009), even preferring policies simply because they are labelled as already in place (vs. as a proposed alternative; Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010). A commonly used paradigm in this literature involves having participants read an article in which the author describes social, political, and economic deterioration in one's country (Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermandi, & Mosso, 2005; Kay & Friesen, 2011). Counterintuitively, participants tend not to respond to the criticism with efforts to improve the system, but rather *bolster* their support for the existing state of affairs and derogate the

individual criticizing the system (Cutright, Wu, Banfield, Kay, & Fitzsimons, 2011; Jost, 2018). Together, this evidence suggests that the public may have not merely perceived the Green New Deal as a new idea, but as a repudiation of long-held and valued economic and social systems.

Notably, in experimental research in which the system is criticized, the characteristics of the individual levying this criticism are generally left ambiguous. Thus, it is not yet clear how aspects of the individual proposing change may exacerbate or minimize system-defensive responses. In particular, while some research has found that backlash against the individual themselves is greater when the individual is a newcomer into the group, it is not yet known whether their proposals for change are also more likely to be dismissed. For instance, newcomers in one set of studies were rated more negatively and agreed with less than were full members who made identical criticisms of their ingroups (Hornsey, Grice, Jetten, Paulsen, & Callan, 2007). Similar work has found that new (versus established) groups that advocated for constructive changes on a college campus evoked more ambivalence, though there was no difference in behavioral support for the change (Diekmann & Goodfriend, 2007). As such, although newcomers appear to face personal social costs when they challenge the system, there is less certainty about whether their proposals are more likely to be dismissed.

Why might such characteristics of the proposer matter, given that the proposal itself is held constant? According to the group socialization model, after newcomers have joined a group, the group evaluates whether the newcomer has sufficiently assimilated to group expectations before accepting them as full members (Moreland & Levine, 1982). When newcomers suggest change to group processes, teams generally do not automatically incorporate their ideas (Rink, Kane, Ellemers, & Van der Vegt, 2013). Group members who have demonstrated past conformity are granted a greater license to deviate from group norms (Hollander, 1958; Tarrant & Campbell, 2007). Owing to their limited tenure, newcomers are less likely to have demonstrated such past conformity, making it more ambiguous whether they are acting in their own (or the group's) interests. Indeed, people are less persuaded by proposals that they attribute to self-interested motivations (O'Brien & Crandall, 2005). However, newcomer suggestions were more likely to be adopted when newcomers emphasized their group identity (vs. individual identity; Kane & Rink, 2015), and when their membership in the group was permanent (vs. temporary; Kane & Rink, 2016; Rink & Ellemers, 2009). In addition, full members are more likely to be seen as representative of the system. Changes advocated by system representatives are perceived to be less

threatening and receive greater support (Gaucher, Friesen, Neufeld, & Esses, 2018), as they are more likely to be perceived as “system-sanctioned” (i.e., as preserving the system, Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith, 2010). Indeed, it may be that the ideas themselves may be perceived to be less radical when proposed by a full member, or less disruptive to the status quo. Taken together, the extant literature suggests that a newcomer (relative to a full member) who proposes change may be perceived as more critical of and threatening to the stability of the system. This may lead to increased derogation of the individual if they propose change and may potentially result in greater resistance to the ideas, particularly among individuals who are already dispositionally more motivated to justify the system.

It is also possible that newcomer’s ideas may be rejected because their position is used as a cue signaling low expertise. Research on the elaboration likelihood model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) suggests that people tend to rely on heuristic cues (e.g. source expertise) to make judgments about whether they support a policy change or not, specifically when the personal relevance of a policy change is lower (i.e., less likely to affect participants personally; Petty & Cacioppo, 1984; Petty, Cacioppo, & Goldman, 1981; Petty, Cacioppo, & Schumann, 1983). Therefore, perceptions of expertise or competence might also underlie reduced support for policy proposals from newcomers (vs. full members). However, this model alone may be insufficient to explain increased negativity toward the policy proposer.

Therefore, the current research aimed to examine whether newcomer status influences both evaluation of the change proposer and support for the proposal itself. Building on prior research, I hypothesized that newcomers (vs. full members) who proposed changes to the status quo would be evaluated more negatively (Hornsey et al., 2007), and would be perceived to be less loyal and competent and more self-interested and threatening to system stability. Moreover, I hypothesized that the proposals themselves would also be supported less when advocated by newcomers (vs. full members). I posited that lower policy support in the newcomer condition, if observed, would be mediated by more negative evaluations, lower perceptions of loyalty and competence, and higher perceptions of self-interest and threat. As exploratory analyses, I also examined whether dispositional system justification might moderate the effect of newcomer condition on both policy support and evaluations of the individual.

Here, I report the results of three initial studies testing these hypotheses using different experimental paradigms and participant samples. Studies 1 and 2 were conducted with Mturk

samples, examining responses to policy proposals from a freshman congressperson (vs. senior or control) and a new (vs. senior or control) employee at their workplace. Study 3 was conducted with an undergraduate sample, examining responses to policy proposals from a junior transfer student (vs. a junior continuing student).

STUDY 1

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited to participate in a study on “Policy Attitudes” through CloudResearch’s Mturk Toolkit (Litman, Robinson, & Abberbock, 2017), and were compensated with \$0.50 for 20 minutes of participation. Participation was restricted to U.S. residents above the age of 18. A power analysis using G*Power v. 3.1.9.2 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) revealed that I would need 477 participants to have 80% power to detect the focal newcomer omnibus condition effect at a magnitude of $\eta_p^2 = .02$. I determined the magnitude of the effect based on prior related research by Hornsey et al. (2007), comparing agreement with newcomers (versus full members) who criticize their ingroup. I recruited 720 participants, overrecruiting because of expected exclusions due to data quality concerns on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk.

Of note, nine participants who failed data quality checks and 171 participants who failed key manipulation checks asking about the tenure of the congressperson were excluded from analyses (see Procedure below). Of the remaining 540 participants, 63.15% identified as women and 80.74% as White. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 76 years ($M = 42.11$, $SD = 13.52$), were slightly liberal ($M = -0.61$, $SD = 2.32$) on a scale of political ideology ranging from -4 (*Extremely liberal*) to 4 (*Extremely conservative*), and were moderately interested in politics ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.00$) on a scale of 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*A great deal*).

Procedure

Experimental paradigm. After being told that they would be asked questions about their opinion toward a current U.S. policy, participants were randomly assigned to read about the ostensibly current policy on an obscure policy issue (e.g. advertising alcohol on TV, feeding feral cats; adapted from Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010 and Hennes & Walsh, in preparation). See

Appendix A for full text of all policy issues. Next, they read a proposed alternative policy, which they were told had been put forward by a freshman congressperson who had been in office for one term ($n = 218$), a senior congressperson who had been in office for five terms ($n = 131$), or a generic congressperson (with no information about tenure in office; $n = 191$). Of note, the version of the policy presented as the current policy did not necessarily reflect the actual current policy on this issue in the United States. Consistent with prior research, for each of the six policy issues, I counterbalanced which version of the policy was presented as the current policy (after arbitrarily assigning one version of the policy as “version 1” and the other as “version 2”). Thus, I randomized policy issue as well as which version of each policy was presented as the current policy (version 1 or version 2), in order to ensure that the particular operationalization did not drive my key effect of interest (newcomer status; see Appendix B for an example of all permutations of one policy issue). The resulting design was a 3 (newcomer status: freshman, senior, control) \times 6 (policy issue) \times 2 (version as status quo: version 1, version 2) between-subjects design. However, I expected only a main effect of newcomer status.

After reading about the policy issue and proposed change, participants completed the following measures:

Feelings toward and evaluations of the congressperson. Participants reported their feelings toward the congressperson on a scale of 0 (Very negative) to 100 (Very positive, $M = 48.16$, $SD = 29.04$). They also reported the degree to which they perceived the congressperson as competent (3 items; sample item: “This congressperson is an effective member of the U.S. government”; $\alpha = .88$, $M = 0.07$, $SD = 1.56$), loyal (5 items; sample item: “This congressperson would never betray the American people”; $\alpha = .95$, $M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.38$; adapted from Kunst, Thomsen, & Dovidio, 2018), and self-interested (4 items; sample item: “This congressperson's proporsal is based on their own political aspirations”; $\alpha = .89$, $M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.53$; adapted from O'Brien & Crandall, 2005). Perceived competence was measured on a 3 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree) scale and perceived loyalty and self-interest was measured on a 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree) scale.

Perceptions of system threat. Participants reported the degree to which they perceived that the policy change would be threatening by rating their agreement with four statements such as “This policy change will lead to instability”, and “This policy change will threaten the American way of life” on a scale of -3 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree; $\alpha = .84$, $M = -0.80$, $SD = 1.47$).

Policy preference. Participants responded to a binary item asking which policy they think is better, the current policy or the proposed policy (Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010).

Evaluation of the current and proposed policy. Participants rated their overall evaluation of the current policy by responding to a Likert-type item asking, “How would you evaluate the current policy?” on a scale of 1 (Very bad) to 6 (Very good, $M = 3.87$, $SD = 1.29$). They then responded to a parallel item evaluating the proposed policy on the same scale, ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.60$; both items adapted from Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010).

Support for the proposed policy. Participants rated the degree to which they supported the policy by indicating their agreement with the following three statements: “I support this policy change”, “This policy change should be implemented as soon as possible”, and “I am willing to sign a petition lobbying against this policy change” (reverse-scored) on a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree; $\alpha = .86$, $M = 3.68$, $SD = 1.89$; adapted from Walker, Kurz, & Russel, 2018).

System justification. Participants completed the general system justification scale, rating their agreement with eight items assessing their motivation to defend existing sociopolitical arrangements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 9 (Strongly Agree), such as “Most policies serve the greater good” and “In general, the American political system operates as it should” ($\alpha = 0.87$, $M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.61$; Kay & Jost, 2003). They also completed the economic system justification scale, rating their agreement with 17 items assessing their motivation to defend existing socioeconomic arrangements on a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 9 (Strongly Agree), such as “Economic positions are legitimate reflections of people’s achievements.” and “Economic differences in the society reflect an illegitimate distribution of resources” (reverse-scored; $\alpha = .91$, $M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.48$; Jost & Thompson, 2000).^{1,2,3}

¹ System justification was measured near the end of the study to avoid priming system justification and potentially inflating experimental effects.

² There was no omnibus effect of newcomer condition on general system justification ($F[2, 537] = 2.22$, $MSE = 5.72$, $p = .110$). There was an omnibus effect of newcomer condition on economic system justification ($F[2, 537] = 3.88$,

Manipulation checks. To check whether participants accurately recalled the tenure of the congressperson they were assigned to read about, I asked them whether the congressperson was a “freshman”, “senior” or “this information was not provided.” Of note, participants who failed to correctly identify whether the congressperson was a freshman or senior (or that they had not been provided that information; $n = 161$) were excluded from all analyses (see Participants above).⁴ To examine whether participants perceived the freshman congressperson to be newer to congress than the senior congressperson, I asked them to report for how many terms the congressperson had been in office on a sliding response scale of 0 to 10 terms.

Finally, participants completed general demographic items (including measures of political ideology and political interest) before receiving a written debriefing form and compensation (see [Supplement](#) for a complete description of all relevant variables).⁵

$MSE = 8.42, p = .021$). Specifically, there was significantly higher economic system justification among those in the freshman congressperson condition ($M = 4.29, SD = 1.51$) relative to those in the senior congressperson condition ($M = 3.84, SD = 1.45, t(537) = 2.78, p = .006, d = 0.31$; see Table 2 for full results of all one-way ANOVAs).

³ The Jost & Thompson (2000) and Kay & Jost (2003) scales are both commonly used measures of variability in the tendency to justify existing social arrangements, and tend to be moderately correlated (see, e.g., Tables 1, 4, and 8). Moreover, I had reason to believe that either one (or both) may influence attitudes in the current paradigms, which assess both support for general status-quo policies and reactions to ostensibly lower- (i.e., newcomer) vs. higher-status (i.e., full member) individuals. Thus, I did not have strong a priori hypotheses about the relative strength of their main or moderating effects on my dependent variables of interest. If anything, I expected stronger main effects of general system justification (i.e., higher overall defensiveness of policy change, regardless of condition among higher general system justifiers) and stronger moderating effects of economic system justification (i.e., greater effects of condition among higher economic system justifiers). Emerging evidence also suggests that the Jost & Thompson (2000) scale demonstrates superior psychometric properties and external validity (e.g., Kim & Hennes, in preparation; Huang & Hennes, in preparation). Thus, given my stronger interest in moderating rather than main effects of dispositional system justification, and given the potential psychometric superiority of the economic system justification scale, I report the results of the economic system justification scale in the main text and footnote results using the general system justification scale throughout.

⁴A chi-square test suggested that the proportion of participants failing the manipulation check differed by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(2, N = 701) = 54.62, \Phi = 0.28, p < .001$. 54.7% of the participants in the senior congressperson condition failed the manipulation check, which was a significantly higher proportion than in the freshman (28.0%) or control congressperson condition (17.4%).

⁵At the end of the study, participants were asked what they thought the study was about. No participant guessed the purpose of the study.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Manipulation check. As expected, a one-way ANOVA revealed a statistically significant effect of newcomer condition on number of terms in office, $F(2, 537) = 392.18$, $MSE = 1.57$, $p < .001$. Participants who read about a freshman congressperson reported that the congressperson had been in office for significantly fewer terms ($M = 1.01$, $SD = 0.85$) than did those in both the senior ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(537) = -27.98$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.72$,⁶ 95% CI [-4.13; -3.59] and control conditions ($M = 2.17$, $SD = 1.49$), $t(537) = -9.39$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.78$, 95% CI [-1.41; -0.92]. Those who read about a senior congressperson reported that the congressperson had been in office for significantly longer than did participants in the control condition $t(537) = 18.88$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.81$, 95% CI [2.42; 2.98].

Bivariate correlations. Correlations between policy evaluations and evaluations of the congressperson were all statistically significant in the expected directions. More negative evaluations of the proposed policy were associated with more positive evaluations of the current policy. Negativity toward the congressperson, lower perceptions of competence and loyalty, and higher perceptions of self-interest and threat were each associated with more negative evaluations of the proposed policy and more positive evaluations of the current policy. There were some small positive correlations between both general and economic system justification and support for the policy proposal and the policy proposer (collapsed across experimental condition; see Table 1). This may in part result from higher system justifiers supporting politicians more in general.

Overall preference for current vs. proposed policy. A binomial test suggested that, collapsed across all conditions, a larger proportion of participants (57%) preferred the current policy to the proposed policy ($p < .001$). Moreover, a particular version of the policy was favored between 5% and 34% more when it was labeled as the status quo compared to when it was described as the proposed alternative (Figure 1). These findings replicate prior research suggesting that simply labelling a policy as the status quo increases its favorability (Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010).⁷

⁶ Cohen's d effect sizes were calculated using the pooled variance.

⁷ To examine whether there were any unexpected main or moderating effects of policy or “version”, I conducted a 3 (newcomer status: freshman, senior, control) x 6 (policy) x 2 (version: 1, 2) mixed model analysis of variance on all dependent variables. Policy issue was modeled as a random effect, and the other two variables were modeled as fixed effects. All factors were between-subjects factors. Graphs of these models are presented in Appendix C. Unexpectedly, across most dependent variables both policy and version significantly influenced evaluations of the congressperson and of the policy proposal. The effect of policy was inconsistent across dependent variables, and participants almost always preferred version 2 to version 1 (which is surprising given that I arbitrarily assigned one version of each policy as version 1 and the other as version 2). Thus, for ease of interpretation, the primary analyses described below collapse across policy and version.

Table 1. Bivariate Correlations (Study 1)

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
1. Feelings toward congressperson	—	.86***	.68***	-.55***	-.44***	.69***	-.57***	.79***	.77***	.17***	.11***	-.03	.09*	.07 [†]	.03
2. Perceived competence		—	.70***	-.54***	-.44***	.64***	-.53***	.73***	.71***	.18***	.11*	-.03	.11*	.08 [†]	.04
3. Perceived loyalty			—	-.55***	-.34***	.46***	-.33***	.56***	.54***	.29***	.13**	-.03	.06	.07	.03
4. Perceived self-interest				—	.41***	-.40***	.36***	-.44***	-.46***	-.13**	.01	-.01	-.12**	.06	.05
5. Perceived threat					—	-.45***	.37***	-.48***	-.50***	-.08 [†]	.05	-.11*	-.04	.12**	.05
6. Policy preference						—	-.67***	.82***	.84***	.10*	.10*	-.03	.08 [†]	.05	.06
7. Evaluation of current policy							—	-.59***	-.68***	.01	-.03	.06	-.03	-.04	-.03
8. Evaluation of proposed policy								—	.86***	.16***	.11**	-.04	.09*	.05	.06
9. Support for proposed policy									—	.16***	.15**	-.03	.09*	.04	.08 [†]
10. General system justification										—	.66***	.20***	-.12**	-.05	.52***
11. Economic system justification											—	.13**	-.14**	-.03	.70***
12. Age												—	-.01	-.12**	.16***
13. Gender													—	.04	-.12**
14. Race														—	-.10*
15. Conservatism															—

Note. Policy preference is a binary variable coded as 0 = Preference for the current policy and 1 = Preference for the proposed policy. Gender was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = Man and 1 = Woman. Race was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = Monoracial White and 1 = Non-Monoracial White.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

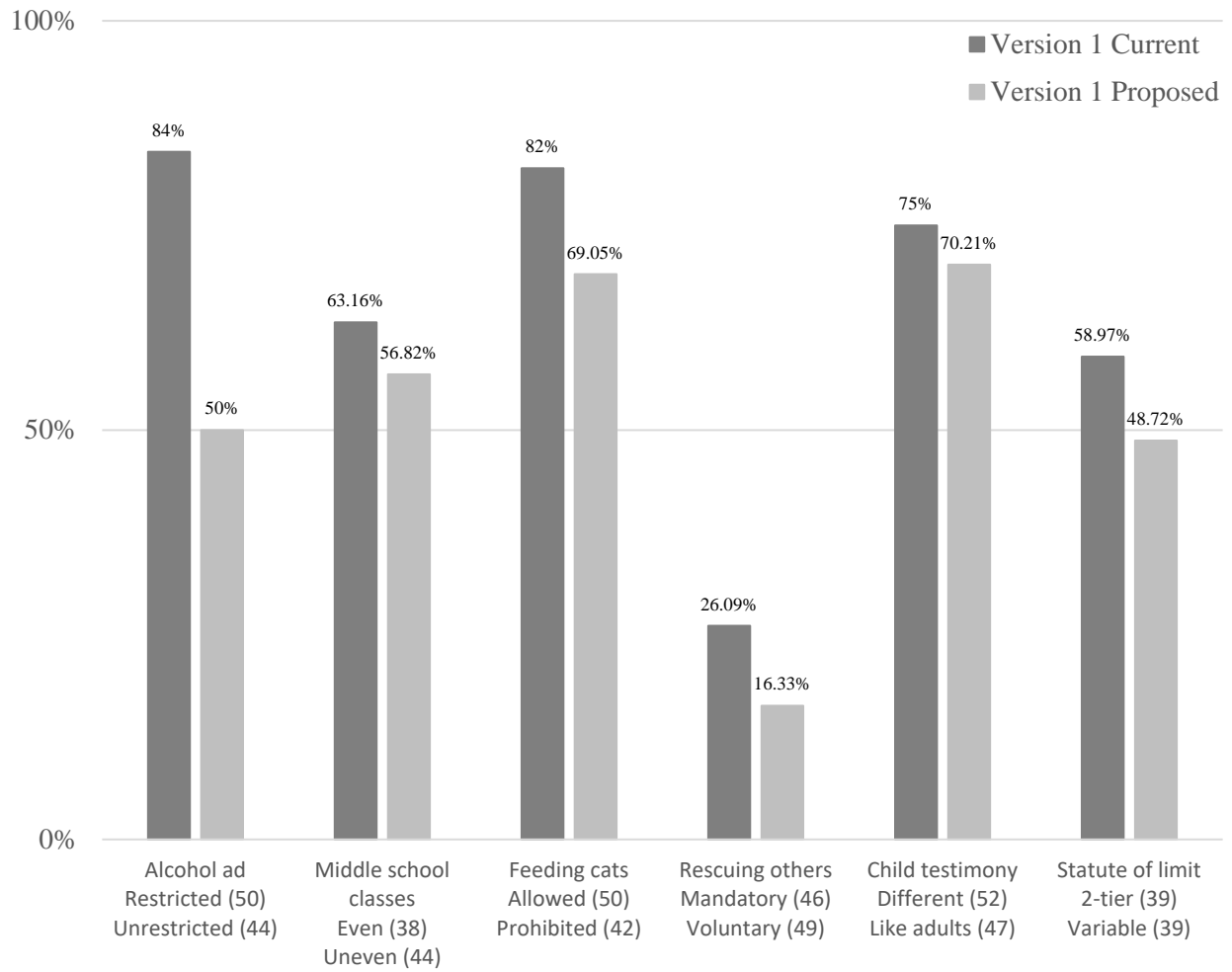


Figure 1. Preference for a particular version of a policy when it was referred to as the status quo vs. the proposed alternative (collapsed across newcomer condition; Study 1)

Effect of Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables

Feelings toward and evaluations of the congressperson. Unexpectedly, a series of one-way ANOVAs revealed no statistically significant effect of newcomer condition on feelings toward the congressperson, $F(2, 537) = 1.82$, $MSE = 860.41$, $p = .164$, perceptions of competence, $F(2, 537) = 0.63$, $MSE = 2.44$, $p = .532$, perceptions of loyalty, $F(2, 537) = 0.21$, $MSE = 1.84$, $p = .811$, or perceptions of self-interest $F(2, 537) = 0.85$, $MSE = 2.39$, $p = .426$.

Perceptions of system threat. A one-way ANOVA also revealed no statistically significant effect of newcomer condition on perceptions of system threat, $F(2, 537) = 0.69$, $MSE = 2.16$, $p = .500$.

Policy preference. A chi-square test was conducted to examine whether the proposed policy was preferred even less when it was proposed by the freshman relative to the senior or control congressperson. Although preference for the proposed policy significantly differed by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(2, N = 540) = 6.42$, $\Phi = 0.11$, $p = .040$, pairwise comparisons revealed limited support for my hypothesis. Participants in all three conditions were more likely to favor the current policy to the proposed policy. Only 43.6% of participants in the newcomer condition supported the proposed policy, compared to 47.6% in the control (generic congressperson) condition ($p > .05$) However, support for the proposed policy was unexpectedly weakest among those in the senior condition (33.6%), such that those in the senior condition preferred the proposed policy significantly less than did those in the control condition ($p < .05$) and non-significantly less than those in the newcomer condition ($p > .05$).

Evaluation of the current and proposed policy. I hypothesized that when a freshman (vs. senior or control) congressperson proposed the policy change, the current policy would be evaluated more positively and the proposed policy would be evaluated more negatively. However, one-way ANOVAs revealed that newcomer condition did not have a significant effect on evaluation of either the current policy, $F(2, 537) = 0.21$, $MSE = 1.75$, $p = .814$, or the proposed policy, $F(2, 537) = 0.76$, $MSE = 2.55$, $p = .471$.

Support for the proposed policy. A one-way ANOVA also did not yield a statistically significant effect of newcomer condition on support for the proposed policy, $F(2, 537) = 0.97$, $MSE = 3.57$, $p = .762$ (see Table 2 for detailed results).

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of All Study 1 Dependent Variables and System Justification Scales by Newcomer Condition

Variable	Freshman	Senior	Control	$F_{(dfB, dfW)}$	d_{FVS}	d_{FVC}	d_{SVC}
1. Number of Terms	1.01 _a (0.85)	4.87 _b (1.42)	2.17 _c (1.49)	392.18 _(2,537) ***	3.08	0.93	2.16
2. Feelings Toward Congressperson	46.77 (30.87)	43.39 (29.82)	49.71 (27.12)	1.82 _(2,537)	0.12	0.10	0.22
3. Perceived Competence	0.00 (1.69)	-0.12 (1.47)	0.08 (1.46)	0.63 _(2,537)	0.08	0.05	0.13
4. Perceived Loyalty	3.46 (1.41)	3.56 (1.41)	3.50 (1.25)	0.21 _(2,537)	0.07	0.03	0.04
5. Perceived Self-Interest	4.16 (1.56)	3.94 (1.61)	4.02 (1.48)	0.85 _(2,537)	0.14	0.09	0.05
6. Perceived Threat	-0.89 (1.51)	-0.81 (1.49)	-0.72 (1.41)	0.69 _(2,537)	0.05	0.12	0.06
7. Evaluation of Current Policy	3.81 (1.35)	3.90 (1.29)	3.84 (1.30)	0.21 _(2,537)	0.07	0.02	0.05
8. Evaluation of Proposed Policy	3.31 (1.58)	3.12 (1.61)	3.33 (1.61)	0.76 _(2,537)	0.12	0.01	0.13
9. Support for Proposed Policy	3.68 (1.88)	3.55 (1.93)	3.69 (1.87)	0.27 _(2,537)	0.07	0.01	0.07
10. General System Justification	4.58 _a (1.49)	4.21 _b (1.68)	4.42 (1.68)	2.22 _(2,537)	0.23	0.10	0.13
11. Economic System Justification	4.29 _a (1.51)	3.84 _b (1.45)	4.15 (1.45)	3.88 _(2,537) *	0.31	0.09	0.21

Note. Standard deviations presented in parentheses. Means with different subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$). Number of terms was measured on a 0 to 10 scale. Evaluation of the current policy and evaluation of the proposed policy were measured on a 1 to 6 scale. Feelings toward the congressperson was measured on a 0 to 100 scale. Perceived competence and threat were measured on a -3 to 3 scale. Perceived loyalty and perceived self-interest were measured on a 1 to 7 scale. General system justification and economic system justification were measured on a 1 to 9 scale.

* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Exploratory Interactions Between Newcomer Condition and System Justification on All Dependent Variables

I also conducted exploratory moderation analyses with newcomer condition, economic system justification, and their interaction on all dependent variables, hypothesizing that high system-justifiers would display particularly negative evaluations of the proposed policy and congressperson when the change was advocated by the freshman (vs. senior and control) congressperson. Consistent with this hypothesis, high system justifiers (+1 *SD*) evaluated the congressperson marginally more negatively, perceived them as marginally less competent, evaluated the proposed policy significantly worse, and supported it marginally less when the policy change was advocated by the freshman vs. generic (control) congressperson. However, there were no differences between the freshman and senior conditions. Notably, high system justifiers felt significantly less positive toward the senior congressperson relative to the control congressperson. See Table 3 for omnibus effects, Table 4 for simple effects of newcomer condition at low and high system justification, and Figure 2 for panel graphs.^{8,9,10}

Discussion

In the present experiment, I replicated the status-quo label bias (Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010), in which participants preferred a policy more when it was ostensibly the current state of affairs (vs. a proposed alternative). Additionally, more negative evaluations of the congressperson were correlated with more positive evaluations of the current policy and negative evaluations of the proposed policy. There was also some limited evidence that high system justifiers evaluated

⁸ I also conducted moderation analyses using participants' responses to the item asking how many terms the congressperson had been in office. These moderations revealed a marginally significant interaction between newcomer status and system justification on perceived competence ($p = .086$), such that among high system justifiers, longer perceived tenure predicted marginally higher perceived competence ($b = .07, p = .092$), while there were no differences among low system justifiers ($b = -.04, p = .412$).

⁹ I also conducted exploratory moderation analyses to test whether the effect of newcomer condition was moderated by general system justification. Consistent with expectations, high general system justifiers perceived the freshman congressperson to be marginally less loyal than the control congressperson ($b = .30, p = .092$) whereas there was no difference among low general system justifiers ($b = -.18, p = .338$). High general system justifiers also reported marginally less positive feelings toward the freshman vs. control congressperson ($b = 6.88, p = .087$), while this was not significant among low system justifiers ($b = -.40, p = .923$). No other effects approached significance.

¹⁰ I also conducted all analyses with the full sample ($N = 701$). Because some results differed when including participants who failed to remember the tenure of the congressperson, I report the more conservative results using only manipulation check passers here.

Table 3. Interaction Between Economic System Justification and Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables (Study 1)

	Feelings Toward Congressperson	Competence	Loyalty	Self-Interest	Threat	Evaluation of Current Policy	Evaluation of Proposed Policy	Evaluation of Proposed Policy
	<i>b(SE)</i>							
Intercept	46.65*** (1.98)	0.00 (0.11)	3.45*** (0.09)	4.15*** (0.11)	-0.90*** (0.10)	3.81*** (0.09)	3.31*** (0.11)	3.67*** (0.13)
Senior	-2.82 (3.28)	-0.09 (0.17)	0.14 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.17)	.11 (0.17)	0.11 (0.15)	-0.16 (0.18)	-0.09 (0.21)
Control	3.12 (2.90)	0.08 (0.15)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.13 (0.15)	0.18 (0.15)	0.03 (0.13)	0.03 (0.16)	0.03 (0.18)
Economic System Justification (ESJ)	2.12* (0.88)	0.12* (0.05)	0.12** (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.12* (0.05)	0.19** (0.06)
Senior*ESJ	0.43 (2.19)	0.08 (0.12)	0.00 (0.10)	0.03 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.11)	0.05 (0.10)	0.07 (0.12)	0.02 (0.14)
Control*ESJ	3.22 (1.96)	0.21* (0.10)	0.11 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.09)	0.28** (0.11)	0.30* (0.13)

Note: The freshman condition was treated as the reference group.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4. Means for the Outcome Variables by Condition at Low and High Economic System Justification (Study 1)

Variable	Economic System Justification	New (A)	Senior (B)	Control (C)
Feelings toward the congressperson	Low (-1SD)	45.22	41.76	43.48
	High (+1SD)	48.01 ^c	45.81 ^c	55.81 ^{ab}
Perceived competence	Low (-1SD)	-0.03	-0.24	-0.27
	High (+1SD)	0.03 ^b	0.05	0.42 ^a
Perceived loyalty	Low (-1SD)	3.32	3.45	3.20
	High (+1SD)	3.57	3.72	3.79
Perceived self-interest	Low (-1SD)	4.13	3.89	4.06
	High (+1SD)	4.18	4.02	3.98
Perceived threat	Low (-1SD)	-1.03	-0.91	-0.70
	High (+1SD)	-0.77	-0.68	-0.74
Evaluation of the current policy	Low (-1SD)	3.82	3.85	3.97
	High (+1SD)	3.79	3.98	3.71
Evaluation of the proposed policy	Low (-1SD)	3.29 ^c	3.03	2.90 ^a
	High (+1SD)	3.32 ^c	3.26 ^c	3.75 ^{ab}
Support for the proposed policy	Low (-1SD)	3.55	3.43	3.12
	High (+1SD)	3.79 ^c	3.72 ^c	4.25 ^{ab}

Note. Least square mean estimates. Superscripts in bold indicate which conditions are significantly different ($p < .05$). Superscripts (unbolded) indicate which conditions are marginally different ($p < .01$). For instance, for feelings toward the congressperson among high system justifiers, the newcomer condition marginally (A) differs from the control condition (C), and the senior condition (B) significantly differs from the control condition (C).

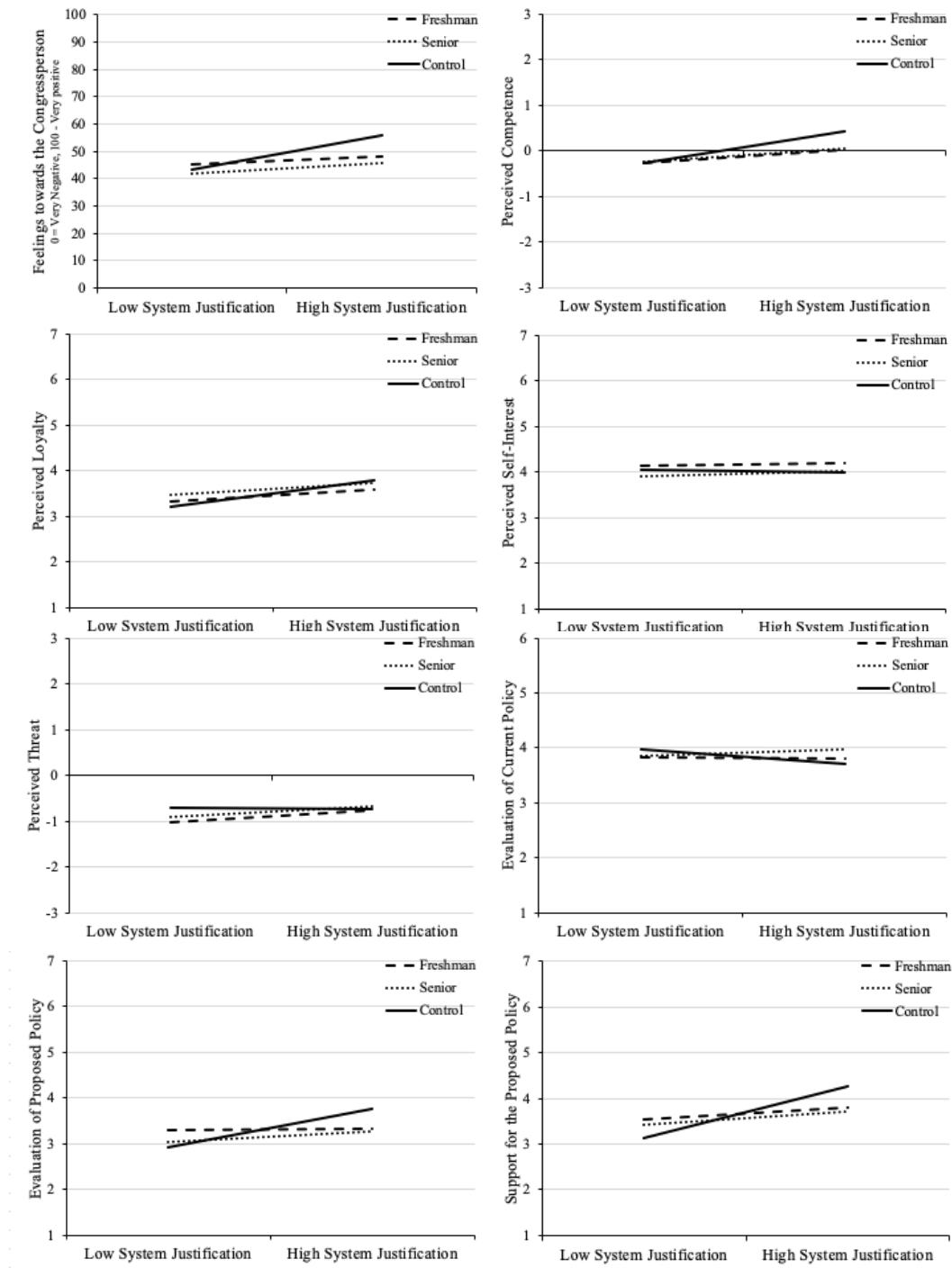


Figure 2. Effect of newcomer condition and system justification on primary dependent variables (Study 1)

both the freshman congressperson themselves and their proposed policy more negatively compared to a generic congressperson.

At the same time, I found that these effects were not apparent among low system-justifiers and, surprisingly, the freshman condition tended not to significantly differ from the senior condition.¹¹ This lack of main-effect evidence of the freshman congressperson receiving more personal backlash is inconsistent with prior evidence of negativity toward and disagreement with newcomers (versus full members) who criticize their ingroup (Hornsey et al., 2007).

In responses to open-ended questions, several participants conveyed frustration that the congressperson was focusing on such a frivolous policy issue rather than on more important issues. Perhaps, participants were more frustrated at the senior congressperson for focusing on such a mundane issue given their experience in the job, and less so at a freshman who might still be learning the ropes. Consistent with this explanation, participants who perceived the policy to be relatively less important ($-1\ SD$) than other policy issues appeared to feel somewhat less positive toward the senior (vs. control) congressperson ($b = -7.37, p = .064$). Moreover, it is possible that the manipulation of full member status in this study made the full member (in their 5th term) seem particularly senior, leading to backlash or ageism. Indeed, participants in the control, no-information, condition estimated that the congressperson had been in office for only around two terms. In addition, main effects of newcomer status may have been obscured due to the unexpected variation in responses across the six policy issues and two versions of each. Finally, participants themselves were not members of the system to which the newcomer was new (i.e. congress), so they may have reacted less strongly to the congressperson's newcomer status.

To address all of these shortcomings, in the following study I reduced the extremity of the “full member” condition, held policy issue constant and sought to identify a less potentially “frivolous” issue, and asked participants to imagine that they were themselves a member of the system that would be impacted by the policy (i.e. their workplace).

¹¹ Analysis of data from two prior pilot studies, ($N = 78$; $N = 198$) using the same paradigm (but with minor modifications to ordering and content of scale items) also did not reveal a statistically significant main effect of newcomer condition on any dependent measures.

STUDY 2

Method

Participants

In Study 2, I recruited 714 participants through CloudResearch's Mturk Toolkit (Litman et al., 2017) to participate in a study on workplace decision-making in exchange for \$1 for 20 minutes of participation.¹² Participation was restricted to U.S. residents above the age of 18. I did not conduct a revised power analysis because the predicted main effect on support for the policy proposal was not statistically significant in Study 1. Instead, I determined sample size using the same power analysis as in Study 1 which suggested that I would need 477 participants to have 80% power to detect an omnibus newcomer condition effect at a magnitude of $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Again, I overrecruited due to data quality concerns on Mturk and also because almost 200 Mturk participants failed a key manipulation check in Study 1. One hundred and ninety-nine participants in Study 2 failed a focal manipulation check and were excluded from all analyses (see Procedure below). Of the remaining 515 participants, 50.80% identified as women and 74.80% as White. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 84 years ($M = 40.04$, $SD = 11.51$) and were slightly liberal ($M = -0.43$, $SD = 2.31$) on a scale of political ideology ranging from -4 (*Extremely liberal*) to 4 (*Extremely conservative*).

Procedure

Experimental paradigm. Participants first completed a series of screening questions asking their current employment status and whether they are granted paid time off for some public holidays. Those who were unemployed or not granted paid time off for some public holidays were asked to imagine that they are currently employed at a workplace that does grant paid time off for

¹² After the first 200 participants completed the study, I paused data collection to check for any programming errors. At this point, I added an additional negative evaluations scale (adapted from Hornsey et al., 2007, see Procedure below) which only the remaining participants completed.

public holidays (see Supplement for all screening questions). Then, they were asked to imagine a scenario where a new employee (newcomer condition; $n = 195$), senior employee (full member condition; $n = 160$), or no-information control employee (control condition; $n = 160$) at their workplace suggested changing their company policy on paid holidays from the federal holiday calendar to a flexible holiday program. They also read some potential benefits and costs that would be associated with this policy change (see Appendix D for the complete paradigm).

Feelings toward and evaluations of the employee. Participants reported their feelings toward the employee on scale of 0 (Very negative) to 100 (Very positive, $M = 69.32$, $SD = 25.66$). They also reported the degree to which they perceived the employee as disappointing, irritating, offensive, insulting, and judgmental ($\alpha = .96$, $M = 1.97$, $SD = 1.48$; adapted from Hornsey et al., 2007) on a 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much) scale. Participants also responded to four items gauging the degree to which they would want to interact with the employee, such as “I would want to be friends with this employee” and “I would not want to interact with this employee frequently” (reverse-scored), on a scale of -3 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree; $\alpha = .89$, $M = 0.94$, $SD = 1.62$). In addition, they completed similar scales as in Study 1 measuring perceived competence, measured on a -3 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree) scale ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 1.26$, $SD = 1.39$), perceived loyalty measured on a 1 (Disagree strongly) to 5 (Agree strongly) scale ($\alpha = .91$, $M = 3.46$, $SD = 0.94$), and perceived self-interest measured on a 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree) scale ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.50$). Participants also responded to four items measuring the degree to which they perceived the employee as overstepping their authority, such as “The employee should just keep their head down and do their job” and “This employee is acting within the bounds of their responsibilities” (reverse-scored), on a scale of -3 (Strongly disagree) to 3 (Strongly agree; $\alpha = .90$, $M = -1.07$, $SD = 1.57$).

Support for the proposed policy. Participants rated the degree to which they supported the proposed policy by indicating their agreement with four statements such as “I would support this change” and “I would be willing to contact HR to voice my opposition to this change” (reverse-scored) on a scale of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree; $\alpha = .92$, $M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.95$; adapted from Walker et al., 2018).

System justification. Participants completed the general ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.82$) and economic ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 4.27$, $SD = 1.50$) system justification scales, as in Study 1.^{13,14}

Manipulation check. To check whether participants accurately recalled the tenure of the employee they were assigned to imagine, I asked them whether the employee had been working in the organization for a short (newcomer) or long (full member) duration. Response options included “newcomer”, “old-timer”, “I was not given this information”, or “I don’t remember”. Of note, participants who failed to correctly identify whether the employee was a newcomer or senior (or that they had not been provided that information; $n = 199$) were excluded from all analyses (see Participants above)¹⁵.

Finally, participants completed a series of demographic measures before being debriefed and compensated (see Supplement for a complete description of all relevant study variables)¹⁶.

¹³ There was no effect of condition on general or economic system justification (see Table 6).

¹⁴ I also measured additional individual difference variables that I expected might moderate the newcomer condition effect. Multiculturalism was measured by asking participants the degree to which they agreed with four statements such as “We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic and religious groups to have a cooperative society” ($\alpha = .89$, $M = 5.64$, $SD = 1.09$), and assimilationism was assessed by measuring agreement with four statements, such as “Children from all ethnic and religious groups should be taught to adopt mainstream American values from an early age” ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.42$). Both multiculturalism and assimilationism were measured on a scale of 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*; Hahn et al., 2015). Americanism was measured by asking participants eight items about how important they think a variety of things are to being truly American, such as “To respect American political institutions and laws” measured on a 1 (*Not important at all*) to 5 (*Extremely important*) scale ($\alpha = .88$; $M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.95$; Smith et al., 1972-2018).

¹⁵ The proportion of participants failing the manipulation check differed by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(2, N = 714) = 10.23$, $\Phi = 0.12$, $p = .006$. 20.7% of the participants in the new employee condition failed the manipulation check, which was a significantly lower proportion than in the senior (33.3%) or control congressperson condition (29.8%).

¹⁶ At the end of the study, participants were asked what they thought the study was about. No participant guessed the purpose of the study.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Bivariate correlations. As in Study 1, correlations between evaluations of the employee and support for the proposed policy were statistically significant in the direction predicted (see Table 5 for bivariate correlations between all Study 2 variables). More negative feelings toward and evaluations of the employee, lower perceptions of competence and loyalty, higher perceptions of self-interest and threat, and lower desire to interact with the employee were each associated with lower support for the proposed policy. Here, system justification was (as expected) associated with lower support for the proposed policy as well as more negative feelings toward and evaluations of the employee.

Effect of Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables

Feelings toward and evaluations of the employee. As hypothesized, across all dependent variables (with the exception of the negative evaluations scale), the omnibus effect of newcomer condition was marginally or statistically significant (see Table 6 for results of all one-way ANOVAs). Specifically, participants reported feeling significantly less positive toward the new employee relative to the senior employee and control employee. Participants also reported a marginally lower desire to interact with the new employee relative to the senior employee, and significantly lower desire to interact with the control employee. They rated the new employee as significantly less competent than both the senior and control employee, as significantly less loyal than the senior employee and marginally less loyal than the control employee, and as marginally more self-interested than the senior employee and significantly more self-interested than the control employee. Participants also perceived the new employee as overstepping their authority to a significantly greater degree than the senior or control employee. I did not hypothesize, nor find, significant differences between the senior employee and the control employee on any variables measuring feelings toward and evaluations of the employee.

Table 5. Bivariate Correlations (Study 2)

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
1. Feelings toward employee	—	-.77***	.82***	.79***	.71***	-.62***	-.75***	.65***	-.15***	-.26***	.38***	-.32***	-.23***	-.13**	-.03	.00	
2. Negative evaluations		—	-.78***	-.79***	-.75***	.57***	.73***	-.61***	.22***	.33***	-.43***	.33***	.31***	.13*	-.11*	.00	
3. Desire to interact			—	.82***	.79***	-.69***	-.79***	.66***	-.15**	-.28***	.40***	-.32***	-.24***	-.07	.01	.02	
4. Perceived competence				—	.83***	-.67***	-.78***	.68***	-.22***	-.30***	.46***	-.35***	-.27***	-.14**	.06	.01	
5. Perceived loyalty					—	-.72***	-.71***	.62***	-.13**	-.25***	.39***	-.28***	-.22***	-.11*	.05	.01	
6. Perceived self-interest						—	.67***	-.61***	.18***	.27***	-.31***	.30***	.25***	.13**	-.02	.01	
7. Perceived overstepping							—	-.64***	.23***	.33***	-.42***	.40***	.35***	.07	-.01	.02	
8. Support for proposed policy								—	-.26***	-.30***	.36***	-.35***	-.29***	-.21***	.00	.06	
9. General system justification									—	.68***	-.37***	.53***	.48***	.23***	-.09*	-.07	
10. Economic system justification										—	-.56***	.54***	.48***	.10*	-.08 [†]	-.10*	
11. Multiculturalism											—	-.47***	-.44***	-.17***	.08 [†]	.15**	
12. Assimilationism												—	.64***	.16***	-.08 [†]	-.03	
13. Americanism													—	.18***	.02	.03*	
14. Age														—	-.02	-.11*	
15. Gender															—	-.04	
16. Race																—	
17. Conservatism																	—

Note. Gender was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = Man and 1 = Woman. Race was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = White and 1 = Non-White.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 6. Means, Standard Deviations, and One-Way ANOVAs (Study 2)

Variable	New	Senior	Control	$F_{(dfB, dfW)}$	d_{NvS}	d_{NvC}	d_{SvC}
1. Feelings toward employee	65.06 _a (27.27)	70.81 _b (24.42)	70.53 _b (26.25)	2.80 _(2,512) [†]	0.22	0.21	0.01
2. Negative evaluations	2.09 (1.57)	1.90 (1.39)	1.93 (1.47)	0.86 _(2,366)	0.13	0.11	0.02
3. Desire to Interact	0.69 _a (1.64)	1.02 (1.52)	1.05 _b (1.68)	2.65 _(2,512) [†]	0.20	0.22	0.02
4. Perceived competence	0.99 _a (1.41)	1.35 _b (1.33)	1.34 _b (1.48)	3.85 _(2,512) [*]	0.26	0.25	0.01
5. Perceived loyalty	3.31 _a (0.94)	3.55 _b (0.95)	3.48 (0.96)	3.19 _(2,512) [*]	0.25	0.18	0.07
6. Perceived self-interest	4.21 _a (1.42)	3.92 (1.53)	3.87 _b (1.52)	2.74 _(2,512) [†]	0.20	0.23	0.03
7. Perceived overstepping	-0.71 _a (1.66)	-1.17 _b (1.55)	-1.27 _b (1.52)	6.50 _(2,512) ^{**}	0.29	0.35	0.06
8. Support for proposed policy	4.55 (1.92)	4.55 (1.98)	4.84 (2.03)	1.18 _(2,512)	0.00	0.15	0.15
9. General system justification	4.85 (1.84)	5.01 (1.75)	4.73 (1.85)	6.53 _(2,512)	0.09	0.07	0.15
10. Economic system justification	4.22 (1.43)	4.33 (1.44)	4.31 (1.53)	1.30 _(2,512)	0.08	0.06	0.01

Note: Standard deviations presented in parentheses. Means with different subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$). Feelings toward the employee was measured on a 0 to 100 scale. Negative evaluations, perceived loyalty, perceived self-interest, and support for the proposed policy were measured on a 1 to 7 scale. Desire to interact, perceived competence, perceived threat, and perceived overstepping were measured on a -3 to 3 scale. General system justification and economic system justification were measured on a 1 to 9 scale.

[†] $p < .10$. ^{*} $p < .05$. ^{**} $p < .01$.

Support for the proposed policy. In contrast, participants did not differ in support for the proposed policy based on condition.

Exploratory Interactions Between Newcomer Condition and System Justification on All Dependent Variables

As in Study 1, I also conducted exploratory moderation analyses between newcomer condition and economic system justification on all dependent variables (see Table 7 for omnibus effects, Table 8 for simple effects of condition at low and high system justification, and Figure 3 for panel graphs).

Feelings towards and evaluations of the employee. As expected, those high in system justification (+1 SD) felt significantly less positively towards the new (vs. control) employee, evaluated them significantly more negatively, wanted to interact with them significantly less, and perceived them to be significantly less competent, less loyal, more self-interested, and as overstepping their authority more. Compared to the senior employee, participants high in system justification felt marginally less positively towards the new employee, evaluated them marginally more negatively, wanted to interact with them significantly less, and perceived them to be significantly less competent, marginally less loyal, significantly more self-interested, and as overstepping their authority significantly more.

In contrast, those who were low on system justification (-1 SD) perceived the new employee to be significantly less loyal than the senior employee, but did not differentiate between employee tenure on any other evaluations of the individual.

There were no statistically significant differences in evaluations of the senior vs. control employee.

Table 7. Interaction Between Economic System Justification and Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables (Study 2)

	Feelings Toward the Employee	Negative Evaluations	Desire to Interact	Competence	Loyalty	Self-Interest	Perceived Overstepping	Support for Proposed Policy
<i>b(SE)</i>								
Intercept	64.69*** (1.80)	2.26*** (0.12)	0.67*** (0.11)	0.97*** (0.10)	3.30*** (0.07)	4.23*** (0.10)	-0.68*** (0.11)	4.52*** (0.14)
Senior	6.38* (2.68)	-0.36* (0.18)	0.36* (0.16)	0.40** (0.14)	0.27** (0.10)	-0.33* (0.15)	-0.51** (0.16)	0.05 (0.20)
Control	5.93* (2.68)	-0.31† (0.18)	0.39* (0.16)	0.38** (0.14)	0.19† (0.10)	-0.36* (0.15)	-0.60*** (0.16)	0.33 (0.20)
Economic System Justification (ESJ)	-4.08*** (0.76)	0.34*** (0.05)	-0.31*** (0.05)	-0.30*** (0.04)	-0.17*** (0.03)	0.28*** (0.04)	0.37*** (0.05)	-0.41*** (0.06)
Senior*ESJ	0.33 (1.87)	-0.08 (0.13)	0.15 (0.12)	0.12 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.11)	0.12 (0.14)
Control*ESJ	2.79 (1.81)	-0.30* (0.12)	0.26* (0.11)	0.23* (0.10)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.23* (0.10)	-0.22* (0.11)	0.20 (0.14)

Note: The freshman condition was treated as the reference group.

†*p* < .10. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 8. Means and Standard Errors for the Outcome Variables by Condition and Low and High Economic System Justification (Study 2)

Variable	Economic System Justification	New (A)	Senior (B)	Control (C)
Feelings toward the student	Low (-1SD)	73.23	79.13	75.08
	High (+1SD)	56.15 ^{bc}	63.01 ^a	66.16 ^a
Negative evaluations	Low (-1SD)	1.56	1.33	1.69
	High (+1SD)	2.91 ^{bc}	2.44 ^a	2.18 ^a
Desire to Interact	Low (-1SD)	1.32	1.47	1.33
	High (+1SD)	0.01 ^{bc}	0.59 ^a	0.78 ^a
Perceived competence	Low (-1SD)	1.57	1.80	1.61
	High (+1SD)	0.37 ^{bc}	0.94 ^a	1.08 ^a
Perceived loyalty	Low (-1SD)	3.58 ^b	3.86 ^a	3.64
	High (+1SD)	3.01 ^{bc}	3.27 ^a	3.33 ^a
Perceived self-interest	Low (-1SD)	3.68	3.47	3.64
	High (+1SD)	4.79 ^{bc}	4.34 ^a	4.10 ^a
Perceived overstepping	Low (-1SD)	-1.37	-1.72	-1.65
	High (+1SD)	0.02 ^{bc}	-0.66 ^a	-0.90 ^a
Support for the proposed policy	Low (-1SD)	5.27	5.14	5.31
	High (+1SD)	3.77 ^c	3.99	4.38 ^a

Note. Least square mean estimates. Superscripts in bold indicate which conditions are significantly different ($p < .05$). Superscripts (unbolded) indicate which conditions are marginally different ($p < .01$). For instance, for feelings toward the employee at high system justification, the newcomer condition (A) significantly differs from the control condition (C), and marginally differs from the senior condition.

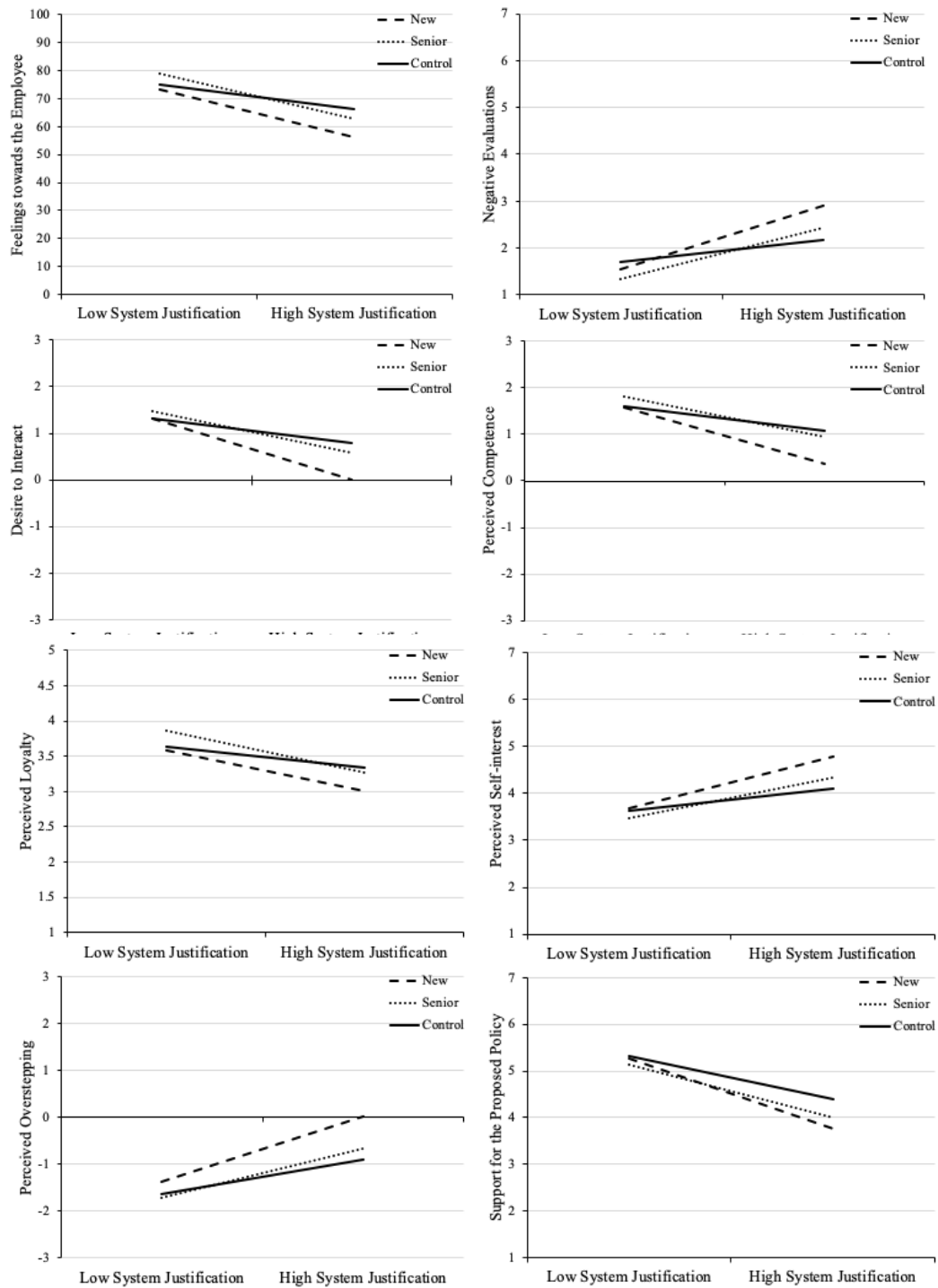


Figure 3. Effect of newcomer condition and economic system justification on primary dependent variables (Study 2).

Support for the proposed policy. As expected, high system justifiers in the newcomer condition supported the proposed policy significantly less than did those in the control condition. However, there was no difference between the new employee and the senior employee. There was also no difference between the senior condition and the control condition, as expected. As expected, among low system justifiers, there were no statistically significant differences in support for the proposed policy between any conditions.^{17,18}

Discussion

The findings of Study 2 provide more robust evidence that newcomers are evaluated more negatively than are more senior members when advocating change, and this derogation is especially pronounced among higher system justifiers. However, evidence that newcomers may also encounter more resistance to their proposals was limited.

In Study 3, I attempted to address remaining limitations in my experimental paradigm and further explore my hypotheses. In particular, Study 2 used a hypothetical vignette-based design, requiring participants to imagine that a colleague suggested this change. Thus, although this policy issue is likely to have been perceived as relatively less frivolous than those used in Study 1, participants were not led to believe that this policy change was actually being proposed in reality. In addition, several participants in both the initial studies failed key manipulation checks,

¹⁷ I conducted additional exploratory moderation analyses examining interactions between newcomer condition and the other individual difference variables (multiculturalism, assimilationism, Americanism, and general system justification) on all dependent variables. While none moderated the effect of newcomer condition on support for the policy, all except Americanism moderated the effect of newcomer condition on several of the dependent variables measuring evaluations of the employee. Moderations by multiculturalism revealed that those low (-1 *SD*) on multiculturalism felt less positive toward the new employee (vs. control employee), evaluated them more negatively, wanted to interact with them less, and perceived them as less competent and loyal, while these differences were smaller among those high ($+1$ *SD*) on multiculturalism. Moderations by assimilationism revealed that those high ($+1$ *SD*) on assimilationism felt less positive toward the new employee (vs. the control employee), evaluated them more negatively, wanted to interact with them less, perceived them as less competent and loyal, and as more self-interested, while these differences were not significant among those low (-1 *SD*) on assimilationism. Those high ($+1$ *SD*) on assimilationism also felt marginally less positive toward the new employee (vs. the senior) employee, evaluated them more negatively, wanted to interact with them less, and perceived them to be marginally less competent and marginally more self-interested, while these differences were not significant among those low on assimilationism. Moderations by general system justification revealed that high system justifiers perceived the new (vs. control) employee as significantly less competent, while this effect was smaller and nonsignificant among low system justifiers. Surprisingly, low system justifiers (-1 *SD*) felt significantly less positive toward the new (vs. senior) employee and perceived them to be significantly less loyal, while these effects were smaller and nonsignificant among high system justifiers ($+1$ *SD*). Low system justifiers also felt marginally less positive toward the new (vs. control) employee, while this effect was smaller and nonsignificant among high system justifiers.

¹⁸ I also reanalyzed the data using the full sample ($N = 714$). Because patterns of significance were not the same with the full sample, I report the results with only those who passed the manipulation check here.

suggesting that the paradigms (written descriptions read by the participant at their own pace) may not have been adequately engaging, particularly among an Mturk audience.

Finally, across Studies 1 and 2, my manipulation referred to the newcomer as either a “freshman congressperson” or “new employee” and the full member as a “senior”. As such, participants may have inferred that the newcomer was younger or that the full members were higher status (e.g., having been ostensibly successfully re-elected to congress). Furthermore, as mentioned in the Study 1 Discussion, the “senior” condition (which referred to a five-term congressperson or someone who had been employed at a workplace for 10 years) may have unintentionally triggered perceptions of an old or out-of-touch member of the system, which may have also led to bias compared to the no-information control condition (Moreland & Levine, 1982). This may explain why participants tended to again show more positive attitudes toward the control employee than the senior employee in Study 2. These patterns are broadly consistent with some research on the black sheep effect, which suggests that group members are more likely to advocate punishing deviant established group members (e.g., by highlighting negative consequences of their deviant opinions; Pinto, Marques, Levine, & Abrams, 2010).

Thus, in the following study, I recruited undergraduate students to learn about a policy that would actually impact them that was ostensibly being put forward at their own university. Participants learned about the proposal in an audio podcast. I also held age and hierarchical status more constant by referring to the full member as a “junior student” and the newcomer as a “junior transfer student”.

STUDY 3

Method

Participants

Undergraduate students recruited from the Introductory Psychology subject pool at a large public American university were invited to complete an online survey involving listening to a podcast and answering questions about its contents in exchange for one research credit. A power analysis using G*Power v. 3.1.9.2 (Faul et al., 2007), revealed that I would need 388 participants to detect the focal newcomer condition independent-samples *t*-test effect at a magnitude of $\eta^2 = .02$. Again, the magnitude of the effect was determined based on prior research by Hornsey et al. (2007) because the predicted main effect on support for the policy proposal was not statistically significant in Study 2. I recruited as many participants as I was able to from the subject pool in the Spring 2021 semester, resulting in a total sample size of 344. Participation was restricted to students aged 18 and above.

Of note, 35 participants failed a key manipulation check and were excluded from analyses (see Procedure below). The remaining 309 participants ranged in age from 18 to 28 years ($M = 19.35$, $SD = 1.26$), were slightly liberal ($M = -0.42$, $SD = 1.95$) on a scale of political ideology ranging from -4 (*Extremely liberal*) to 4 (*Extremely conservative*), mostly White (63.1%) and mostly men (59.2%).

Procedure

Experimental paradigm. Consenting participants were first asked to listen to podcast excerpts ostensibly from an episode of a podcast run by students at the participants' university¹⁹. In the excerpt, the podcast host mentions that this is the first episode in a new segment called "73 questions at [the participants' university]" where each week, a current student at the university is

¹⁹ In the study recruitment description, potential participants were informed that they would need to be able to hear audio to participate. Consenting participants were asked a question to test whether their audio functioned prior to the

asked 73 questions (adapted from Vogue’s 73 questions series with celebrities). Through some initial questions, the interviewee, Oliver, reveals that he is a junior student (for participants randomly assigned to the full member condition, $n = 168$) or a junior transfer student (for participants randomly assigned to the newcomer condition, $n = 141$). Through one of the final questions, Oliver describes his proposal to lift the tuition freeze at the university (adapted from Cacioppo, Petty, & Morris, 1983) – a widely-known source of pride at the university that has been in place for the last decade – and increase tuition by 1.5% for the upcoming academic year. He describes several evidence-based reasons for proposing to lift the tuition freeze such as “tuition freezes are typically unsustainable” and “academic programs that have lower enrollment are facing potentially being cut” (see Appendix E for audio and script of the complete paradigm).²⁰

At the conclusion of the excerpts, participants were asked to summarize the podcast to ensure that they had paid attention. They were then told that the student (Oliver) had given us permission to use the excerpts of his interview in our study for research purposes in exchange for offering students an opportunity to sign his petition in support of lifting the tuition freeze.

Feelings toward and evaluations of the student. Participants reported their feelings toward the student on a feeling-thermometer from 0 (Very cold) to 100 (Very warm, $M = 51.33$, $SD = 25.57$). Participants completed similar items to those in Studies 1 and 2 measuring desire to interact on a scale of -3 (Strongly Disagree) to 3 (Strongly Agree; $\alpha = .85$, $M = -0.02$, $SD = 1.38$) and perceived self-interest on a scale of 1 (Totally disagree) to 7 (Totally agree; $\alpha = .76$, $M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.33$). Perceived competence was measured by asking participants the degree to which they

podcast. Following the podcast, participants were also asked if they were able to hear the podcast. All consenting participants passed the audio test and reported that they were able to hear the podcast.

²⁰ A pilot study of undergraduates from the same institution ($N = 68$) indicated that the proposed policy was, on average, perceived to be somewhat threatening to the university’s status quo ($M = 0.63$, $SD = 1.37$ on a -3 [*Strongly disagree*] to 3 [*Strongly Agree*] scale) and somewhat personally relevant ($M = 4.25$, $SD = 2.08$ on a 1 [*Not at all*] to 7 [*Very much*] scale). Moreover, 87% of participants indicated that they would still be students at the university when the tuition freeze was lifted. Participants also overwhelmingly opposed the proposal to lift the tuition freeze, with only 12% preferring the proposed policy (relative to the current policy), and only 10% agreeing to sign the petition to lift the tuition freeze. Open responses also suggested that the arguments favoring the tuition freeze were not persuasive. As a result, I revised the arguments in favor of lifting the tuition freeze in an effort to avoid a potential floor effect in which participants unilaterally opposed the proposal regardless of experimental condition. See Supplement for the Letter to the Editor to the university newspaper used in the pilot study, which described the proposal, and all other study variables.

agreed with the following two items: “This student has good ideas to improve the way things are at [blinded]” and “This student is not knowledgeable about how to meet the [blinded] community’s needs” (reverse-scored) on a -3 (Strongly Disagree) to 3 (Strongly Agree) scale ($r = .49$, $M = 0.27$, $SD = 1.45$). Perceived loyalty was measured by asking participants the degree to which they agreed with four items such as “This person really looks out for what is important to the [blinded] community” and “This person would go out of their way to help the [blinded] community” on a 1 (Disagree strongly) to 5 (Agree strongly) scale ($\alpha = .79$, $M = 3.56$, $SD = 0.80$). Perceived overstepping was measured by asking participants the degree to which they agreed with the following two statements: “This student should just keep their head down and focus on their classes” and “This student should be grateful to be at [blinded] instead of trying to change things” on a -3 (Strongly Disagree) to 3 (Strongly Agree) scale ($r = .78$, $M = -0.95$, $SD = 1.70$).

Affective responses. I measured affective responses to the student by asking participants to indicate the extent to which several words applied to how they feel toward the student proposing to lift the tuition freeze, such as “irritated”, “disgusted”, “annoyed”, “impressed”, and “enthusiastic”, on a 1 (Does not apply at all) to 7 (Applies very much) scale (adapted from Monteith, 1993). I averaged the negatively valenced items to form an index of negative affective responses to the student ($\alpha = .94$, $M = 2.44$, $SD = 1.56$) and the positively valenced items to form an index of positive affective responses to the student ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.56$). I then measured affective responses to the proposal by asking participants to indicate the extent to which each of those words applied to how they felt toward the proposal to lift the tuition freeze, using the same scale. Again, I averaged the negatively valenced items to form an index of negative affective responses to the proposal ($\alpha = .95$, $M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.35$) and the positively valenced items to form an index of positive affective responses to the proposal ($\alpha = .91$, $M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.35$).

I also measured general affect by asking participants to what extent they were experiencing each of several moods right now, such as “excited”, “inspired”, “upset”, and “afraid”, on the following scale: 1 (*Very slightly or not at all*) to 5 (*Very much*; adapted from Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Positively valenced items were averaged to form an index of positive general affect ($\alpha = .90$; $M = 1.76$, $SD = 0.85$) and negatively valenced items were averaged to form an index of negative general affect ($\alpha = .94$; $M = 1.53$, $SD = 0.75$).

Perceptions of system threat. Participants rated the degree to which they agreed with four items assessing their perceptions that this change is threatening to the university system, such as “Lifting the tuition freeze would threaten a defining feature of [blinded]” and “Lifting the tuition freeze would not distort [blinded]’s character” (reverse scored), on a scale of -3 (Strongly Disagree) to 3 (Strongly Agree; $\alpha = .84$, $M = 0.31$, $SD = 1.38$).

Personal cost. Participants responded to three questions assessing the personal cost of this proposed policy. They were asked how much their personal tuition would be affected by lifting the tuition freeze, how much a tuition increase would harm their personal financial situation, and how much a tuition freeze would affect their family’s financial situation on a 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much) scale ($\alpha = .89$, $M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.84$).

Support for the proposed policy. Participants were asked a binary item asking whether or not they would like to sign the petition to support lifting the tuition freeze, as well as a binary item asking whether they preferred the current policy (tuition freeze) or the proposed policy (1.5% tuition increase). Participants then rated the degree to which they agreed with the following five statements: “I support lifting the tuition freeze”, “I want to take action against this proposal to lift the tuition freeze” (reverse scored), “I want to find out how I can prevent the tuition freeze from being lifted” (reverse scored), “I would be interested in joining a task force to help implement lifting the tuition freeze”, and “I would like more information about how I can help ensure that this proposal to lift the tuition freeze moves forward” on a scale of 1 (Absolutely Not) to 9 (Absolutely; $\alpha = .74$, $M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.60$; first three items adapted from Gordijn, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus, & Dumont, 2006). See Supplement for complete list of study variables.

System justification. Participants completed nine-point scales measuring general system justification ($\alpha = .81$, $M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.43$) and economic system justification ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 4.48$, $SD = 1.22$).²¹

²¹ There was no effect of condition on general or economic system justification (see Table 10).

Manipulation check. To check if participants accurately recalled whether the student was a newcomer (i.e., a transfer student) or not, participants were asked to select which of four statements were true about the student who proposed to lift the tuition freeze, based on their memory of the podcast excerpts. One question was “recently transferred to [blinded]”. Another statement was “is a pre-vet major”, which was true across conditions; the other two statements were untrue. Participants in the junior transfer student condition who failed to accurately select “recently transferred to [blinded]” as well as those in the junior student condition who inaccurately did select this statement ($n = 35$) were excluded from all analyses (see Participants above).²²

Demographic questions. Finally, participants completed demographic items (including international student status, in-state or out-of-state student status, objective socioeconomic status, and subjective socioeconomic status), before being debriefed²³.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Bivariate correlations. As expected, correlations between feelings toward and evaluations of the student with support for the proposed policy were statistically significant in the predicted direction (see Table 9 for bivariate correlations between all relevant Study 3 variables). More negative feelings toward the student, lower perceptions of competence and loyalty, higher perceptions of self-interest, system threat, and overstepping, and lesser desire to interact with the student were each associated with lower support for the proposed policy. System justification was significantly positively correlated with lower perceptions of loyalty and higher perceptions of self-interest and overstepping. However, system justification was unexpectedly not associated with support for the proposed policy, nor with feelings toward the student, perceptions of competence, or desire to interact with the student.

²² The proportion of participants failing the manipulation check differed by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(2, N = 343) = 13.99, \Phi = 0.20, p < .001$. 16.1% of the participants in the junior transfer student condition failed the manipulation check, which was a significantly higher proportion than in the junior continuing student condition (4.0%).

²³ At the end of the study, participants were asked what they thought the study was about. They were also asked whether they thought anything was weird, strange, odd, or out of place during the study and if so, to describe further. Responses to these questions suggested that no participant guessed the purpose of the study.

Table 9. Bivariate Correlations (Study 3)

[illegible]

Table 9 continues

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
20. Gender																
21. Race																
22. Conservatism																
23. Subjective Socioeconomic Status																
24. Personal cost																

Variable	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.
17. General system justification	—	.58***	.03	-.25***	-.04	.59***	.24***	-.06
18. Economic system justification		—	-.08	-.13*	-.07	.61***	.19**	-.07
19. Age			—	-.09	-.05	-.05	.02	-.12*
20. Gender				—	-.11 [†]	-.13*	-.09	.08
21. Race					—	-.20**	.02	.08
22. Conservatism						—	.05	-.07
23. Subjective Socioeconomic Status							—	-.20***
24. Personal cost								—

Note. Policy preference is a binary variable coded as 0 = Preference for the current policy and 1 = Preference for the proposed policy. Petition signifying is a binary variable coded as 0 = No and 1 = Yes. Gender was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = Man and 1 = Woman. Race was recoded as a binary variable, where 0 = White and 1 = Non-White.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Preference for current vs. proposed policy. A binomial test suggested that collapsed across condition, a larger proportion of participants (70%) preferred the current policy to the proposed policy ($p < .001$), consistent with expectations.

Effect of Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables

Feelings toward and evaluations of the student. Given the small sample size, most results were not statistically significant. However, consistent with expectations, participants in the newcomer (vs. full member) condition felt somewhat less positively toward the student, reported more negative affect and less positive affect across all affect measures, perceived them to be less loyal and competent, and were less interested in interacting with them (Cohen's d effect sizes 0.03-0.17). However, there appears to be no effect of being in the newcomer condition (vs. full member condition) on perceived self-interest or perceived overstepping (ds 0.00 to -0.05).

Perceptions of system threat. Unexpectedly, perceptions of system threat were equivalent among those in the newcomer and the full member condition ($d = 0.00$).

Policy preference. Likely due again to the lack of statistical power, preference for the proposed policy did not significantly differ by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 309) = 2.57$, $\Phi = 0.09$, $p = .109$, but patterns were in the predicted direction. Those in the newcomer condition were somewhat less likely to prefer the proposed (vs. the current) policy (25.5%), compared to those in the full member condition (33.9%).

Petition signing. Similarly, decision to sign the petition did not significantly differ by newcomer condition, $\chi^2(1, N = 309) = 1.93$, $\Phi = 0.08$, $p = .165$, but patterns were again in the predicted direction. Those in the newcomer condition were somewhat less willing to sign the petition (10.6%) than were those in the full member condition (16.1%).

Support for the proposed policy. Consistent with binary preferences, there was lower support for the proposed policy on the Likert-type scale in the newcomer condition ($d = 0.12$), but this was not significant (see Table 10 for means, standard deviations, and independent samples t -tests of newcomer condition on system justification and all continuous dependent variables).

Table 10. Means, Standard Deviations, and Independent Samples *t*-Tests (Study 3)

Variable	Newcomer	Full Member	$t_{(df)}$	d	p	CI
1. Feelings toward the student	50.07 (25.36)	52.40 (25.77)	-0.80 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.09	.426	-8.09, 3.43
2. Desire to interact	-0.04 (1.37)	0.01 (1.38)	-0.30 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.04	.767	-0.36, 0.26
3. Perceived competence	0.16 (1.49)	0.37 (1.42)	-1.29 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.14	.200	-0.54, 0.11
4. Perceived loyalty	3.49 (0.82)	3.62 (0.78)	-1.40 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.16	.161	-0.31, 0.05
5. Perceived self-interest	3.21 (1.39)	3.28 (1.28)	-0.43 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.05	.669	-0.36, 0.23
6. Perceived overstepping	-0.95 (1.76)	-0.95 (1.66)	0.01 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.00	.992	-0.38, 0.39
7. Negative affective response to the student	2.54 (1.59)	2.35 (1.53)	1.03 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.12	.304	-0.17, 0.53
8. Positive affective response to the student	2.65 (1.48)	2.91 (1.62)	-1.50 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.17	.135	-0.62, 0.08
9. Negative affective response to the proposal	2.89 (1.76)	2.61 (1.69)	1.38 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.16	.168	-0.11, 0.66
10. Positive affective response to the proposal	2.00 (1.23)	2.24 (1.43)	-1.58 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.18	.114	-0.54, 0.06

Table 10 continued

Variable	Newcomer	Full Member	$t_{(df)}$	d	p	CI
11. Negative general affect	1.55 (0.72)	1.52 (0.78)	0.35 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.04	.728	-0.14, 0.20
12. Positive general affect	1.69 (0.80)	1.82 (0.90)	-1.37 _(304.56)	0.15	.173	-0.32, 0.06
13. Perceived threat	0.31 (1.48)	0.31 (1.30)	-0.01 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.00	.993	-0.31, 0.31
14. Support for the proposed policy	3.98 (1.52)	4.17 (1.66)	-1.07 ₍₃₀₇₎	0.12	.285	-0.55, 0.16
15. General system justification	3.93 (1.38)	4.06 (1.47)	-0.80 ₍₃₀₆₎	0.09	.427	-0.45, 0.19
16. Economic system justification	4.33 (1.24)	4.60 (1.19)	-1.04 ₍₃₀₆₎	0.22	.053	-0.54, 0.00

Note: Standard deviations presented in parentheses. Cohen's d effect sizes were calculated using the pooled variance. Feelings toward the student was measured on a 0 to 100 scale. Desire to interact, perceived competence, perceived threat and perceived overstepping were measured on a -3 to 3 scale. Perceived loyalty was measured on a 1 to 5 scale. Perceived self-interest, negative affective response to the student, positive affective response to the student, negative affective response to the proposal, and positive affective response to the proposal were measured on a 1 to 7 scale. Support for the proposed policy, general system justification, and economic system justification were measured on a 1 to 9 scale.

Exploratory Interactions Between Newcomer Condition and System Justification on All Dependent Variables

I again conducted exploratory interactions between newcomer condition and economic system justification on all dependent variables. To examine these moderations, I conducted a series of linear and logistic regression analyses with newcomer condition, economic system justification (mean-centered), and their interaction on all dependent variables.

Feelings toward and evaluations of the student. Consistent with expectations, high system justifiers in the newcomer (vs. full member) condition reported marginally lower positive affect toward the student ($b = 0.43, p = .094$) marginally lower positive affect toward the proposal ($b = 0.39, p = .074$), and marginally lower general positive affect ($b = 0.24, p = .086$). As expected, low system justifiers did not differ based on condition (positive affective response to the student: $b = 0.09, p = .736$; positive affective response to the proposal, $b = 0.05, p = .816$, general positive affect, $b = -0.01, p = .927$).

Unexpectedly, low system justifiers perceived the newcomer as marginally less competent than the full member ($b = 0.39, p = .098$) and significantly less loyal ($b = 0.26, p = .044$), whereas high system justifiers did not differ by condition (competence: $b = 0.10, p = .674$; loyalty: $b = 0.05, p = .722$).

Perceptions of system threat. There were no significant interaction between newcomer condition and economic system justification on perceptions of system threat.

Policy preference and petition signing. There was no interaction between newcomer condition and economic system justification on either policy preference (current vs. proposed), $b = .30, SE = 0.21, p = .155$, nor on participants' decision to sign the petition favoring the tuition increase (no vs. yes), $b = .16, SE = 0.28, p = .580$.

Support for the proposed policy. There were no significant interactions between newcomer condition and economic system justification on support for the proposed policy.^{24,25}

Discussion

Possibly due data collection limitations, the results of Study 3 were generally not statistically significant. Nevertheless, most patterns were in the hypothesized direction. Specifically, participants in the newcomer condition tended to perceive the newcomer to be less competent and loyal than the full member, to like the newcomer less and be less interested in interacting with them, and to have greater negative affect and less positive affect toward both the newcomer and the proposal. Participants in the newcomer condition also tended to be less likely to prefer the policy proposal, support it, or be willing to sign a petition in its favor, compared to participants in the full member condition. High system justifiers were also particularly likely to experience less positive affect in the newcomer (vs. full member condition) across affective measures. Higher system justifiers (regardless of condition) also perceived the student to be significantly more self-interested, less loyal, and to be overstepping to a greater degree, compared to lower system justifiers. This suggests that regardless of students' status as a transfer or continuing student, higher system justifiers appeared to react more negatively to a student proposing a change to a longstanding tradition.

While these trends are interesting, I also observed that participants in Study 3 did not perceive the newcomer to be more self-interested, to be overstepping their authority more, or to be

²⁴ I conducted additional exploratory moderation analyses examining interactions between newcomer condition and general system justification, perceived system threat, and personal cost on all dependent variables. The interaction between newcomer condition and general system justification on general positive affect was marginally significant ($p = .061$). As expected, high system justifiers reported significantly lower positive general affect in the newcomer condition (vs. full member condition; $b = .30, p = .029$), whereas there was no difference among low system justifiers ($b = .06, p = .642$). No other moderations approached significance. Moderations by perceived threat suggest that at low perceived threat ($-1 SD$), as expected, participants in the newcomer (vs. full member) condition supported the policy significantly less, reported significantly more negative affect toward the proposal, and reported significantly less positive affect toward the proposal. At high perceived threat ($+1 SD$), there were no differences (see Table 11 for omnibus effects, Table 12 for simple effects of condition at low and high perceived threat, and Figure 4 for panel graphs). Similarly, moderations by personal cost suggest that at low personal cost ($-1 SD$), participants in the newcomer (vs. full member) condition supported the policy marginally less, reported significantly less positive affect toward the student, reported significantly less positive affect toward the proposal, and reported significantly less general positive affect. Again, at high personal cost ($+1 SD$), there were no differences (see Table 13 for omnibus effects, Table 14 for simple effects of condition at low and high personal cost, and Figure 5 for panel graphs).

²⁵ I also reanalyzed the data using the full sample ($N = 344$). Because patterns of significance were not the same with the full sample, I report the results with only those who passed the manipulation check here.

proposing a greater threat to the status quo, compared to the full member. Moreover, effect sizes across all dependent variables were small.

Exploratory analyses indicated that newcomer effects were particularly pronounced among individuals who perceived the tuition increase to be less threatening and personally costly. These findings are consistent with the elaboration likelihood model, which suggests that people are more likely to use heuristic cues (e.g. source factors) when personal relevance is lower (and less likely to when personal relevance is high). These results are also consistent with a broad literature that indicates that biases are more likely to appear in situations of ambiguity than in extreme situations (Chaiken & Maheswaran, 1994). Thus, when system threat and personal costs of change are high, individuals may strongly resist system challenges regardless of the characteristics of the person proposing the policy.

Table 11. Interaction Between Perceived Threat and Newcomer Condition on All Dependent Variables (Study 3)

	Feelings Toward the Student	Desire to Interact	Competence	Loyalty	Over- stepping	Self- Interest	Negative Affect (Student)	Positive Affect (Student)	Negative Affect (Proposal)	Positive Affect (Proposal)	Negative Affect (General)	Positive Affect (General)	Support for Proposed Policy
	<i>b (SE)</i>												
Intercept	50.04 (1.87)	-0.04 (0.11)	0.16 (0.10)	3.49*** (0.06)	-0.95*** (0.13)	3.21*** (0.10)	2.54*** (0.11)	2.65*** (0.12)	2.89*** (0.12)	2.00*** (0.10)	1.55*** (0.06)	1.69*** (0.07)	3.98*** (0.10)
Full Member	2.39 (2.54)	0.05 (0.4)	0.21 (0.14)	0.13 (0.08)	0.00 (0.18)	0.06 (0.14)	-0.18 (0.16)	0.27 [†] (0.16)	-0.27 [†] (0.16)	0.24 [†] (0.14)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.13 (0.10)	0.20 (0.14)
Perceived Threat	-9.30*** (0.91)	-0.40*** (0.05)	-0.55*** (0.05)	-0.23*** (0.03)	0.48*** (0.07)	0.35*** (0.05)	0.56*** (0.06)	-0.51*** (0.06)	0.68*** (0.06)	-0.40*** (0.05)	0.16*** (0.03)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.77*** (0.05)
Full Member *Threat	-0.48 (1.83)	0.13 (0.10)	0.09 (0.10)	0.04 (0.06)	-0.12 (0.13)	-0.68 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.02 (0.11)	0.16 (0.12)	-0.18 [†] (0.10)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.18 [†] (0.10)

Note. The newcomer condition was treated as the reference group.

[†]*p* < .10. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Table 12. Means for the Outcome Variables by Condition and Low and High Perceived Threat (Study 3)

Variable	Perceived Threat	Junior Transfer Student (A)	Junior Continuing Student (B)
Feelings toward the student	Low (-1SD)	62.60	65.65
	High (+1SD)	37.49	39.20
Desire to interact	Low (-1SD)	0.60	0.47
	High (+1SD)	-0.68	-0.46
Perceived competence	Low (-1SD)	0.98	1.07
	High (+1SD)	-0.67	-0.34
Perceived loyalty	Low (-1SD)	3.84	3.92
	High (+1SD)	3.15	3.33
Perceived self-interest	Low (-1SD)	2.68	2.84
	High (+1SD)	3.74	3.71
Perceived overstepping	Low (-1SD)	-1.70	-1.54
	High (+1SD)	-0.20	-0.37
Negative affect (student)	Low (-1SD)	1.76	1.59
	High (+1SD)	3.31	3.12
Positive affect (student)	Low (-1SD)	3.35	3.64
	High (+1SD)	1.95	2.19
Negative affect (proposal)	Low (-1SD)	2.05 ^b	1.56 ^a
	High (+1SD)	3.73	3.67
Positive affect (proposal)	Low (-1SD)	2.43 ^b	2.93 ^a
	High (+1SD)	1.57	1.56
Negative affect (general)	Low (-1SD)	1.38	1.26
	High (+1SD)	1.72	1.77
Positive affect (general)	Low (-1SD)	1.86	2.02
	High (+1SD)	1.51	1.61
Support for the proposed policy	Low (-1SD)	4.91 ^b	5.36 ^a
	High (+1SD)	3.04	2.99

Note. Least square mean estimates. Superscripts indicate which conditions are significantly different ($p < .05$).

Table 13. Interaction Between Personal Cost and Newcomer Condition on Selected Dependent Variables (Study 3)

	Feelings Toward the Student	Desire to Interact	Competence	Loyalty	Overstepping	Self-Interest	Negative Affect (Student)	Positive Affect (Student)
<i>b (SE)</i>								
Intercept	50.35*** (2.07)	-0.03 (0.11)	0.17 (0.12)	3.50*** (0.07)	-0.96*** (0.14)	3.19*** (0.11)	2.52*** (0.13)	2.65*** (0.13)
Full Member	1.71 (2.80)	0.02 (0.15)	0.18 (0.16)	0.11 (0.09)	0.02 (0.19)	0.10 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.17)	0.25 (0.18)
Personal Cost	-4.00*** (0.77)	-0.16*** (0.04)	-0.19*** (0.04)	-0.09*** (0.02)	0.15** (0.05)	0.20*** (0.04)	0.23*** (0.05)	-0.13** (0.05)
Full Member *Personal Cost	-1.49 (1.53)	-0.02 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.09)	0.04 (0.05)	0.07 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.08)	0.05 (0.09)	-0.19* (0.10)

	Negative Affect (Proposal)	Positive Affect (Proposal)	Negative Affect (General)	Positive Affect (General)	Perceived Threat	Support for Proposed Policy
<i>b (SE)</i>						
Intercept	2.86*** (0.13)	2.00*** (0.11)	1.68*** (0.07)	1.54*** (0.06)	0.29** (0.11)	3.99*** (0.13)
Full Member	-0.21 (0.18)	0.23 (0.15)	0.13 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.08)	0.04 (0.15)	0.15 (0.17)

Table 13 continues

	Negative Affect (Proposal)	Positive Affect (Proposal)	Negative Affect (General)	Positive Affect (General)	Perceived Threat	Support for Proposed Policy
	<i>b (SE)</i>					
Personal Cost	0.35*** (0.05)	-0.11* (0.04)	0.10*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.23*** (0.04)	-0.25*** (0.05)
Full Member *Personal Cost	0.11 (0.10)	-0.17* (0.08)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.13 (0.08)	-0.16 [†] (0.10)

Note. The newcomer condition was treated as the reference group.

[†] $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 14. Means the Outcome Variables by Condition and Low and High Personal Cost (Study 3)

Variable	Perceived Threat	Junior Transfer Student (A)	Junior Continuing Student (B)
Feelings toward the student	Low (-1SD)	56.33	60.78
	High (+1SD)	44.37	43.34
Desire to interact	Low (-1SD)	0.25	0.31
	High (+1SD)	-0.30	-0.32
Perceived competence	Low (-1SD)	0.48	0.75
	High (+1SD)	-0.13	-0.05
Perceived loyalty	Low (-1SD)	3.71	3.75
	High (+1SD)	3.29	3.48
Perceived self-interest	Low (-1SD)	2.74	3.00
	High (+1SD)	3.63	3.58
Perceived overstepping	Low (-1SD)	-1.18	-1.28
	High (+1SD)	-0.75	-0.59
Negative affect (student)	Low (-1SD)	2.14	1.90
	High (+1SD)	2.89	2.84
Positive affect (student)	Low (-1SD)	2.71 ^b	3.31 ^a
	High (+1SD)	2.59	2.48
Negative affect (proposal)	Low (-1SD)	2.32	1.91
	High (+1SD)	3.40	3.39
Positive affect (proposal)	Low (-1SD)	2.04 ^b	2.58 ^a
	High (+1SD)	1.96	1.88
Negative affect (general)	Low (-1SD)	1.43	1.27
	High (+1SD)	1.65	1.78
Positive affect (general)	Low (-1SD)	1.63 ^b	1.91 ^a
	High (+1SD)	1.74	1.71
Support for the proposed policy	Low (-1SD)	4.31	4.75
	High (+1SD)	3.68	3.54

Note. Least square mean estimates. Superscripts indicate which conditions are significantly different ($p < .05$).

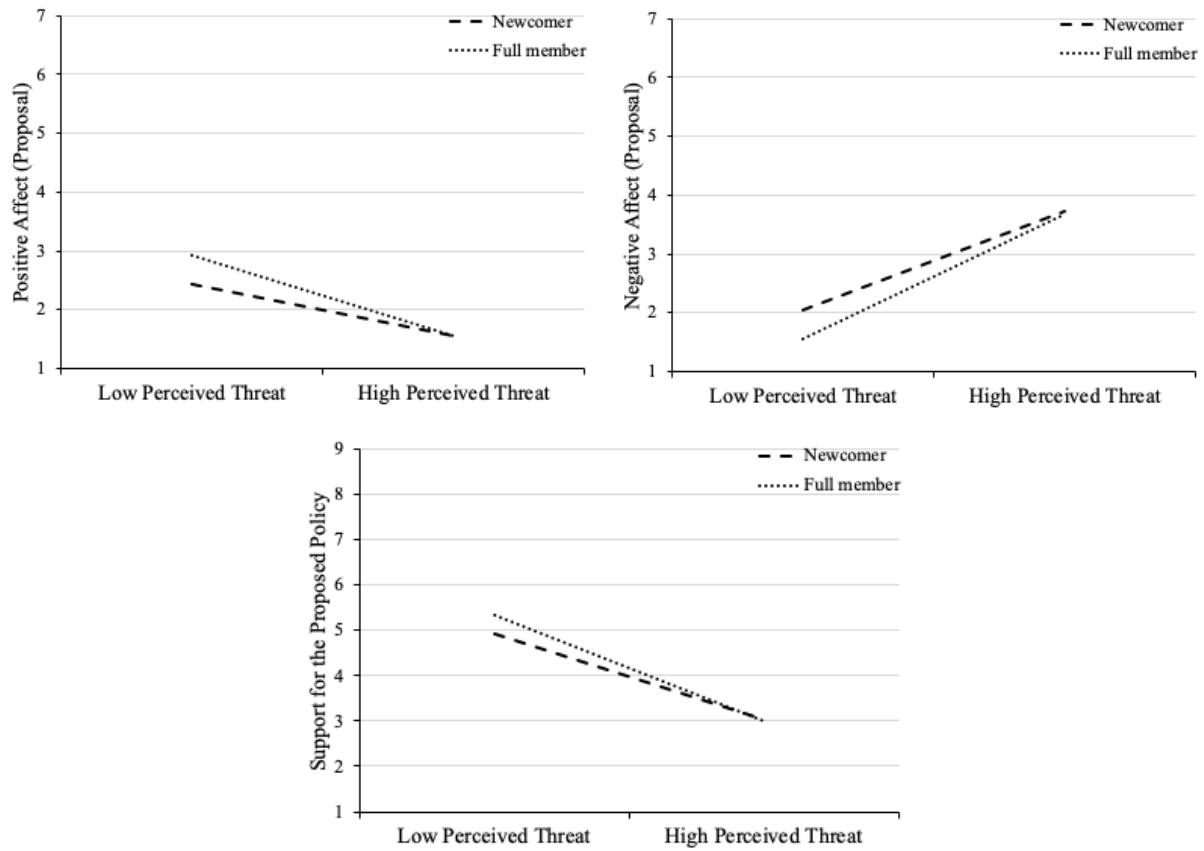


Figure 4. Effect of newcomer condition and perceived threat on selected dependent variables (Study 3).

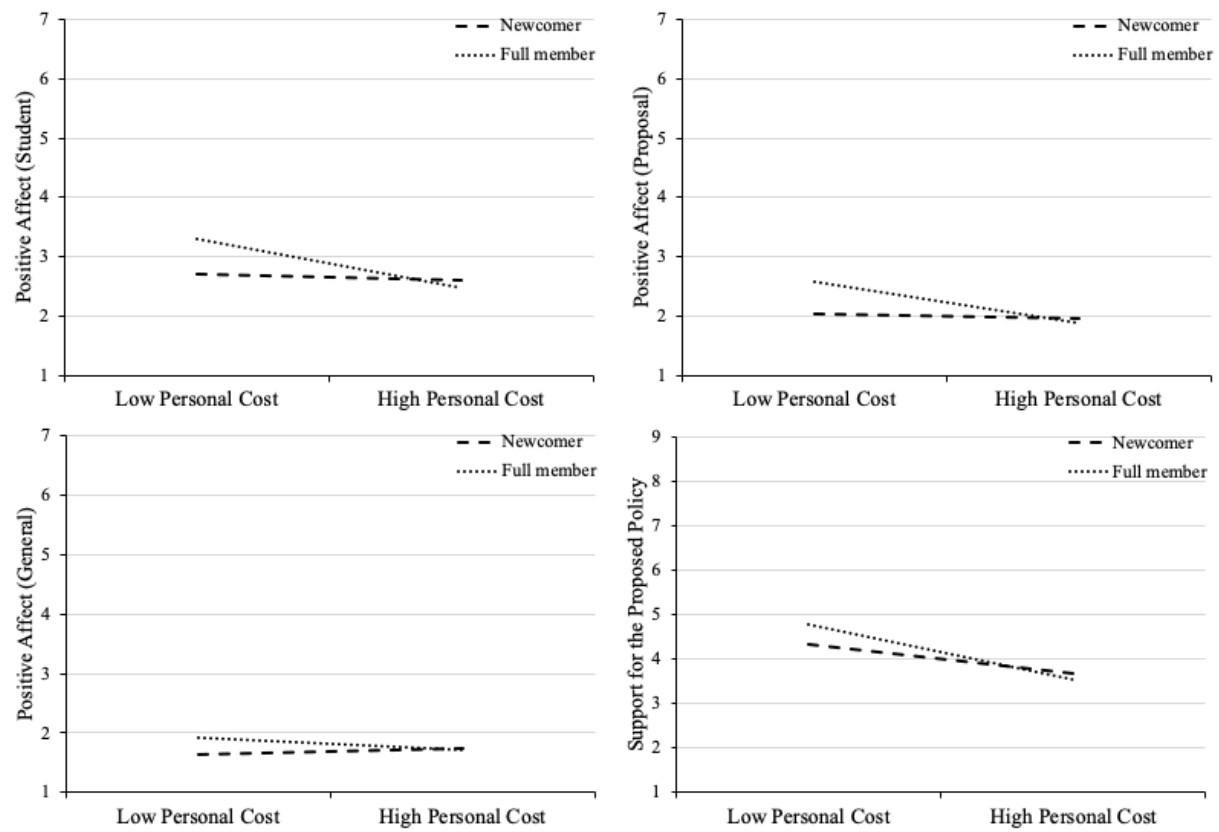


Figure 5. Effect of newcomer condition and personal cost on selected dependent variables (Study 3).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The goal of this thesis was to begin to explore the impact of characteristics of individuals recommending social change on support for policy proposals. In particular, I sought to examine whether new entrance into a system might be one such characteristic to heighten defensiveness, because newcomers likely have had fewer opportunities to prove their commitment to the system's values. Therefore, I hypothesized that new entrants would receive less support for their recommendations for change than those with longer tenure in the system. The three studies reported here represent initial attempts to develop and test compelling experimental paradigms to elicit differences in support for change proposals due to proposers' tenure in the system, if they indeed exist. In Study 1, I examined whether support for a U.S. congressperson's proposal to change an obscure policy was lower when the congressperson was described as a freshman versus as a senior or when no information about tenure was provided. In Study 2, I tested whether support for a hypothetical proposal to change a workplace policy was lower among those who believed the proposer was a new employee relative to a senior or no-information control employee. Finally, in Study 3, I investigated whether undergraduates derogated a proposal to change a proudly-held university policy more when advocated by a junior transfer student (vs. a junior continuing student).

Study 1 offered some evidence that both newcomers themselves and their policy proposals are derogated relative to generic group members, but this was only apparent among high system justifiers. Moreover, my paradigm may have unintentionally led "senior" group members (in this case 5th-term congresspeople) to be perceived as "oldtimers" and also experience bias relative to the generic group member. As a result, comparisons between newcomers and senior congresspeople were not statistically significant.

Study 2 provided stronger evidence of newcomer derogation across participants (although effects were again most robust among high system-justifiers), but provided very little evidence that their proposals were especially rejected. However, Study 2 used a hypothetical context, which may have weakened the effects.

Finally, results of Study 3 generally trended in the hypothesized direction, with both the newcomer and their policy derogated compared to a full member. Some of these effects seem to be moderated by dispositional system justification, such that high system justifiers felt less positive affect in response to a newcomer (vs. full member) policy proposal. Higher system justifiers

perceived the student to be more self-interested, less loyal, and to be overstepping to a greater degree, compared to lower system justifiers, regardless of experimental condition. However, effect sizes were quite small and the study was underpowered given time constraints for data collection.

These initial studies provide an informative path forward. The first step is to replicate Study 3 with a sufficiently powered sample. More broadly, these studies suggest that there are certain conditions under which newcomers who propose changes to the status quo might be evaluated more negatively and receive less support for their policy proposals. In particular, Study 3 suggested that newcomers and their proposals are more likely to be derogated when the personal cost associated with a policy change is lower or when the perceived threat to the system is lower. However, completely frivolous policies (as in Study 1) do not appear to elicit any threat at all and participants seemed to instead feel confused about why the policy change was being proposed in the first place. In future studies, I plan to experimentally manipulate personal cost and system threat. I hypothesize that effects are most likely to emerge at average levels of cost and threat. When costs are extremely low, individuals may not be sufficiently invested in the issue, whereas when costs and threat are high, individuals may react very strongly to the proposer and the proposal regardless of proposer characteristics.

If my next studies reveal robust evidence of derogation of both newcomers and their policy proposals, I am interested in continuing to test the mechanisms that might mediate such effects (such as perceived loyalty and competence or perceptions of system threat). These insights into underlying mechanisms would then allow future examination of ways to alleviate resistance to newcomer ideas. For instance, future studies could examine whether support for a newcomer's proposal might be bolstered by endorsement from a full member ally by reducing perceptions of disloyalty to the system (c.f., Gaucher et al., 2018). In addition, I could examine ways in which newcomers might communicate their ideas to more effectively reduce system threat or enhance perceived loyalty, such as by emphasizing the proposal's consistency with long-held values and norms (c.f., Kane & Rink, 2015).

If results instead suggest that people evaluate newcomers more negatively than full members (consistent with Hornsey et al., 2007) but are *not* biased against their ideas, this would provide valuable translational insight to individuals who promote social change. Such evidence might reassure activists that their proposals are just as likely to be successful, as long as they acknowledge the potential personal costs. Even in this case, I would be interested in further

exploring whether an individual's position in a system as a newcomer is relevant to the processes through which changes are adapted. For instance, it may be that bias against newcomer ideas occurs before newcomers even voice their suggestions. Future research could test whether people are less willing to hear an idea from a newcomer (vs. full member) in the first place. Finally, I would be interested to examine how newcomers and full members are evaluated when they instead *decline* to voice solutions to systemic problems.

I am also interested in considering the role of other demographic characteristics in addition to tenure as a newcomer in predicting how people respond to an individual's change proposals. For instance, a majority of participants in Study 2 were likely to have assumed that the person proposing the change was an outgroup member (60% of participants identified as Christian), given that the proposal involved accommodating those who observe holy days that are not federal holidays in the United States (such as Yom Kippur or Al-Fitr). Thus, it is possible that effects of newcomer status are further exacerbated when group members have additional outgroup characteristics. Consistent with this idea, Representative Ocasio-Cortez was not only just one month into her term in Congress when she and Representative Markey proposed the Green New Deal, but she is also a Latina woman, a member of an informal group of ethnically diverse freshmen congresswomen (nicknamed "The Squad"), and the youngest woman to ever serve in the United States Congress. It is likely that these characteristics further amplified resistance to the Green New Deal and heightened perceptions that she and her ideas are radical and system-threatening.

Finally, I am interested in examining whether some demographic characteristics may themselves symbolize newcomer status (such as being an immigrant or a person of color in a historically White-majority institution), and how these characteristics might interact with newcomer status. It may be that such characteristics may lead to similar reactions, even if an individual's tenure in a group is not actually recent (e.g., a senior Black woman CEO). Lastly, I am interested in conducting future work to examine whether newcomers may cope with these experiences by adopting and internalizing system justifying perceptions in order to curry favor from the group (cf., Eibach, Wilmut, & Libby, 2015). Such results would also be broadly consistent with phenomena such as "Queen Bee" behaviors, in which historically marginalized senior members of groups distance themselves from newcomer in-group members (Derks, Van Laar, & Ellemers, 2016).

Conclusion

In increasingly diverse societies, many groups are likely to be perceived as newcomers across various settings. These newcomers have the potential to propel positive social change, bringing fresh perspectives and novel ideas. When newcomers are accepted into groups, they can boost group creativity and innovation (Choi & Thompson, 2005; Levine, Moreland, & Choi, 2001). Thus, dismissing ideas simply because they are suggested by newcomers can limit the transformative power of their diverse perspectives. In parallel, given full members' status as trusted and system-sanctioned group members, they may have special opportunities to lead the way when threatening but valuable change is warranted. The current line of work sought to examine psychological factors that influence support for change and, ultimately, to explore ways to buffer against potential biases. While the current results are inconclusive and future research is necessary, my line of research hopes to begin to shed light on the characteristics that make system-challengers most likely to succeed in championing system change.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF POLICY ISSUES (STUDY 1)

- 1) Advertising alcohol on TV
 - a. Version 1: There are certain restrictions on advertising alcohol on TV, such that 70% of the audience must be over the legal drinking age, and the message should not appeal to people under the age of 21.
 - b. Version 2: There are no restrictions on the advertising of alcohol on TV.
- 2) Middle school classes
 - a. Version 1: Middle school classes should devote 3 hours each per week to English, Math, Science, and Social Studies.
 - b. Version 2: Middle school classes should devote 4 hours each per week to English and Math and 2 hours each per week to Science and Social Studies
- 3) Feeding feral cats
 - a. Version 1: According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is allowed unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance.
 - b. Version 2: Feeding feral cats is prohibited.
- 4) Helping people in peril
 - a. Version 1: A person who does not voluntarily try to prevent damage to someone in peril is held legally responsible, and can be sued.
 - b. Version 2: There is no general duty to come to the rescue of someone in peril unless the individual him/herself creates a hazardous situation or a special relationship exists with the victim (such as emergency workers, parents, or employers).
- 5) Taking testimony from child victims of sexual assault
 - a. Version 1: Child victims of sexual abuse will be interrogated by specialized child interrogators, not by the police. If the case goes to court, the interrogator will testify for the child (except in special cases where the interrogator determines that the child can testify him or herself).
 - b. Version 2: The same procedure for taking testimony is followed for child victims as for adult victims of sexual abuse. Child victims will be interrogated by the police, and if the case goes to court, will testify in court.
- 6) Statute of limitations on civil suits
 - a. Version 1: Civil suits are subject to a binary standard of statute of limitations as follows: suits regarding land-15years, and all other suits-7 years.
 - b. Version 2: Civil suits are subject to different statutes of limitations for the different possible categories (e.g., personal injury -- 3 years; fraud -- 6; libel/slander/defamation -- 1; injury to personal property -- 3; product liability -- 3; contracts -- 6).

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF ALL PERMUTATIONS OF ONE POLICY (FEEDING FERAL CATS; STUDY 1)

Condition: Freshman congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 1

“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is allowed unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance. A freshman congressperson who has been in office for one term has put forth a suggestion to prohibit the feeding of feral cats.”

Condition: Senior congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 1

“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is allowed unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance. A senior congressperson who has been in office for five terms has put forth a suggestion to prohibit the feeding of feral cats.”

Condition: Control congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 1

“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is allowed unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance. A congressperson has put forth a suggestion to prohibit the feeding of feral cats.”

Condition: Freshman congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 2

“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is prohibited. A freshman congressperson who has been in office for one term has put forth a suggestion to allow the feeding of feral cats unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance.”

Condition: Senior congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 2

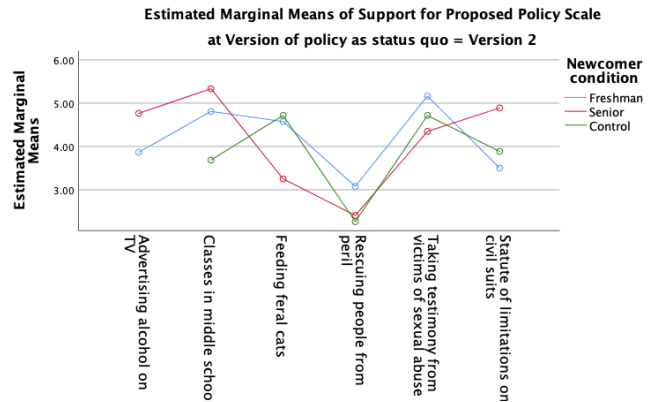
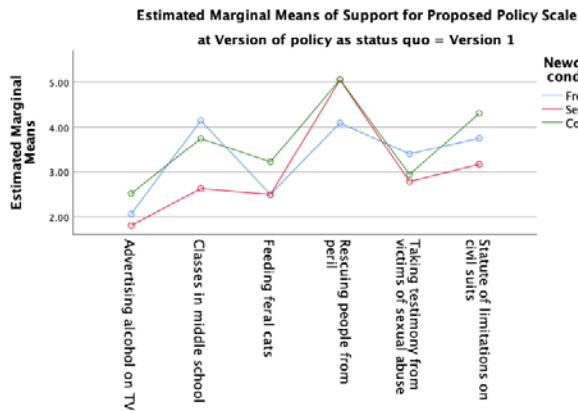
“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is prohibited. A senior congressperson who has been in office for five terms has put forth a suggestion to allow the feeding of feral cats unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance.”

Condition: Control congressperson, Feeding feral cats, Version 2

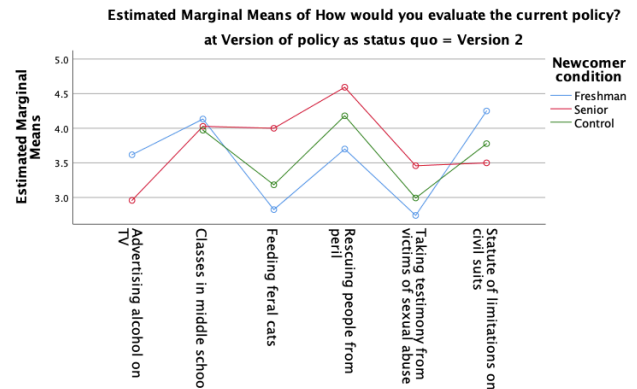
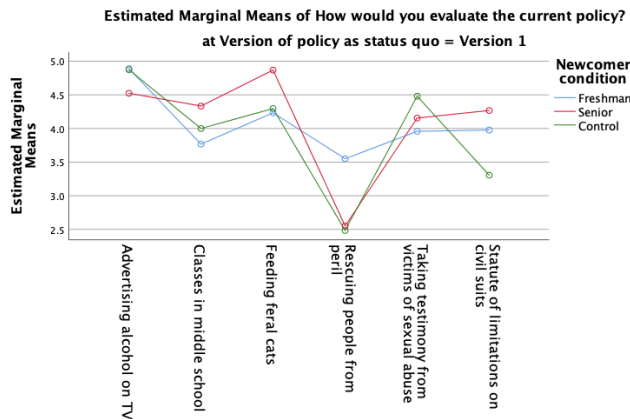
“According to the prevailing policy in the United States today, feeding feral cats is prohibited. A congressperson has put forth a suggestion to allow the feeding of feral cats unless the feeding is done in a manner that creates a public health hazard or nuisance.”

APPENDIX C: 3 (NEWCOMER STATUS) X 2 (VERSION) X 6 (POLICY ISSUE) MODELS FOR ALL DEPENDENT VARIABLES (STUDY 1)

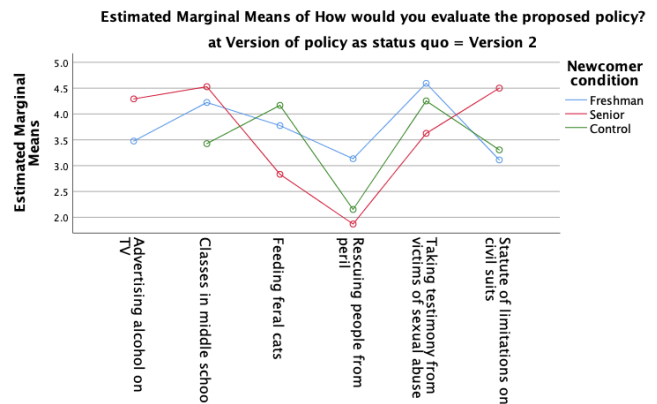
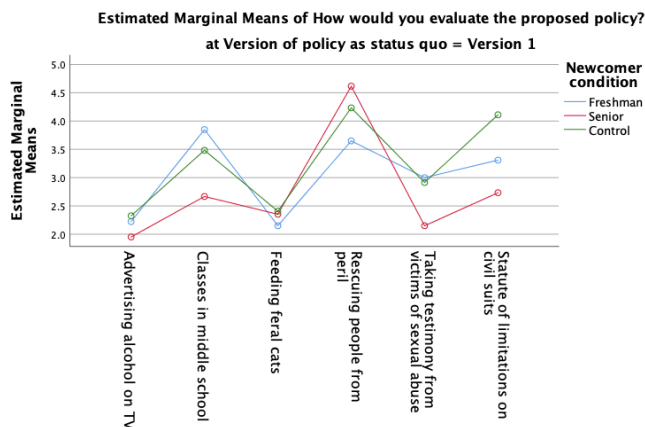
Support for the proposed policy.



Evaluation of the current policy.

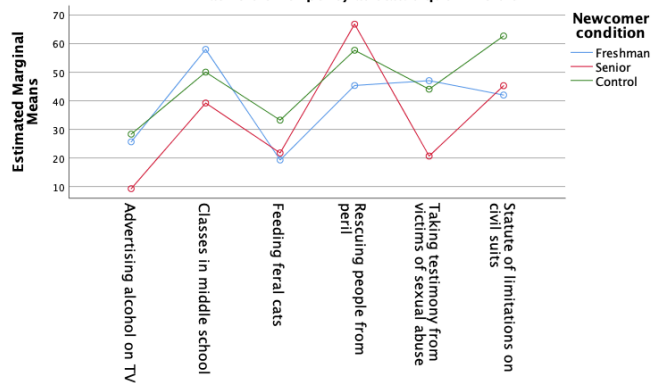


Evaluation of the proposed policy.

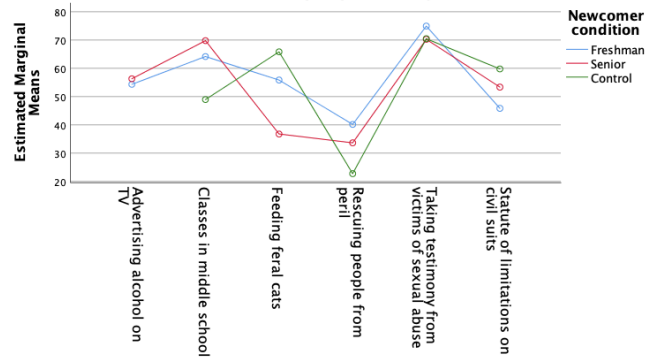


Feelings toward the congressperson.

Estimated Marginal Means of My feelings towards the congressperson are:
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 1

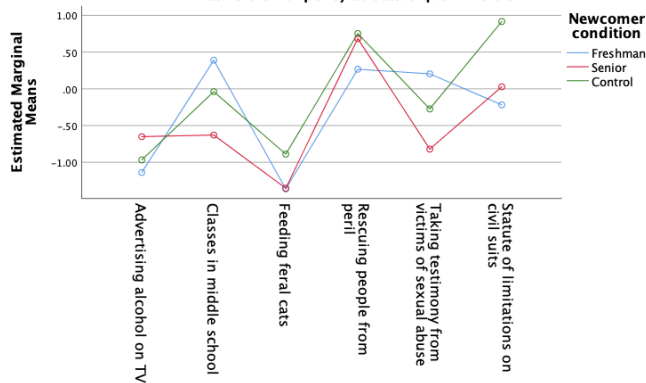


Estimated Marginal Means of My feelings towards the congressperson are:
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 2

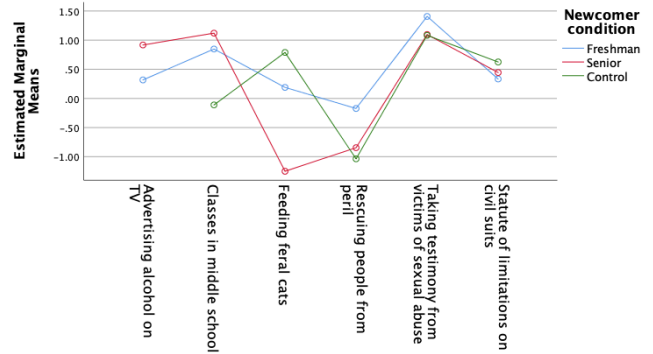


Perceived competence.

Estimated Marginal Means of Perceived Competence Scale
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 1

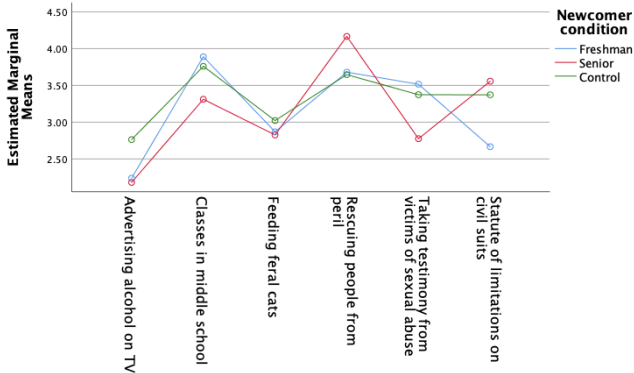


Estimated Marginal Means of Perceived Competence Scale
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 2

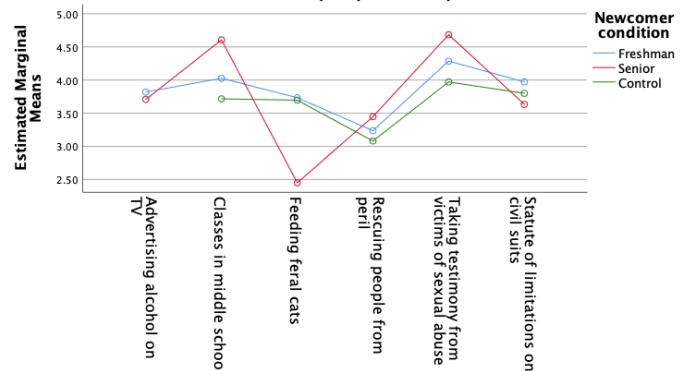


Perceived loyalty.

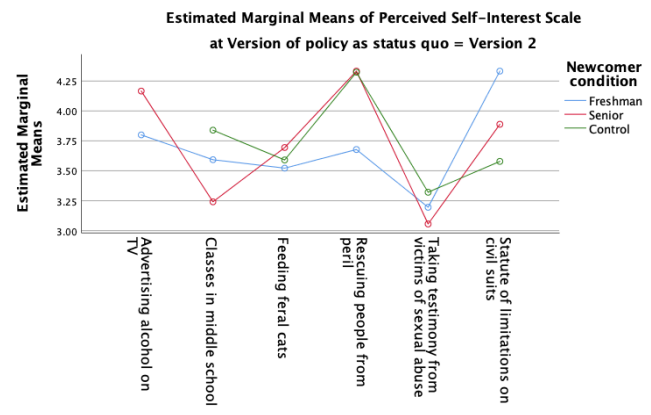
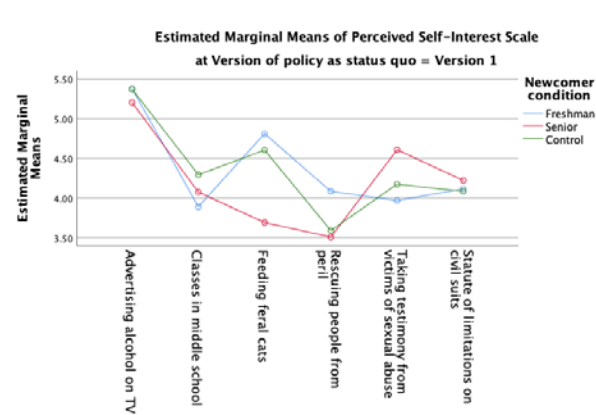
Estimated Marginal Means of Perceived Loyalty Scale
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 1



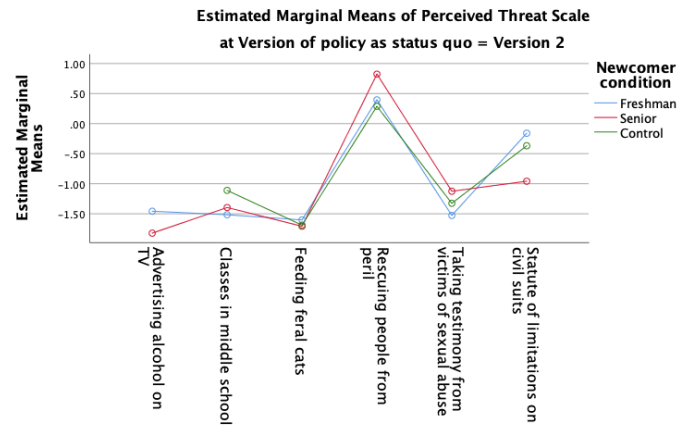
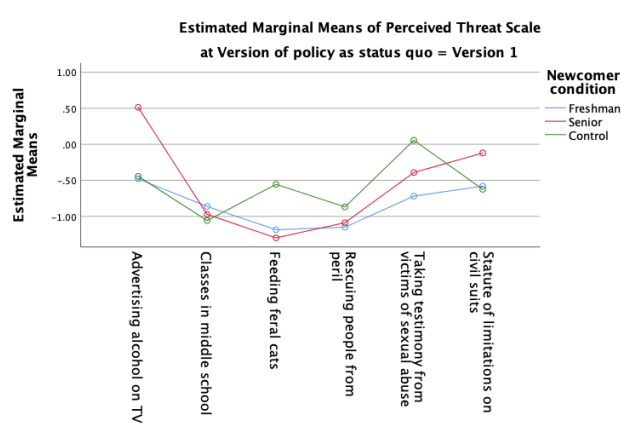
Estimated Marginal Means of Perceived Loyalty Scale
at Version of policy as status quo = Version 2



Perceived self-interest.



Perceived threat.



APPENDIX D: COMPLETE PARADIGM (STUDY 2)

Please read the following text carefully, as the next several questions will ask your opinions about it (note that the text will remain on the screen for the next few pages):

Newcomer: “A new employee, who has been at your workplace for just over a month,

Full Member: “A senior employee, who has been at your workplace for over 10 years,

Control: “An employee at your workplace

...has suggested that your organization change its policy on paid time off for public holidays. This employee is proposing that the company switch to a flexible holiday program, such that all employees simply get a set number of days that they can take off in order to observe holidays (in addition to vacation time or sick leave).

Employees can use this time as usual on federal holidays (such as Good Friday or Christmas), or they can work during federal holidays and take their paid time off at other times. The overall number of paid days off would not change.

This employee argues that such a change has benefits for people who observe holidays that are culturally or religiously important to them, but on which employees traditionally have to work (such as Yom Kippur or Eid Al-Fitr). The change would allow them to observe those holidays without eating into vacation time; instead, they would just work as usual on federal holidays that don't have particular significance to them (like Christmas or Good Friday).

However, this change would add more strain to the Human Resources department because they would have to record each employee's holiday time individually, and it may lead the organization to be short-staffed on days that are traditionally regular business hours.”

APPENDIX E: COMPLETE PARADIGM – PODCAST AUDIO AND TRANSCRIPTS (STUDY 3)

Instructions

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our research. In the first part of this study, you will listen to a couple of excerpts from an episode from the [blinded for peer review], a podcast run by [blinded for peer review] students. Please pay close attention to the podcast, as you will be asked questions about it thereafter.

Audio files for each condition

Condition: Newcomer (Junior transfer student)

Excerpt 1 (junior transfer student)

Excerpt 2

Condition: Full member (Junior continuing student)

Excerpt 1 (junior continuing student)

Excerpt 2

Transcript (additions in newcomer condition in bold)

Intro music

Host: Hello & welcome to the [blinded]. My name is Jacob and I am your host. Today we have an exciting show for you! This is the first episode in our new series: 73 questions at [blinded]. Each week, we'll dig deeper into the lives of [blinded] from all corners of our campus, asking them each 73 questions. Today we'd like to welcome Oliver!

Interviewee: Hey Jacob! Thanks for having me. I'm excited to be on the show.

Host: Of course, we're so glad to have you here with us! Alright so I am going to ask you 73 questions. What year are you?

Interviewee: I'm a junior! **But I have only been at [blinded] for about half a year because I transferred here recently.**

Host: What's your major?

Interviewee: I'm a pre-vet major

Host: What's your favorite animal?

Interviewee: Snakes

Host: What's your favorite dining court?

Interviewee: Windsor!

Host: What's the most fun class you've taken at [blinded]?

Interviewee: **Well I've only been at [blinded] since last semester because I transferred so I haven't taken that many courses here, but** I was in a history of rock and roll course last semester and that was awesome.

Host: What's the most recent TV show you've binge watched?

Interviewee: I just re-watched all nine seasons of Scrubs.

Fade out.

Fade in.

Host: So you're about to be a senior, what do you plan to do after you graduate?

Interviewee: Yeah! This fall I will be applying to vet school so if I get in I'll be in vet school after I graduate next year.

Host: We're almost at the end of the interview. My last question for you is what's something that you've recently been excited about at [blinded]?

Interviewee: I am really excited about a proposal to lift the tuition freeze that I've been working with the [blinded] Student Government on. If there's still time I'd be happy to elaborate on it...

Host: Oh sure! We've got a couple minutes left – go for it!

Interviewee:

- So as you all must know, [blinded] has recently announced a tuition freeze for the 10th straight year, with no increase in tuition and fees, unlike virtually all other U.S. universities that on average increase tuition by 2.5-3% per year.
- While [blinded]'s tuition freeze is widely-known across the country and is a proudly-held tradition grounded in [blinded]'s values of making education affordable and accessible, it is critical that this tuition freeze is lifted and tuition is increased because tuition freezes are often unsustainable and end up creating more problems than they solve.
- So, I have appealed to the [blinded] Student Government to work with the Board of Trustees to lift the tuition freeze and increase tuition by just 1.5% for the upcoming (2021-2022) academic year.

Host: So why do you think the tuition freeze should be lifted?

Interviewee:

- Well – first off, tuition freezes are typically unsustainable, especially with rising inflation. While they may work in the short run, after a while usually what happens is that they are forced to hike up tuition dramatically because they can't keep up with rising costs without bringing in more tuition. For example, I know about another university that froze tuition for a while and then it shot up by 5% after a tuition freeze.
- Lifting the freeze is especially important during this time. Due to COVID and the economic crisis that has resulted from it, some academic programs that have lower enrollment are facing potentially being cut. For example, the administration is set to cut funding from the School of Interdisciplinary Studies (which has programs focusing on social justice issues such as race and ethnic studies or women's and gender studies).
- Because of the tuition freeze, undergraduate enrollment is high, making our classes overcrowded and lowering the quality of instruction. I know of many students, even seniors, who were not able to get a spot in the courses they wanted this semester.
- Also, one reason for instituting the tuition freeze was to make education more accessible for [in-state] students; however, since the tuition freeze has been instituted, enrollment for [in-state] students has actually decreased while the proportion of out of state and international students has increased because the tuition for out-of-state students is about twice as high and that of international students is three times as high as the in-state tuition.
- So in a nutshell, the tuition freeze does not seem to be meeting its intended goal and also is unsustainable. A small and predictable increase in cost-per-student will reduce the need to cut academic programs and also prevent sudden large increases in tuition. If I can demonstrate that the student body supports increasing tuition, the [blinded] Student Government has agreed to advocate for this change."

SUPPLEMENT

Study 1: Description of relevant measures

Dependent variables

- 1) Policy preference (Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010)
 - a. In your opinion, which policy is better?
 - i. The current policy
 - ii. The proposed policy
- 2) Evaluation of the current policy (1 = *Very bad*, 7 = *Very good*)
 - a. How would you evaluate the current policy?
- 3) Evaluation of the proposed policy (1 = *Very bad*, 7 = *Very good*)
 - a. How would you evaluate the proposed policy?
- 4) Support for the proposed policy (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .86$; adapted from Walker et al., 2018)
 - a. I support this policy change.
 - b. This policy change should be implemented as soon as possible.
 - c. I am willing to sign a petition lobbying **against** this policy change. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 5) Please list up to 3 advantages and 3 disadvantages of the **proposed** policy.
- 6) Rank order each advantage and disadvantage (*From most important to least important*)
- 7) In comparison to other policy issues, how important do you think this policy proposal is? (1 = *Not important at all*, 7 = *Very important*)
- 8) In your own words, please describe any additional thoughts and opinions on this policy change: _____
- 9) Feelings toward the congressperson
 - a. Please rate your feelings toward the congressperson (0 = *Very negative*, 100 = *Very positive*).
- 10) Perceptions of competence (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$)
 - a. This congressperson is an effective member of the U.S. government.
 - b. This congressperson has good ideas to improve the American way of life.
 - c. This individual is an incompetent congressperson. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 11) Perceptions of loyalty (1 = *Totally disagree*, 7 = *Totally agree*; $\alpha = .95$; Kunst et al., 2018)
 - a. This congressperson is loyal to the American people.
 - b. This congressperson would do whatever it takes to support the American people.
 - c. This congressperson would make any sacrifice necessary to support the American people.
 - d. This congressperson would never betray the American people.
 - e. This congressperson would always put the American people's interests first.
- 12) Perceptions of self-interest (1 = *Totally disagree*, 7 = *Totally agree*; $\alpha = .88$; O'Brien & Crandall, 2005)
 - a. This congressperson is proposing this policy change out of self-interest.
 - b. This congressperson's position is based on what they (as compared to the country) stand to gain.
 - c. This congressperson's proposal is based on their own political aspirations.

- 13) Perceptions of system threat (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .84$)
- This policy change will lead to instability.
 - This policy change will threaten the American way of life
 - This policy change will disrupt the political system.
 - This policy change will not interfere with the proceedings of the political system.
(Reverse-scored)
- 14) Perceptions of criticism (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .39$)
- This congressperson's proposal to change the current policy implies criticism of the current policy.
 - This congressperson's proposal to change the current policy implies criticism of the American political system.
- 15) Please describe any additional thoughts or feelings you have toward this congressperson:
- _____

Manipulation checks

- Was the individual a freshman or senior congressperson? That is, had they been in office for few terms (freshman) or many terms (senior)? (0 = *Freshman*, 1 = *Senior*, 2 = *This information was not provided*)
- For how many terms do you think this congressperson has been in office? (0 terms to 10 terms)
- Which of the following policy issues did you read about?
 - Advertising alcohol on TV
 - Classes in middle school
 - Feeding feral cats
 - Rescuing people in peril
 - Taking testimony from victims of sexual abuse
 - Statute of limitations on civil suits

Perceptions of congressperson's characteristics

- When envisioning this congressperson, what are some of the characteristics of the individual you imagined?: _____
- Age of congressperson
 - How old did you imagine this congressperson was?
 - Did not make a judgement about the congressperson's age.
 - I imagined the congressperson's age to be.
- Gender of congressperson
 - What did you imagine this congressperson's gender was?
 - Did not make a judgement about the congressperson's gender
 - Man
 - Woman
 - Non-binary
 - Other: _____
- Race/ethnicity of congressperson
 - What did you imagine the congressperson's race/ethnicity was?
 - Did not make a judgment about the congressperson's race/ethnicity

- ii. White/Caucasian
 - iii. African American
 - iv. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - v. Middle Eastern (Arab)
 - vi. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - vii. Other: _____
- 5) Political party of congressperson
 - a. What political party did you imagine the congressperson belonged to?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the congressperson's political party.
 - ii. Republican
 - iii. Democratic
 - iv. Other: _____
- 6) Political orientation of congressperson
 - a. What did you imagine this congressperson's political orientation to be?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the congressperson's political orientation.
 - ii. Conservative
 - iii. Liberal
 - iv. Other: _____
- 7) Did you envision a specific politician making this policy proposal?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 8) *[If they selected "Yes" in response to (7)]* Which politician ~~did~~ you envision this congressperson to be?

Prior policy knowledge

- 1) Prevailing policy
 - a. Prior to participating in this study, did you know what the prevailing policy was?
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
- 2) Please describe your prior knowledge of the issue: _____

Individual differences

- 1) Interest in politics
 - a. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics?
 - i. None at all
 - ii. Not very much
 - iii. Some
 - iv. Quite a lot
 - v. A great deal
- 2) General system justification (1 = Strongly disagree, 9 = Strongly agree; $\alpha = .87$; Kay & Jost, 2003)
 - a. In general, you find society to be fair.
 - b. In general, the American political system operates as it should.
 - c. American society needs to be radically restructured. (*Reverse-scored*)

- d. The United States is the best country in the world to live in.
 - e. Most policies serve the greater good.
 - f. Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.
 - g. Our society is getting worse every year. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - h. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.
- 3) Economic system justification (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 9 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .90$; Jost & Thompson, 2000)
- a. If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.
 - b. The existence of widespread economic differences does not mean that they are inevitable. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - c. Laws of nature are responsible for differences in wealth in society.
 - d. There are many reasons to think that the economic system is unfair. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - e. It is virtually impossible to eliminate poverty.
 - f. Poor people are not essentially different from rich people. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - g. Most people who don't get ahead in my society should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.
 - h. Equal distribution of resources is a possibility for my society. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - i. Social class differences reflect differences in the natural order of things.
 - j. Economic differences in the society reflect an illegitimate distribution of resources. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - k. There will always be poor people, because there will never be enough jobs for everybody
 - l. Economic positions are legitimate reflections of people's achievements.
 - m. If people wanted to change the economic system to make things equal, they could. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - n. Equal distribution of resources is unnatural.
 - o. It is unfair to have an economic system which produces extreme wealth and extreme poverty at the same time. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - p. There is no point in trying to make incomes more equal.
 - q. There are no inherent differences between rich and poor; it is purely a matter of the circumstances into which you are born. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 4) Age
- a. What is your age (in years)?
- 5) Gender
- a. With which gender do you identify?
 - i. Man
 - ii. Woman
 - iii. Non-binary
 - iv. A different identity (please specify): _____
- 6) Race
- a. With which racial/ethnic group(s) do you identify?
 - b. White/Caucasian
 - c. Black/African American
 - d. Hispanic/Latinx
 - e. Asian American

- f. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - g. Middle Eastern (Arab)
 - h. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - i. A different identity (please specify)
- 7) Country
 - a. What is your country of legal residence?
 - i. United States of America
 - ii. Other
- 8) Language
 - a. Do you speak English as your first language? Yes/No

9) Education

- a. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
 - i. Less than high school degree
 - ii. High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
 - iii. Some college but no degree
 - iv. Associate degree in college
 - v. Bachelor's degree in college
 - vi. Master's degree
 - vii. Doctoral or professional degree (e.g., JD, MD, PhD)

10) Political orientation (general)

- a. Where on the following scale of political orientation would you place yourself? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)

11) Political orientation (social)

- a. In terms of social and cultural issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)

12) Political orientation (economic)

- a. In terms of economic issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)

13) Political party

- a. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
 - i. Republican
 - ii. Democrat
 - iii. Independent
 - iv. Other: _____

14) [if they selected "Independent" or "Other" in response to (13)] Political party lean

- a. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?
 - i. Lean republican
 - ii. Lean democrat

Debriefing

1) Suspicion

- a. What did you think this study was about?: _____

2) Comments

- a. Do you have any additional comments?: _____

Study 2: Screening Questions

Screening Questions:

- 1) Please select the description that best describes your current employment status:
 - a. Employed full-time
 - b. Employed part-time
 - c. Self-employed
 - d. Seeking employment
 - e. Not employed and not seeking employment
 - f. Student
 - g. Other
- 2) *[If they selected “Employed full-time” or “Employed part-time” in response to (1)]:* At your place of employment, are you granted paid time off for some public holidays (e.g., Christmas)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 3) *[If they selected “No” in response to (2)]:* For the purposes of this study, please imagine that your place of employment does grant paid time off for public holidays.
- 4) *[If they selected any response other than “Employed full-time” or “Employed part-time” in response to (1)]:* Have you ever worked at a place of employment in which you are granted paid time off for some public holidays (e.g., Christmas)?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 5) *[If they selected “No” in response to (4)]:* For the purposes of this study, please imagine that you are currently employed at a workplace that does grant paid time off for public holidays.
- 6) *[If they selected “Yes” in response to (4)]:* For the purposes of this study, please imagine that you are still employed at a workplace that grants paid time off for public holidays.

Study 2: Description of relevant measures

Dependent variables

- 1) Please describe your thoughts and feelings about this employee (*Open-ended*)
- 2) Feelings toward the employee
 - a. Please rate your feelings toward the employee (0 = *Very negative*, 100 = *Very positive*).
- 3) Please describe your thoughts and opinions about this proposal (*Open-ended*)
- 4) Support for the proposed policy (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .92$; adapted from Walker et al., 2018)
 - a. I would support this change.
 - b. This change should be implemented as soon as possible.
 - c. I am willing to contact HR to voice my opposition to this change. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. I would not be in support of this change. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 5) Negative Evaluations (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*; $\alpha = .96$; adapted from Hornsey et al., 2007)
 - a. This employee is disappointing.
 - b. This employee is irritating.
 - c. This employee is offensive.
 - d. This employee is insulting.
 - e. This employee is judgmental.
- 6) Desire to interact (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .89$)
 - a. I would probably get along with this employee.
 - b. I would want to be friends with this employee.
 - c. I would not want to interact with this employee frequently. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. This employee would probably get on my nerves. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 7) Perceptions of competence (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$)
 - a. This employee is an effective member of my organization.
 - b. This employee has good ideas to improve my organization.
 - c. This individual is an incompetent employee. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. This employee needs to acquire more knowledge and skills. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 8) Perceptions of loyalty (1 = *Disagree strongly*, 5 = *Agree strongly*; $\alpha = .91$)
 - a. This organization's needs are not important to this person. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - b. This person really looks out for what is important to this organization.
 - c. This person would not knowingly do anything to hurt the organization.
 - d. This person would go out of their way to help the organization.
 - e. This person is not concerned about the organization's welfare. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 9) Perceptions of self-interest (1 = *Totally disagree*, 7 = *Totally agree*, $\alpha = .91$)
 - a. This person is proposing this change out of self-interest.
 - b. This person's position is based on what they (as compared to the organization) stands to gain.
 - c. This person's proposal is aimed at advancing their own status in the organization.
 - d. This person is proposing this change for the good of the organization overall. (*Reverse-scored*)

- 8) Perceived overstepping (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .90$)
- e. This employee should just keep their head down and do their job.
 - f. It is not this employee's place to try to change the way I do things at work.
 - g. This employee is overstepping their authority by suggesting this change.
 - h. This employee is acting within the bounds of their responsibilities. (*Reverse-scored*)

Perceptions of employee's characteristics

- 1) Did you envision any characteristics of this employee?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 2) [*If they selected "Yes" in response to (1)*] Describe the characteristics of the person you envisioned. (*Open-ended*)
- 3) Perceptions of employee's status
 - a. Did you envision this employee as being of higher, the same, or lower status in the organization compared to you?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the employee's relative status
 - ii. Higher status
 - iii. Same status
 - iv. Lower status
- 4) Perceptions of employee's age
 - a. How old did you imagine this employee was?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the employee's age
 - ii. I imagined the employee's age to be: _____
- 5) Perceptions of employee's gender
 - a. What did you imagine this employee's gender to be?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the employee's gender
 - ii. Man
 - iii. Woman
 - iv. Non-binary
 - v. Other: _____
- 6) Perceptions of employee's race
 - a. What did you imagine the employee's race/ethnicity to be (you may select more than one)?
 - i. Did not make a judgment about the employee's race/ethnicity
 - ii. White
 - iii. African American
 - iv. Hispanic/Latina/Latino/Latinx
 - v. Asian American
 - vi. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - vii. Middle Eastern (Arab)
 - viii. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - ix. Other: _____

- 7) Perceptions of employee's religion
 - a. What did you imagine the employee's religion to be (you may select more than one)?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the employee's religion
 - ii. Evangelical Christian
 - iii. Protestant Christian
 - iv. Catholic
 - v. Mormon
 - vi. Jehovah's Witness
 - vii. Orthodox Christian
 - viii. Non-Denominational Christian
 - ix. Jewish
 - x. Buddhist
 - xi. Hindu
 - xii. Muslim
 - xiii. Agnostic/Atheist/None
 - xiv. Other (specify):_____
- 8) Perceptions of employee's political party
 - a. What political party did you imagine the employee belonged to?
 - i. Did not make judgement about the employee's political party
 - ii. Republican
 - iii. Democratic
 - iv. Other:_____
- 9) Perceptions of employee's political orientation
 - a. What did you imagine this employee's political orientation to be?
 - i. Did not make a judgement about the employee's political orientation
 - ii. Conservative
 - iii. Liberal
 - iv. Other:_____

Manipulation Check

- 1) Thinking back to the information you read - about the proposal to change to a flexible holiday program - was the individual a recently hired or long-term employee? That is, had they been working in the organization for a short (newcomer) or long (old-timer) duration?
 - a. Newcomer
 - b. Old-timer
 - c. I was not given any information about this
 - d. I don't remember

Perceptions of similarity to a specific colleague

- 1) Colleague
 - a. When envisioning this employee, were you envisioning any of your colleagues in particular?
 - i. Yes (1)
 - ii. No (0)

- 2) [If they selected “Yes” in response to (2)] Please describe the colleague you envisioned. What are some of their characteristics?: _____
- 3) [If they selected “Yes” in response to (2)] Feelings toward colleague
 - a. Please rate your feelings towards this colleague. (0 = *Very negative*, 100 = *Very positive*).

Moderators

- 10) General system justification ($\alpha = .90$; same items as in Study 1)
- 11) Economic system justification ($\alpha = .90$; same items as in Study 1)
- 12) Multiculturalism (1 = Strongly disagree, 7 = Strongly agree; $\alpha = .89$; Hahn, Banchevsky, Park, & Judd, 2015)
 - a. Learning about the ways that different ethnic and religious groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society.
 - b. I would like my children to be exposed to the language and cultural traditions of different ethnic and religious groups.
 - c. If I want to help create a harmonious society, I must recognize that each ethnic and religious group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions.
 - d. We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic and religious groups to have a cooperative society.
- 13) Assimilationism (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$; Hahn et al., 2015)
 - a. Children from all ethnic and religious groups should be taught to adopt mainstream American values from an early age.
 - b. People from all ethnic and religious backgrounds living in America should embrace the American dream of hard work and success.
 - c. In order to have a smoothly functioning society, members of ethnic and religious minorities must better adapt to the ways of mainstream American culture.
 - d. If a person decides to live in America, it will help him or her adapt to his or her new home if he or she quickly adopts American customs or behaviors.
- 14) Americanism (1 = Not at all important, 7 = Extremely important; $\alpha = .88$; Smith, Davern, Freese, & Morgan, 1972-2018)
 - a. Some people say that the following things are important for being truly American. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is...
 - i. To have been born in America
 - ii. To have American citizenship
 - iii. To have lived in America for most of one's life
 - iv. To be able to speak English
 - v. To be a Christian
 - vi. To respect American political institutions and laws
 - vii. To feel American
 - viii. To have American ancestry

Demographics

- 1) [If participants indicated that they were employed in screening section] Workplace questions

- a. For how many months have you been working at your current workplace?: _____
 - b. Generally speaking, how would you say that employees' suggestions for change are usually treated at your workplace? Are there any characteristics that make a suggestion more or less likely to be implemented? _____
 - c. How responsive would you say that your organization is to suggestions for change from employee? (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*)
- 2) Age
- a. What is your age (in years)?
- 3) Gender
- a. With which gender do you identify?
 - i. Man
 - ii. Woman
 - iii. Non-binary
 - iv. A different identity (please specify): _____
- 4) Race
- a. With which racial/ethnic group(s) do you identify?
 - i. White
 - ii. Black/African American
 - iii. Hispanic/Latinx
 - iv. Asian American
 - v. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - vi. Middle Eastern (Arab)
 - vii. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - viii. A different identity (please specify): _____
- 5) Country
- a. What is your country of legal residence?
 - i. United States of America
 - ii. Other:
- 6) Language
- a. Do you speak English as your first language?
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
- 7) Education
- a. What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?
 - i. Less than high school degree
 - ii. High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
 - iii. Some college but no degree
 - iv. Associate degree in college
 - v. Bachelor's degree in college
 - vi. Master's degree
 - vii. Doctoral or professional degree (e.g., JD, MD, PhD)

- 8) Political orientation (general)
 - a. Where on the following scale of political orientation would you place yourself? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 9) Political orientation (social)

In terms of social and cultural issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 10) Political orientation (economic)
 - a. In terms of economic issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 11) Political party
 - a. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
 - i. Republican
 - ii. Democrat
 - iii. Independent
 - iv. Other: _____
- 12) [if they selected "Independent" or "Other" in response to (11)] Political party lean
 - a. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?
 - i. Lean republican
 - ii. Lean democrat
- 13) Religion
 - a. With what religion do you most closely identify?
 - i. Evangelical Christian
 - ii. Protestant Christian
 - iii. Catholic
 - iv. Mormon
 - v. Jehovah's Witness
 - vi. Orthodox Christian
 - vii. Non-Denominational Christian
 - viii. Jewish
 - ix. Buddhist
 - x. Hindu
 - xi. Muslim
 - xii. Agnostic/Atheist/None
 - xiii. Other (specify)

Debriefing

- 1) Suspicion
 - a. What did you think this study was about?: _____
- 2) [After debriefing] Comments
 - a. Do you have any additional comments?: _____

Study 3 Pilot – Paradigm

Please carefully read the following excerpt from a Letter to the Editor that was recently published in the [blinded].

This student is a junior currently enrolled in a class taught by the Principal Investigator of this study. The student is asking for feedback on the proposal and signatures on a petition in support of proposed change.

“[Blinded] has recently announced a tuition freeze for the 10th straight year, with no increase in tuition and fees, unlike virtually all other U.S. universities. [Blinded]'s tuition freeze is widely-known across the country and is a proudly-held tradition that reflects [blinded]'s core values of affordable and accessible education.

However, it is critical that this tuition freeze be lifted and tuition be increased.

I have appealed to the [blinded] Student Government to work with the Board of Trustees to lift the tuition freeze and increase tuition by 2% for the upcoming (2021-2022) academic year, and I am asking for your support. This change is necessary to improve the quality of education that we receive. Because of the tuition freeze, undergraduate enrollment is high, resulting in overcrowded classes and lower quality instruction. I know of many students, even seniors, who were not able to get a spot in the courses they wanted this semester. Higher tuition will lead to smaller class sizes, more individualized attention, and less competition to register for our preferred classes. Increasing tuition will also enable [blinded] to attract and retain a greater number of and better-quality faculty, so that a greater variety of classes will be offered, and higher tuition will enable the university to improve the research facilities and libraries.

I am asking you, the [blinded] student body, to support me in this change. The nominal increase in cost per student will have large impacts on our standard of education at [blinded]. If I can demonstrate that the student body supports increasing tuition, the [blinded] Student Government has agreed to advocate for this change.”

Study 3 Pilot and Complete Study: Description of relevant measures

Audio test questions

- 1) [After listening to the word “Hippopotamus” in an audio file] What word did you hear?
 - a. Hippopotamus
 - b. Eggplant
 - c. Carnation
 - d. Alligator
- 2) [After listening to the podcast] Were you able to hear the podcast excerpts?
 - a. YES, I was able to hear the podcast excerpts
 - b. NO, I was unable to hear the podcast excerpts

Summary of podcast

- 1) Please summarize the podcast excerpts in a few sentences: _____

Dependent variables

- 1) Please describe your thoughts and opinions about this proposal to lift [blinded]’s tuition freeze: _____
- 2) Petition
 - a. Would you like to sign the petition to support lifting [blinded]’s tuition freeze and increasing tuition?
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
- 3) Policy Preference (Moshinsky & Bar-Hillel, 2010)
 - a. In your opinion, which policy is better?
 - i. The current policy - Tuition freeze
 - ii. The proposed policy - 1.5% tuition increase
- 4) Support for the proposed policy (1 = *Absolutely not*, 9 = *Absolutely*; $\alpha = 0.79, 0.74$; adapted from Gordijn et al., 2006)
 - a. I support lifting the tuition freeze.
 - b. I want to take action against this proposal to lift the tuition freeze. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - c. I want to find out how I can prevent the tuition freeze from being lifted. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. I would be interested in joining a task force to help implement lifting the tuition freeze.
 - e. I would like more information about how I can help ensure that this proposal to
 - f. lift the tuition freeze moves forward.
- 5) Perceptions of system threat scale (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = 0.84, 0.84$)
 - a. Lifting the tuition freeze would undermine [blinded]’s identity as an affordable and accessible university
 - b. Lifting the tuition freeze would threaten a defining feature of [blinded] University
 - c. Lifting the tuition freeze would not distort [blinded]’s character (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. Lifting the tuition freeze would go against the [blinded] way of doing things

- 6) Perceived likelihood of policy change scale (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = 0.67, 0.76$)
 - a. This student is likely to be successful in changing [blinded]'s tuition freeze policy
 - b. This student is wasting their time trying to change [blinded]'s tuition freeze policy (*Reverse-scored*)
 - c. The student body will support this proposal to lift [blinded]'s tuition freeze
 - d. The [blinded] administration will not lift the tuition freeze (*Reverse-scored*)
- 7) Please describe your thoughts and feelings about the student proposing to lift the tuition freeze. (*Open-ended*)
- 8) Feelings toward the student
 - a. Please rate your feelings toward the student (0 = *Very cold*, 100 = *Very warm*).
- 9) Negative affective response to the student scale (1 = *Does not apply at all*, 7 = *Applies very much*; $\alpha = 0.92, 0.94$; adapted from Monteith et al., 1993)
 - a. Angry
 - b. Bothered
 - c. Threatened
 - d. Irritated
 - e. Annoyed
 - f. Disgusted
- 10) Positive affective response to the student scale (1 = *Does not apply at all*, 7 = *Applies very much*; $\alpha = 0.85, 0.90$; adapted from Monteith et al., 1993)
 - a. Grateful
 - b. Impressed
 - c. Enthusiastic
 - d. Pleased
- 11) Negative affective response to the proposed policy scale (1 = *Does not apply at all*, 7 = *Applies very much*; $\alpha = 0.94, 0.95$; adapted from Monteith et al., 1993)
 - a. Angry
 - b. Bothered
 - c. Threatened
 - d. Irritated
 - e. Annoyed
 - f. Disgusted
- 12) Positive affective response to the proposed policy scale (1 = *Does not apply at all*, 7 = *Applies very much*; $\alpha = 0.88, 0.91$; adapted from Monteith et al., 1993)
 - a. Grateful
 - b. Impressed
 - c. Enthusiastic
 - d. Pleased
- 13) Desire to interact scale (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $\alpha = 0.76, 0.85$)
 - a. I would probably get along with the student proposing to lift the tuition freeze.
 - b. I want to be friends with the student proposing to lift the tuition freeze.
 - c. I would not want to interact frequently with the student proposing to lift the tuition freeze. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - d. The student proposing to lift the tuition freeze would probably get on my nerves. (*Reverse-scored*)

- 14) Perceived competence scale (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $r = 0.45, 0.49$)
 - a. This student has good ideas to improve the way things are at [blinded].
 - b. This student is not knowledgeable about how to meet the [blinded] community's needs. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 15) Perceived loyalty scale (1 = *Disagree strongly*, 5 = *Agree strongly*; $\alpha = 0.77, 0.79$)
 - a. The [blinded] community's needs are not important to this person. (*Reverse-scored*)
 - b. This person really looks out for what is important to the [blinded] community.
 - c. This person would not knowingly do anything to hurt the [blinded] community.
 - d. This person would go out of their way to help the [blinded] community.
 - e. This person is not concerned about the [blinded] community's welfare. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 16) Perceived overstepping scale (-3 = *Strongly disagree*, 3 = *Strongly agree*; $r = 0.78, 0.78$)
 - a. This student should just keep their head down and focus on their classes.
 - b. This student should be grateful to be at [blinded] instead of trying to change things.
- 17) Perceived self-interest scale (1 = *Totally disagree*, 7 = *Totally agree*; $\alpha = 0.75, 0.76$)
 - a. This person is proposing this change out of self-interest.
 - b. This person's position is based on what they (as compared to the [blinded] community) stands to gain.
 - c. This person is proposing this change for the good of the [blinded] community overall. (*Reverse-scored*)
- 18) Positive general affect scale (1 = *Very slightly or not at all*, 2 = *A little*, 3 = *Moderately*, 4 = *Quite a bit*, 5 = *Very much*; $\alpha = 0.87, 0.90$; Watson et al., 1988)
 - a. Enthusiastic
 - b. Interested
 - c. Excited
 - d. Inspired
 - e. Proud
- 19) Negative general affect scale (1 = *Very slightly or not at all*, 2 = *A little*, 3 = *Moderately*, 4 = *Quite a bit*, 5 = *Very much*; $\alpha = 0.93, 0.94$; Watson et al., 1988)
 - a. Scared
 - b. Afraid
 - c. Upset
 - d. Distressed
 - e. Jittery
 - f. Nervous
 - g. Ashamed
 - h. Irritable
 - i. Hostile

Perceptions of student's characteristics

- 1) Did you envision any characteristics of this employee?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 2) [If they selected "Yes" in response to (1)] Describe the characteristics of the student you envisioned:_____
- 3) Perception of student's socioeconomic Status

- a. What did you imagine this student's socioeconomic status to be?
 - i. Upper class
 - ii. Upper-middle class
 - iii. Middle class
 - iv. Working class
 - v. Lower class/poor
 - vi. Other: _____
 - vii. Did not make a judgment about the student's social class
- 4) Perceptions of student's race
 - a. What did you imagine the student's race/ethnicity to be (you may select more than one)
 - i. White
 - ii. Black/African American
 - iii. Hispanic/Latina/Latino/Latinx
 - iv. Asian or Asian American
 - v. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - vi. Middle Eastern
 - vii. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - viii. A different race/ethnicity (please specify): _____
 - b. Did not make a judgment about the student's race/ethnicity
- 5) Perception of student's political party
 - a. What political party did you imagine the student belonged to?
 - i. Republican
 - ii. Democratic
 - iii. Other: _____
 - iv. Did not make a judgment about the student's political party

Manipulation checks

- 1) Thinking back to the podcast, what class-year did the student who proposed to lift the tuition freeze belong to?
 - a. Freshman
 - b. Sophomore
 - c. Junior
 - d. Senior
 - e. I don't remember
- 2) Based on the information in the podcast, which of the following are true about the student who proposed to lift the tuition freeze? (*Please check all that apply*)
 - a. Recently transferred to [blinded]
 - b. Studied abroad
 - c. Is a student athlete
 - d. Is a pre-vet major

Participant's class year

- 1) What is your class year at [blinded]?
 - a. Freshman

- b. Sophomore
- c. Junior
- d. Senior
- e. 5th+ senior
- f. Non-degree seeking student
- g. Other: _____

Personal Relevance Items

- 1) Will you still be a student at [blinded] in the 2021-2022 academic year, when tuition would increase if the tuition freeze is lifted?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
- 2) How is your tuition paid (*you may select more than one option*)?
 - a. Scholarship or grant
 - b. Student loans
 - c. Work study
 - d. Family contribution
 - e. Self
 - f. Other (please specify): _____
- 3) Personal Cost (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*; $\alpha = 0.89$)
 - a. How much will your personal tuition be affected by lifting the tuition freeze?
 - b. How much would a tuition increase harm your personal financial situation?
 - c. How much would a tuition increase negatively affect your family's financial situation?
- 4) Standard of education (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*; $r = 0.73$)
 - a. How much do you think a tuition increase would improve your personal education?
 - b. How much do you think a tuition increase would improve the standard of education at [blinded]?

Individual differences

- 1) General system justification ($\alpha = 0.83, 0.81$; same items as in Study 1 and 2)
- 2) Economic system justification ($\alpha = 0.78, 0.86$; same items as in Study 1 and 2)

Demographics

- 1) Age
 - a. What is your age (in years)?
- 2) Gender
 - a. With which gender do you identify?
 - i. Man
 - ii. Woman
 - iii. Non-binary
 - iv. A different gender (please specify)
- 3) Country
 - a. Are you an international student?
 - i. Yes

- ii. No
- b. Which country are you from?
- 4) Race
 - a. With which racial/ethnic group(s) do you identify? Can select multiple
 - i. White
 - ii. Black/African American
 - iii. Hispanic/Latina/Latino/Latinx
 - iv. Asian or Asian American
 - v. Native American/Pacific Islander
 - vi. Middle Eastern (Arab)
 - vii. Middle Eastern (Non-Arab)
 - viii. A different race/ethnicity (please specify)
- 5) Tuition
 - a. Do you pay Indiana resident tuition, nonresident tuition, or international tuition?
 - i. Indiana resident
 - ii. Nonresident
 - iii. International
- 6) Language
 - a. Are you fluent in English?
 - i. Yes
 - ii. No
- 7) Political orientation (general)
 - b. Where on the following scale of political orientation would you place yourself? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 8) Political orientation (social)
 - a. In terms of social and cultural issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 9) Political orientation (economic)
 - a. In terms of economic issues, how liberal or conservative are you? (-4 = *Extremely liberal*, 4 = *Extremely conservative*)
- 10) Political Party
 - a. In politics today, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
 - i. Republican
 - ii. Democrat
 - iii. Independent
 - iv. Other
- 11) [if they selected "Independent" or "Other" in response to (10)] Political party lean
 - a. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?
 - i. Lean republican
 - ii. Lean democrat
- 12) Objective Social Economic Status
 - a. What is your annual family income?
 - i. Less than \$25,000
 - ii. \$25,001 to \$50,000

- iii. \$50,001 to \$75,000
- iv. \$75,001 to \$100,000
- v. \$100,001 to \$250,000
- vi. \$250,001 or more

13) Subjective Social Economic Status

- a. Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in our society. At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off, those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off, those who have the least money, least education, and worst jobs or no job. Please select the number that corresponds to the rung that best represents where you think you stand on the ladder. (1-10)



Debriefing

1) Suspicion

- a. What did you think this study was about? _____
- b. Do you think anything was weird, strange, odd, or out of place during the study?
 - i. Yes

- ii. No
 - c. Please explain what you thought was weird, strange, odd, or out of place during the study.:_____
- 2) *[After debriefing]* Comments
 - a. Do you have any additional comments?: _____