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Fairness and Social Justice: Distinct Moralities

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FAIRNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: DISTINCT MORALITIES

A Thesis Presented

By

PRERANA BHARADWAJ

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
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FAIRNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: DISTINCT MORALITIES

A Thesis Presented

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ABSTRACT
FAIRNESS & SOCIAL JUSTICE: DISTINCT MORALITIES
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Individual deservingness and group-based equality as rules of distribution have routinely been conflated in past research. These two studies are an attempt to further establish the differences between these two as moral values named fairness and social justice, respectively. In both studies, participants rated “moral acceptability” of eight real-world scenarios that either upheld fairness and violated social justice or vice versa. Each of these scenarios was presented at two time points: at time 1, the upheld principle was presented and the violation of the other was implied, but at time 2, the violation was made apparent with a second sentence. Individual preferences for fairness and social justice were also measured. Study 1 primed basic principles of each value with a sentence scramble task before participants responded to the scenarios. Priming social justice principles significantly decreased moral acceptability ratings of fair scenarios before the social injustice was made apparent compared to the control condition, but ultimately individual differences in preferences for each principle were most predictive of moral acceptability ratings of both types of scenarios. Study 2 primed individual and collective perspectives with a writing prompt before participants responded to scenarios. Both priming tasks increased moral acceptability ratings of socially just scenarios before the unfairness was made apparent. This may have been due to the nature of the writing prompts, both of which required the participant to think of others, suggesting that social justice involves the consideration of social categories rather than simply a collection of people. In both studies, priming tasks and individual differences were generally unable to encourage recognition of the violation one or the other value, prompting the discussion of what else might promote such effortful thinking.

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CHAPTER 1

FAIRNESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE - THE CONFLICT

A. Introduction

In a recent The New York Times op ed, Rob Reich presents an argument against parents donating large amounts of money to their child's public school (Reich, 2013). Reich discusses the case of Hillsborough, California, a wealthy town that encourages donations to public schools of about \$2,300 per student. At first glance, few readers can find anything morally unacceptable about parents wanting to support their own child's education. However, Reich (2013) writes: "Private giving to public schools widens the gap between rich and poor. It exacerbates inequalities in financing. It is philanthropy in the service of conferring advantage on the already well off" (p. A25). Essentially, Reich claims that allowing public school donations would improve some schools, but not others – and this increased inequality is unacceptable. We believe that the conflict between these two opinions of the same situation stems from two different but nevertheless valid moral values: fairness and social justice.

Fundamentally, the debate concerns moral rules for allocation of resources in a society. The method we propose as fairness uses input-based deservingness to allocate resources. However, resources allotted according to individual merit can result in an unfair distribution of such resources on the group level. Such a distribution would violate values of social justice, which allots resources on the basis of group membership. For instance, allocating funding to schools based on the individual incomes of students' families would result in an unequal distribution of funding across schools situated in high- and low-income communities. Allocating funding in accordance with social justice

would pool money sources (e.g., property taxes, donations, etc.) across a city or state and would divide the proceeds relatively equally across schools.

The proposed research aims to understand the psychological frameworks that guide cognition and judgments of fairness and social justice principles. Distinguishing between the two terms will allow us to understand their underlying features and provide support for including social justice as a moral value separate from, but comparable to, fairness in the moral psychology literature.

B. Fairness and Social Justice in Theory

The debate concerning differing rules of allocation of resources and what constitutes a “just” society is not a new one, nor is it confined to psychology. In the early 1970s, John Rawls and Robert Nozick famously argued for different rules. Rawls (1971) suggested a thought experiment in his now-classic book, *A Theory of Justice*. To develop a just society, we should be under what he called a “veil of ignorance” in which we had no prior knowledge of our abilities, education, wealth, or ethnicity. What kind of society would we create then? He believed rational agents would create a society in which everyone was guaranteed basic rights, including equality of opportunity. Furthermore, equality of opportunity requires access to similar resources, so the society would also have to be somewhat redistributive (in the direction of providing more resources to the least advantaged), thereby ensuring a decent standard of living for everyone (Rawls, 1971).

In 1974, Nozick wrote *Anarchy, State, and Utopia*, in which he disagreed with Rawls and presented an alternative view. Nozick argued that a truly just society is one that results from a completely unfettered free market. If one person produces a good or service that is in high demand and others voluntarily pay for it, this person has a right to

the money he earns. He gives the example of Wilt Chamberlain, the basketball player, who earns money from the tickets for which his fans freely pay, which he has no obligation to return in the form of taxes (Nozick, 1974).

For the most part, both sides of this debate seem to make comparable sense. How is this possible? We propose that fairness and social justice represent two different but nevertheless valid moral values that we can hold simultaneously. Conflict results when the two values cannot coexist as rules for the allocation of resources in the same situation.

So how do fairness and social justice differ? We propose that the principles involve two different ways of thinking about deservingness. More specifically, Fairness involves input-based deservingness and results in outcomes based on proportionality. In contrast, Social Justice involves deservingness based on common group membership and results in outcomes that are relatively equal across the group. Fairness is based on an individual or group's specific effort, work, or contributions, whereas Social Justice is based in communal sharing of the group's resources - here a person is entitled to distributions as a member of the group. Cognitively, Fairness requires the restricted, vertical comparison of units that are seen as different within specific relationships, whereas Social Justice requires the broader, horizontal comparison of similar groups across a distribution.

Past work has been largely theoretical wherein political philosophers and economists have argued over the distribution rules that are most effective in making various decisions (also known as distributive justice). One prevalent model of distributive justice is Equity Theory, which is motivated by a need to balance individual inputs and the resulting outcomes (see, e.g., Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, & Huo, 1997). We believe

that Fairness relies on equity judgments, in that both are based in principles of proportionality. Yet proportionality in distributing goods and services could conceivably confer inappropriate advantage to members of groups with more resources in a formal system, thus resulting in a skewed distribution of the resources on a larger scale. A different principle, based in shared group membership-level concerns, would demand redistribution to result in the relatively equal distribution of resources across such groups; this reflects the principle of social justice.

Distinguishing between two rules of distributional justice, individual deservingness and group-based equality, has been explored in the past more theoretically than empirically. Sampson (1975) puts forth the concept of “justice as equality” and suggests that “equality” and “equity” often conflict in the real world, but individual and contextual differences may predict which is valued in any given situation. Cohen (1979) expands on this distinction but makes a clear argument for the necessity of empirical research as there are a number of confusing conceptual frameworks and terms that encompass what he refers to as rules of distribution that either do or do not differentiate between individuals by some level of input. Wenzel (2004) picks up this thread but emphasizes the role of group membership in his chapter dedicated to a “social categorization approach to distributive justice” wherein two empirical studies suggest that identifying with a subgroup predicts greater preference for equality over self-interest.

The current research extends these earlier findings and theoretical arguments in three ways. First, previous research has largely focused on the behavior of dyads (Cohen, 1979), while the current research uses real-world phenomena presented as scenarios involving individuals and groups of people. Second, while individual deservingness and

group-based equality may be useful academic distinctions, fairness and social justice are supported here as concise terms that capture the descriptive and normative ways in which people already think about these two principles – a valuable characteristic for social psychologists. Third, the current research takes a step forward by attempting to understand the relationships between the two principles within the individual.

The past work closest to our perspective on fairness versus social justice is a 1981 paper by Brickman and colleagues (Brickman, Folger, Goode, & Schul, 1981), in which they distinguish between microjustice and macrojustice. Microjustice requires and involves individual recipients, whereas macrojustice involves the aggregate distribution of rewards in society. This theoretical chapter explains that in various situations, treating individuals in accordance with microjustice may produce what seems to be an unjust distribution of rewards among groups. Moreover, Brickman and colleagues present evidence demonstrating that although people may initially use microjustice to make decisions, they are unhappy when this rule results in negatively skewed distributions across groups (Brickman, et.al., 1981). From our perspective, fairness is akin to Brickman et al's (1981) microjustice, and social justice is akin to macrojustice. Equity theory and microjustice, and equality and macrojustice, typically involve the behavior and identity of individuals vs. groups, respectively, but there are situations where groups exhibit input-based deservingness and the individual is a victim of inequality as a result of group membership. Thus, fairness and social justice better and more completely capture the difference between these two distribution rules.

C. Fairness & Social Justice in Moral Psychology

Current understanding of moral principles relies on the prevailing model of moral values -- Moral Foundations Theory (MFT; e.g., Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva, &

Ditto, 2011; Haidt, 2007, 2008; Haidt & Joseph, 2004, 2007). According to Haidt and colleagues, there are five moral foundations: two “individualizing” foundations (Harm/Care and Fairness/Reciprocity) and three “binding” foundations (Ingroup/Loyalty, Authority/Respect, and Purity/Sanctity). The individualizing foundations emphasize the individual as the focus of concern and involve contractual approaches to morality. In contrast, the binding foundations emphasize the group as the focus of concern and function to bind people together.

Although present in MFT, Fairness is ill-defined and the foundation seems to confound different definitions. A brief look at the six MFT items for Fairness makes this apparent. The six items are: “Whether or not some people were treated differently than others” (item 2); “Whether or not someone acted unfairly” (item 8); “Whether or not someone was denied his or her rights” (item 13); “When the government makes laws, the number one principle should be ensuring that everyone is treated fairly” (item 18); “Justice is the most important requirement for a society” (item 24), and “I think it’s morally wrong that rich children inherit a lot of money while poor children inherit nothing” (item 29). On 6-point scales, participants indicate the relevance of items 2, 8, and 13 to their own thinking and the extent of their agreement with items 18, 24, and 29. Participants are left to define fairness for themselves - the word justice is even used in place of fairness in one of the items.

Interestingly, in linking morality to political ideology, Haidt and colleagues (Graham, Haidt & Nosek, 2009; Graham et al., 2011; Haidt, 2007, 2012; Haidt & Graham, 2007) conclude that liberals emphasize the individualizing foundations, whereas conservatives rely on all five foundations, both the individualizing and binding

foundations. The provocative implication of their claims is that liberals don't have a morality that is focused on the group; that is, only conservatives have a group-based morality. Moreover, in his recent book, Haidt (2012) returns to the Fairness foundation and writes, "Everyone cares about fairness, but there are two major kinds. On the [political] left, fairness often implies equality, but on the [political] right it means proportionality—people should be rewarded in proportion to what they contribute, even if that guarantees unequal outcomes" (p. 138).

We will argue otherwise: everyone does value Fairness, but fairness has a particular and similar meaning across the political spectrum (largely a concept focused on individual input and proportionality). However, the equality of the political left Haidt refers to actually reflects concerns about Social Justice, a group-based morality missing from the MFT.

A new model of morality addresses this omission and Haidt and colleagues' claim that there is no liberal group-based morality (i.e., the three binding moralities in MFT are endorsed by conservatives and not liberals). More specifically, in their Model of Moral Motives (MMM) Janoff-Bulman and Carnes (2013) derived distinct moral principles by turning to a fundamental motivational distinction, approach versus avoidance, and crossing these orientations with three foci of moral concern: the self (intrapersonal), the other (interpersonal), and the group (collective). Approach-based morality, or prescriptive morality, emphasizes positive, selfless behaviors, whereas avoidance-based morality, or proscriptive morality, is restrictive and involves restraining negative, self-interested behaviors (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Hepp, 2009). A key extension of moral principles in the MMM involves the group-focused, or binding, moralities. MMM includes both an

approach-based and an avoidance-based binding morality, specifically Social Justice and Social Order, respectively.

Social Order emphasizes conformity and strict adherence to behavioral norms. It is responsive to threats and dangers to the group, be they threats to physical safety or psychological identity. Social Order serves collective coordination; self-interest and self-expression are constrained in the service of the larger group's interests.

In contrast, Social Justice involves efforts to advance the group's welfare, with a particular emphasis on equality-based distributional outcomes. It promotes collective cooperation rather than coordination. A Social Justice morality is oriented towards providing for the group, whereas a Social Order morality is oriented towards protecting the group (Janoff-Bulman & Carnes, 2013; also see Janoff-Bulman, 2009).

Janoff-Bulman and Carnes (2013) claim that the three binding moralities of MFT are all mechanisms that serve Social Order, and empirical research supports this claim (see, e.g., Carnes, Lickel, and Janoff-Bulman, 2014). MFT includes only proscriptive group moralities and omits a prescriptive morality, and thus it is small wonder that based on the MFT moral foundations, only political conservatives endorse a binding morality. When including Social Justice, however, both political liberals and conservatives have a binding morality (see, e.g., Carnes et al., 2014; Janoff-Bulman & Carnes, 2014). The proposed studies will further buttress Social Justice as a distinct and important moral value.

D. Past Empirical Work on Fairness and Social Justice.

Brickman et al. (1981) have inspired a number of studies attempting to understand individual preference for micro or macrojustice and its effect on attitudes and decisions. These studies each reinforce general qualities we are categorizing as fairness or social

justice. Murphy-Berman and colleagues (Murphy-Berman, Cukur & Berman, 2002) asked Turkish and US respondents to allocate resources to individuals and groups in two conditions: microjustice and macrojustice situations. Subjects used microjustice rules to allocate resources to individuals but macrojustice rules to allocate resources to groups (. Another study, using a mood induction, found that elated participants were more likely to use macrojustice rules, whereas depressed participants were more likely to use microjustice rules (Sinclair & Mark, 1991). In 2007, researchers took the question to real-world phenomena. Lillie and colleagues found that participants in the microjustice condition perceived the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as less acceptable than those in the macrojustice condition (Lillie & Janoff-Bulman, 2007). A 1998 study found that, overall, macrojustice arguments were more successful for pro-environmentalist decisions while microjustice arguments were more successful for anti-environmentalist decisions (Clayton, 1998).

Although the microjustice-macrojustice model and subsequent studies speak to some important differences, the model is incomplete and the defining features of past work on macrojustice and microjustice seem to be whether they refer to an individual's outcome or a group's outcome. Another study by Jost and colleagues provides evidence suggesting that intergroup allocation decisions can reflect both proportionality and equality between groups (Jost & Azzi, 1996). This provides motivation to consider fairness and social justice at both the individual and group levels. After all, societal groups can be considered both collections of individuals and subsets of larger society, and a single person can be a unique individual or a group member.

Several studies have also used different measures of self construals to grasp how people are thinking about individual deservingness and group membership-based equality. In an exploratory 2007 study on self-construal styles, results showed that manipulating an interdependent self-construal induced stronger reactions to injustice and moral concerns (Gollwitzer, M., & Bucklein, K., 2007).

However, like most studies eliciting reactions to “injustice” or “moral concerns,” the scenarios in this study confounded violations of input-based deservingness with violations of group membership-based equality. Connecting self-construal and micro/macrojustice, Zdaniuk and Bobocel (2011) assessed participants’ independent self-construals and found that high scores were associated with lower endorsement of macrojustice and lower support for Affirmative Action. We interpret Affirmative Action as a prime example of when the values of fairness and social justice come into conflict. On the one hand, colleges aim to recruit students who display exceptional academic merit. However, admissions policies also take into account other considerations such as past hardship, extraneous circumstances, and, most importantly, group membership. Making admissions decisions on individual deservingness and merit alone would result in a negatively skewed distribution of admissions concentrated in groups with access to more resources. Thus interpreted from our perspective, Zdaniuk and Bobocel (2011) found that people who defined themselves in terms of their independence from others were less likely to use what we would consider a social justice lens and instead relied on a fairness lens when considering Affirmative Action.

CHAPTER 2

MY PRIOR PRELIMINARY RESEARCH

While we may have imposed the words fairness and social justice onto two sets of principles, there are parallels in everyday language. In a previous exploratory study, we asked 70 college students to give us examples of fairness and unfairness or social justice and social injustice. Each of their open-ended responses was coded by independent coders for key words that described individuals/groups, ascribed membership/actions, and discrete examples/global phenomena, among others. When asked about fairness and unfairness, participants used more words involving a collection of unrelated people, reciprocity, proportionality, and discrete events, but when asked about social justice and social injustice, they used more words about people in social categories, instances of discrimination or prejudice, ongoing phenomena, and group membership. Therefore, although the terms were imposed on two sets of qualities, we concluded that they are in fact comparable to the connotations of fairness and social justice in everyday language.

A second exploratory study aimed to demonstrate that participants can hold equally valid opinions of fairness and social justice at the same time. Previous work has attempted to use individual differences in sensitivity to social justice to predict decisions. Specifically, endorsement of social justice tends to be associated with liberalism and identification with the Democratic Party (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, & Baldacci, 2008). Fairness, however, may be a universal value that is the default method of evaluation. For this study, 202 participants recruited online were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, and each took three surveys. In the first condition, participants took a measure

of fairness, a filler measure (BIS/BAS), and a measure of social justice. In the second condition, the order was reversed.

The five-item Fairness Scale was adapted from the Preference for the Merit Principle Scale (Davey, L., Bobocel, DR., Hing, L., Zanna, M., 1999). Five items that specifically endorsed rules for rewarding individual contribution were chosen from the PMP to create the Fairness Scale. The statements were rewritten to reflect groups in society and vague rewards, rather than the original words that specified pay in a workplace environment. Examples of statements in the Fairness Scale include: “In society, people who do a good job ought to rise to the top” and “The effort a person puts into something ought to be reflected in the size of the reward he or she receives” [see Appendix C for full scale]. Participants also completed the five-item Social Justice scale from the Model of Moral Motives (Janoff-Bulman & Carnes, 2013, 2014). Examples of statements in the Social Justice Scale include “In the healthiest societies, those at the top should feel responsible for improving the wellbeing of those at the bottom” and “It is our responsibility, not just a matter of personal preference, to provide for groups worse off in society” [see Appendix D for full scale]. A filler task was included between the measures of Fairness and Social Justice: participants completed 14 items from the Carver and White’s (1994) Behavioral Inhibition/Activation Scale.

We found no order effects; that is, Fairness did not differ based on whether it was administered first or last; nor did Social Justice differ based on order. As predicted, Fairness and Social Justice represented unique principles, for across both time points, Fairness and Social Justice scores were uncorrelated. The extent to which participants endorsed one was unrelated to their endorsement of the other. Also, Fairness was not

associated with political orientation, but Social Justice was negatively correlated with Political Orientation; that is, conservatism was associated with lower Social Justice scores. Thus, support of Social Justice principles appears to be politically aligned, but Fairness principles may have more universal appeal, as they are unrelated to political positions. Essentially, each scale, Fairness and Social Justice, seems to tap independent distributional principles, which are not mutually exclusive.

Finally, construal level was explored in a third study where an abstract or concrete construal level was first primed, and then endorsement of either Fairness or Social Justice values was measured. Because we believe Fairness involves a restricted perspective of specific units of exchange, we predicted that this would be connected to a concrete cognitive framework focused on details, rather than the big picture. Conversely, because Social Justice involves an inclusive, horizontal comparison across groups, we predicted that this broader perspective would be connected to an abstract cognitive framework. The study asked 322 online respondents to complete a Construal Level priming task drawn from Fujita, Trope, Liberman, & Levin-Sagi (2006). In this task, the instructions to the participant determine whether the task primed a concrete construal or an abstract construal level. The “abstract” directions are to list the larger categories that define each of 20 distinct items. The “concrete” directions are to list specific examples of the same 20 items. The control condition did not involve any priming task. Participants also either completed the Fairness scale or Social Justice scale utilized earlier. Participants were randomly assigned to one of six conditions crossing abstract, concrete, and no-prime construals with completion of the Fairness and Social Justice scales. Responses on the Fairness scale were unchanged by condition (i.e., abstract, concrete, and no-prime

control), but there was a significant difference in Social Justice scores by prime. The concrete and control conditions did not differ, but both differed significantly from the abstract prime condition. Inducing an abstract state of mind resulted in higher endorsement of Social Justice, compared with both concrete and no prime conditions, suggesting that Social Justice involves a style of processing that promotes thinking about the “big picture.”

CHAPTER 3

STUDY PURPOSE & MATERIALS

A. Purpose

Our earlier studies were largely exploratory and served as a first step to establishing what we refer to as fairness and social justice as two distinct moral methods of allocating resources, which can often come into conflict with each other. However, no other studies thus far have explored the use of a fairness or social justice lens in evaluating real-world situations in a variety of domains that can be seen from both angles. In addition, although some studies have attempted to influence sensitivity to moral values by manipulating perspective, stimuli have largely confounded individual deservingness and equality based on group membership. Lastly, while some aspects of both reciprocity and equality may be partially represented in the morality literature as “fairness” in the Moral Foundations Theory (Haidt, 2007), these concepts are confounded and social justice as a moral value is conspicuously missing.

Moving forward, the following two studies aimed to understand how different psychological frameworks can affect moral judgments of fairness and social justice. We were particularly interested in how people make moral judgments when the two principles are in conflict. The first study explored whether priming each principle affects moral judgments. We hypothesized that priming a fairness lens would increase sensitivity to input-based deservingness that isn't specifically mentioned in the scenarios, whereas priming a social justice lens would increase sensitivity to group membership-based allocations of resources and the resulting equal or skewed distributions. The second study explored whether focusing either on the individual (via a person's unique identity) or the group (via common group identity) affects moral judgments of the same situations used

in Study 1. We hypothesized that focusing on a unique individual identity would increase sensitivity to input-based deservingness that isn't specifically mentioned in the scenarios, whereas focusing on a collective social identity would increase sensitivity to group membership-based allocations of resources and the resulting equal or skewed distributions. Both of the studies were designed to shed light on how different mental models can affect sensitivity to, and endorsement of, fairness and social justice principles. These studies aimed to provide support for including social justice as a moral value that is comparable to, but distinct from, fairness in the moral psychology literature and to better understand when we rely on each principle in instances when they conflict.

B. Materials: Scenarios

Both studies used moral acceptability ratings (from 1 to 7, 1 = “not at all acceptable” and 7 = “very acceptable”) of hypothetical scenarios as the dependent variable. Each of the 16 scenarios pitted fairness and social justice values against each other such that they showcased instances where input-based deservingness rules create a skewed distribution across groups (8 scenarios), or instances where rules that support group membership-based equality violate individual deservingness (8 scenarios). All of the scenarios were inspired by Rob Reich's example of the drawbacks of a seemingly moral act (parents donating to their child's public school). Each of the scenarios was composed of two parts, hereby referred to as Time 1 and Time 2. At Time 1, participants only read enough information to identify the situation, which on its face is either fair (8 scenarios) or socially just (8 scenarios). At this point, participants may or may not recognize the moral value being violated (fairness or social justice). At Time 2, additional information is presented that explicitly violates the moral principle presented at Time 1,

but supports the other principle. Here, the conflict between the two moral values is evident. Moral acceptability of the scenarios is rated at both Time 1 and Time 2.

An example of a “Fair but Unjust” scenario at Time 1 was:

“In a city neighborhood, parents donate a great deal of money to their children’s public school.”

An example of a “Fair but Unjust” scenario at Time 2 was:

“In a city neighborhood, parents donate a great deal of money to their children’s public school.

Other public schools in the city with lower income families get no additional funds from parents.”

An example of a “Just but Unfair” scenario at Time 1 was:

“Students at a major university are admitted based on a combination of factors, including academic achievement, past hardship, and group membership.”

An example of a “Just but Unfair” scenario at Time 2 was:

Students at a major university are admitted based on a combination of factors, including academic achievement, past hardship, and group membership.

Some students with better academic records are not admitted to the university.”

[See Appendix A for a list of all scenarios]

There were therefore eight Time 1 scenarios that were Fair but Unjust (Cronbach's $\alpha = .695$) and eight Time 2 scenarios that provided the additional justice violation for the Fair but Unjust scenarios ($\alpha = .898$). Similarly, there were eight Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1 ($\alpha = .903$), and eight at Time 2 when the additional fairness violation was added to these scenarios ($\alpha = .906$).

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 1

A. Methods of Study 1

The purpose of the first study was to determine whether priming principles of fairness and social justice can be used to influence moral judgments of scenarios in which fairness and social justice are in conflict. We were particularly interested in whether participants primed with a particular principle (e.g., social justice) would recognize violations of that principle when it was not mentioned in the scenario (e.g., recognizing that donating to your child's public school violates social justice principles) or would be less likely to recognize it when primed with a consistent principle (i.e., fairness).

i. Materials

The independent variable was operationalized as a priming task that instructed participants to unscramble (i.e., place in order) several words within six sentences that either endorsed fairness or social justice values (four sentences), or were filler items (two sentences). For example, participants may have seen the following sentence where the words "the economic equality" are scrambled:

"The healthier the society, the greater [equality economic the]."

[See Appendix B for all items]

Control conditions completed no scrambling task. The dependent variable was operationalized as a mean moral acceptability rating (from 1 to 7, 1 = "not at all acceptable" and 7 = "very acceptable") at Time 1 and Time 2 of each of the eight developed scenarios.

ii. Hypotheses

Condition as indicated by the priming task was a between-subjects variable and time was a within-subjects variable. Therefore, we first hypothesized a main effect of time such that mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios across conditions would decrease from Time 1 when the conflict was presented at Time 2.

Second, we hypothesized an interaction of condition by time within type of scenario. Essentially, we predicted that participants primed with Social Justice would rate scenarios where fairness was upheld but social justice was violated (Fair but Unjust) as less acceptable as compared to individuals primed with Fairness or in the control condition for those scenarios. Similarly, we predicted that participants primed with Fairness would rate scenarios where social justice was upheld but fairness was violated (Just but Unfair) as less acceptable compared to individuals primed with Social Justice or in the control condition for those scenarios. However, the interaction with time was predicted such that the difference in mean moral acceptability ratings within scenario type between conditions would be significant at Time 1 before the conflict was made apparent, but ratings at Time 2 would not differ between conditions; rather they would be equally low across conditions.

Furthermore, in addition to these main analyses, moderation by individual differences in endorsement of Fairness and Social Justice was explored. Participants' Fairness and Social Justice scores from the scales they completed at the end of the procedure may serve as possible explanations for why certain subjects may already have been sensitive to each value above and beyond the prime. Specifically, we hypothesized a scale by time interaction (hypothesis 3) such that participants high on Fairness would react negatively to Socially Just but Unfair scenarios, presumably initially recognizing

the unfairness as they are sensitive to it, and rate them as less acceptable at Time 1, but at Time 2 they would rate them as low as people low on Fairness. Similarly, we predicted that participants high on Social Justice would react negatively to Fair but Socially Unjust scenarios, presumably recognizing the injustice, and rate them as less acceptable at Time 1 compared to people low on Social Justice. Moreover, we hypothesized a scale by time by condition three-way interaction (hypothesis 4) such that where scales and conditions are consonant (e.g. Fairness prime and high endorsement of Fairness or Social Justice prime and high endorsement of Social Justice) mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios that uphold the same consonant value would be increased at Time 1, as the prime may particularly activate sensitivity to the consonant principle.

iii. Participants

Participants were recruited online from a diverse and inclusive population. A total of 357 participants were assigned to one of six conditions. Although 455 participants originally completed the study, participants were excluded if they refused to give consent or did not complete the priming task, incorrectly answered the attention check question (marked a different option for a question instructing participants to mark “Option 4”), took 1 standard deviation less than the mean time to complete the study, or took two standard deviations more than the mean time to complete the study. There were also three outliers on the political identity scale who indicated a conservative political identity but also a contradictory strong belief in social justice; a closer look showed that these respondents had entered the same number as a response for all questions and were thus removed from the sample for not completing the study conscientiously. Informed consent was obtained for all of the included participants and they received monetary compensation for their participation.

Participants ranged from age 19 to age 70 ($M = 37.53$, $SD = 11.60$). Fifty-two percent of the participants were female, and 48% were male. The sample was 79% White, 7% Black, 4% Hispanic, 5% Asian, and 5% reported “Other.”

iv. Procedure

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of six conditions (3 x 2) where priming task (fairness, social justice, and control) was crossed with which value was upheld in the Time 1 scenarios (fairness but not social justice, or social justice but not fairness). Participants were not given a mixed set of all 16 scenarios due to contamination of concepts – participants would be sensitive to both values upheld equally in the combined set of scenarios. Each participant first completed one of the three priming tasks. Then, participants read all 8 assigned scenarios and rated their “moral acceptability” based on the Time 1 information given. They were then given the same scenarios with both parts included (Time 2) and again rated their “moral acceptability.” Participants also completed the 5-item Fairness Scale and 5-item Social Justice Scale. Lastly, participants completed a short demographic survey [see Appendix E for complete survey].

B. Results of Study 1

A preliminary scan of the data revealed that most of the outcome variables were normally distributed with no outliers that were greatly affecting the mean. However, one variable, mean moral acceptability ratings of just but unfair scenarios at Time 1, displayed a negatively skewed distribution (skewness = -1.61, $SE = .18$; Shapiro-Wilke = .85, $p < .001$). When a square root transformation was applied to induce a normal distribution, neither the skewness nor the results of the analyses changed and, therefore, the transformation was not maintained.

i. Individual Differences

In terms of self-reported values and beliefs, participants indicated high agreement with the 7-point Fairness scale ($M = 5.61$, $SD = .97$) and high agreement with the 7-point Social Justice scale, although with greater variability in scores ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.40$). Overall, however, Fairness and Social Justice scores as individual differences were not correlated with each other, $r(357) = -.071$, $p > .1$, and did not differ by condition (Fairness $F(5,351) = 1.45$, $p = .21$; Social Justice $F(2,176) = 1.27$, $p = .28$)

Fairness scores were moderately positively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1, $r(179) = .286$, $p < .001$, and at Time 2, $r(179) = .283$, $p < .001$. Social Justice scores were negatively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1, $r(179) = -.254$, $p < .001$, at Time 2, $r(179) = -.536$, $p < .001$, and with the difference between time points, $r(179) = -.489$, $p < .001$ (see Table 1).

Fairness scores were moderately negatively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 2, $r(178) = -.383$, $p < .001$, and with the difference in scores between Time 1 and Time 2, $r(178) = -.360$, $p < .001$. Social Justice scores were positively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1, $r(178) = .563$, $p < .001$, and at Time 2, $r(178) = .464$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2).

These correlations provided the basis for exploration of individual difference measures of Fairness and Social Justice in accounting for the differences in mean moral acceptability ratings between time points and conditions.

ii. Hierarchical Linear Model

A hierarchical linear model was used to analyze a data structure where time points (level-1) were nested within participants (level-2) randomly assigned to conditions. The dependent variable was participants' mean moral acceptability ratings of eight scenarios (either Fair but Unjust or Just but Unfair). Model testing involved five steps that successively added more predictors, all with intercepts- and slopes-as-outcomes as variance existed at both levels; error variance from the individual scenarios was fixed using $1 - \text{reliability (Cronbach's } \alpha)$ multiplied by the variance of the set of scenarios at each time points. The final model included time, condition, Fairness scale score, Social Justice scale score, and their interactions as factors predicting mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios. Scenario type, however, was randomly assigned and because there is no shared variance between participants assigned to either Fair but Unjust or Just but Unfair scenarios, this particular design does not allow for hierarchical linear modeling analysis comparing responses to one set of scenarios vs. the other.

For Fair but Unjust scenarios, the regression coefficient representing the main effect of time was significant and negative ($b = -1.30, p < .001$) indicating that mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios decreased significantly across conditions from Time 1 to Time 2 (Time 1 $M = 5.52, SD = .81$; Time 2 $M = 4.17, SD = 1.32$, see Figure 1). Second, there was a significant main effect of condition such that the Social Justice prime condition reduced Time 1 ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios as compared to the Control condition ($b = -.43, p = .001$), but this effect was not maintained at Time 2 ($b = -.00, p = .964$). The main effect of the Fair prime condition was marginal at Time 1 ($b = -.26, p = .053$), and non-significant at Time 2 ($b = -.09, p = .560$) as compared to the Control condition (see Figure 2). Third, individual differences as

measured by the Fairness and Social Justice scales proved influential at different time points, indicating a scale by time interaction. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for Fairness was positive and significant at Time 1 ($b = .20, p = .021$, see Figure 3), and positive and significant at Time 2 ($b = .27, p = .013$, see Figure 4) suggesting that higher scores on the Fairness scale predicted higher mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios at both time points. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for Social Justice was negative and significant only at Time 2 ($b = -.35, p < .001$, see Figure 5) suggesting that higher scores on the Social Justice scale predicted lower mean moral acceptability ratings only when the injustice was made apparent. Last, there was one significant three-way interaction whereby the regression coefficient representing the slope or decrease in ratings from Time 1 to Time 2 was further reduced for participants with higher individual preferences for Fairness who were assigned to the Social Justice prime ($b = -.42, p = .009$, see Figure 6). To ascertain whether this interaction was being driven by high or low scores on the Fairness scale, two separate models were run with one model using the Fairness scales centered one standard deviation below the mean and the other centered one standard deviation above the mean. The effect of the Social Justice prime condition was only significant at Time 2 when the model was centered to reflect high ($b = .41, p = .043$) but not low ($b = -.42, p = .093$) values on the Fairness scale indicating an acceptance of the Social Justice prime when responding to social injustice, especially for those high on Fairness. See Table 3 for regression coefficients.

For Just but Unfair scenarios, the regression coefficient representing the main effect of time was significant and negative ($b = -2.08, p < .001$) indicating that mean

moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios decreased significantly across conditions from Time 1 to Time 2 (Time 1 M = 5.93, SD = 1.06; Time 2 M = 3.72, SD = 1.32, see Figure 7). Second, the main effect of condition is not significant (see Figure 8). Third, an individual difference as measured by the Social Justice scale proved influential at different time points, indicating a scale by time interaction. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for Social Justice was positive and significant at Time 1 ($b = .51, p < .001$) suggesting that higher scores on the Social Justice scale predicted higher mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios before the unfairness was made apparent (see Figure 9). Last, there was the same significant three-way interaction between scale, time, and condition whereby the decrease in ratings from Time 1 to Time 2 was further reduced for participants with higher individual preferences for Fairness who were assigned to the Social Justice prime ($b = -.63, p = .015$, see Figure 10). Again to ascertain whether this interaction was being driven by high or low scores on the Fairness scale, two separate models were run with one model using the Fairness scales centered one standard deviation below the mean and the other centered one standard deviation above the mean. The effect of the Social Justice prime condition was only significant at Time 2 when the model was centered to reflect high ($b = -.76, p = .028$) but not low ($b = .45, p = .132$) values on the Fairness scale indicating a negative reactance to the Social Justice prime when responding to unfairness, especially for those high on Fairness. See Table 4 for regression coefficients.

C. Discussion of Study 1

First, the hypothesized effect of time on mean moral acceptability ratings was borne out for both sets of scenarios such that illumination of the conflict between the two values represented in each scenario at Time 2 resulted in lower moral acceptability across

conditions as compared to Time 1. The effect size for this was found to exceed convention for a medium effect ($\eta^2 = .5$), $\eta^2 = .63$ for Fair but Unjust scenarios, and $\eta^2 = .75$ for Just but Unfair scenarios. Essentially, the negative consequences of upholding one (but violating the other) moral value between fairness and social justice were evaluated as less morally acceptable, regardless of primed conditions and individual differences in endorsement of fairness and social justice.

Second, while the Fairness priming task had little to no effect on evaluations of scenarios, the Social Justice prime did have an effect but came into play at difference time points for each set of scenarios. Why might the scenario ratings in the Fairness prime condition and control condition look largely similar? One hypothesis that requires experimental confirmation is that fairness is a cognitive default perspective and using a social justice lens requires additional cognition. For Fair but Unjust scenarios, across time points, participants who were primed with social justice (the conflicting value), however, evaluated Fair but Unjust scenarios as less acceptable, compared to participants who were not primed with any value or with the consistent value of fairness. This finding supports the second hypothesis that priming participants with social justice principles can increase their sensitivity to violations of social justice in the fair but unjust scenarios before the conflict was made apparent at Time 2. For Just but Unfair scenarios, however, priming fairness principles did not have an effect on moral acceptability ratings of scenarios, so the condition by time interaction was not borne out for these scenarios. This may in part be due to the strong effects of individual preferences for each principle.

Specifically, individual differences played a role in evaluations of both sets of scenarios as participants who were high on one scale evaluated value-consistent scenarios

as more morally acceptable at Time 1; the higher the participants were on the Fairness scale, the more morally acceptable they rated Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1 and the higher the participants were on the Social Justice scale, the more morally acceptable they rated Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1. This is counter to the characteristics of the scale by time interaction predicted earlier; sensitivity to a principle did not encourage sensitivity to its violation, rather it only encouraged further endorsement of the scenarios that upheld it. Moreover, at Time 2 when the conflict was made apparent, evaluation of the Fair but Unjust scenarios was still consistent with individual differences in preference for Fairness. Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 2 were rated as increasingly morally acceptable as participants' endorsement of Fairness increased and separately rated as less morally acceptable as participants' endorsement of Social Justice decreased. Essentially, while the priming task was somewhat effective, it was not as effective as individual differences in endorsement of one or the other value at driving judgments of moral acceptability of the conflict between two values in a given scenario.

At Time 2, the condition by time by scale interaction is significant for both types of scenarios, but the interpretation differs. For Fair but Unjust scenarios, participants high on fairness who were assigned to the Social Justice prime condition rated the violation of social justice as uniformly unacceptable, while participants primed with Fairness or in the control condition reported greater acceptability of the violation of social justice while upholding fairness as their individual preference for fairness increased. This suggests an acceptance of the Social Justice prime once the violation of social justice was made apparent, specifically for participants with high Fairness scores. For Just but Unfair scenarios, however, participants primed with the Social Justice prime rated the violation

of fairness at Time 2 as less acceptable as their preference for Fairness increased – and this relationship was stronger than for participants primed with Fairness or in the control condition. The latter finding seems to reflect a reactance effect—that is, participants seemed to react against the Social Justice prime. This difference in interpretation of the same three-way interaction suggests that the two sets of scenarios, Fair but Unjust and Just but Unfair, may be qualitatively different; although the current study design does not allow for analyses that compare responses to both sets of scenarios to confirm this.

At Time 1, however, participants' endorsement of the conflicting value was still not predictive of their scenario ratings. That is, participants who were higher on Social Justice did not rate the Fair but Unjust scenarios any differently and participants higher on Fairness did not rate the Just but Unfair scenarios any differently. Essentially, the majority of participants did not recognize the negative consequences of upholding fairness and violating social justice, or vice versa, at Time 1. They were, however, largely averse to them when they were made apparent at Time 2. Therefore, if not a priming of the actual principles, an exploration of what will motivate this recognition is warranted.

Ultimately, differing reactions to Fair but Unjust and Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1 and Time 2 depending on individual differences and prime condition lend credence to conceptualizing fairness and social justice as separate moral values that are considered differently in different contexts, but similarly weighted nonetheless. However, a greater understanding of the different scenario-based responses to the social justice prime for those high on fairness requires further investigation.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 2

A. Methods of Study 2

The second study attempted to understand whether focus on a unique individual identity or a collective identity involving common group membership would influence endorsement of fairness or social justice.

i. Materials

The independent variable was a priming task wherein participants responded to a writing prompt that was designed to focus thoughts on the individual vs. a collective identity, or neither (i.e., control condition). In the individual condition, participants wrote about the qualities that make them unique as individuals, while the group condition instructed participants to write about things they have in common with close others. More specifically, the priming task was a version of the Similarities and Differences from Families and Friends (SDFF) task adapted from Trafimow, Triandis, and Goto (1991). The manipulation has been previously found to be successful at priming individualism and collectivism (Oyserman & Lee, 2008). Instructions to the participants read, "In the space provided, write several sentences about what you have in common with all of your friends and family" (collective) or "In the space provided, write several sentences about what makes you unique from your friends and family" (individual). The latter establishes a unique personal identity by emphasizing how the participant is distinct from close others, whereas the former instruction emphasizes group-based commonalities and thus shared group membership. The control condition did not involve a priming task. The

dependent variable was moral acceptability ratings of the same scenarios used in Study 1 [see Appendix A].

ii. Hypotheses

Condition as indicated by the priming task was a between-subjects variable and time was a within-subjects variable. Therefore, we first hypothesized a main effect of time such that mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios across conditions would decrease from Time 1 when the conflict was presented at Time 2 just as in Study 1.

Second, we hypothesized an interaction of condition by time within type of scenario. Essentially, we predicted that participants focused on the collective group would rate scenarios where fairness was upheld but social justice was violated (Fair but Unjust) as less acceptable as compared to individuals primed with the individual or in the control condition for those scenarios. Similarly, we predicted that participants primed with focusing on the individual would rate scenarios where social justice was upheld but fairness was violated (Just but Unfair) as less acceptable compared to individuals primed with the collective or in the control condition for those scenarios. However, the interaction with time was predicted such that the difference in mean moral acceptability ratings within scenario type between conditions would be significant at Time 1 before the conflict was made apparent, but ratings at Time 2 would not differ between conditions; rather they would be equally low across conditions.

Furthermore, in addition to these main analyses, moderation by individual differences in endorsement of Fairness and Social Justice was explored. Participants' Fairness and Social Justice scores from the scales they completed at the end of the procedure may serve again as possible explanations for why certain subjects may already have been sensitive to each value above and beyond the prime. Specifically, we

hypothesized a scale by time interaction (hypothesis 3) such that participants high on Fairness would react negatively to Socially Just but Unfair scenarios, presumably initially recognizing the unfairness as they are sensitive to it, and rate them as less acceptable at Time 1, but at Time 2 they would rate them as low as people low on Fairness. Similarly, we predicted that participants high on Social Justice would react negatively to Fair but Socially Unjust scenarios, presumably recognizing the injustice, and rate them as less acceptable at Time 1 compared to people low on Social Justice. Moreover, we hypothesized a scale by time by condition three-way interaction (hypothesis 4) such that where scales and conditions are consonant (e.g. individual prime and high endorsement of Fairness or group prime and high endorsement of Social Justice) mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios that uphold the same consonant value would be increased mean at Time 1, as the prime may particularly activate sensitivity to the consonant principle.

iii. Participants

Participants were recruited online from a diverse and inclusive population. A total of 326 participants were assigned to one of six conditions. Although 461 participants originally completed the study, participants were excluded if they refused to give consent or did not complete the priming task, incorrectly answered the attention check question (marked a different option for a question instructing participants to mark “Option 4”), took 1 standard deviation less than the mean time to complete the study, or took two standard deviations more than the mean time to complete the study. There were only two outliers on the political identity scale who indicated a conservative political identity but also a contradictory strong belief in social justice; a closer look showed that these

respondents had entered the same number as a response for all questions and were thus removed from the sample for not completing the study conscientiously. Informed consent was obtained for all of the included participants and they received monetary compensation for their participation.

Participants ranged from age 18 to age 74 ($M = 35.70$, $SD = 11.43$). Fifty-seven percent of the participants were female, and 43% were male. The sample was 76.4% White, 5.5% Black, 7.1% Hispanic, 5.5% Asian, and 5.5% reported 'Other'.

iv. Procedure

Each participant was randomly assigned to one of six conditions (3 x 2) where priming task (individual, collective, or control) was crossed with which value was upheld in the Time 1 scenarios (fairness but not social justice, or social justice but not fairness). Again, participants were not given a mixed set of all 16 scenarios due to contamination of concepts – participants would be sensitive to both values upheld equally in the combined set of scenarios. Each participant first responded to one of the two writing prompts or did not complete a prime (control condition). Then, participants read the 8 assigned scenarios and rated their moral acceptability given the Time 1 information (Fair but Unjust Scenarios at Time 1 Cronbach's $\alpha = .745$; Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1 $\alpha = .853$). They then read the scenarios with the Time 2 information provided and once again rated their moral acceptability (Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 2 $\alpha = .907$; Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 2 $\alpha = .904$). Participants then completed the Fairness and Social Justice Scales. Lastly, participants completed a short demographic survey [see Appendix E for complete survey].

B. Results of Study 2

A preliminary scan of the data revealed that all of the outcome variables were normally distributed and most had no outliers that were greatly affecting the mean.

i. Individual Differences

In terms of self-reported values and beliefs, participants indicated high agreement with the 7-point Fairness scale ($M = 5.59$, $SD = .98$) and high agreement with the 7-point Social Justice scale, although with greater variability in scores ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 1.49$). Overall, Fairness and Social Justice scores were also negatively correlated with each other, $r(326) = -.172$, $p < .05$, but did not differ by condition, Fairness $F(5, 320) = .94$, $p = .46$ and Social Justice $F(5, 320) = .91$, $p = .48$.

Fairness scores were moderately positively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1, $r(167) = .282$, $p < .001$, and at Time 2, $r(167) = .179$, $p < .05$, but not with the difference between Time 1 and Time 2 ($r(167) = .110$, $p > .5$). Social Justice scores were negatively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1, $r(167) = -.281$, $p < .001$, at Time 2, $r(167) = -.660$, $p < .001$, and with the difference between time points, $r(167) = -.602$, $p < .001$ (see Table 5).

Fairness scores were moderately negatively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 2, $r(159) = -.261$, $p = .001$, and with the difference in scores between Time 1 and Time 2, $r(159) = -.272$, $p = .001$. Social Justice scores were positively correlated with mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1, $r(159) = .630$, $p < .001$, and at Time 2, $r(159) = .538$, $p <$

.001, but not with the difference between Time 1 and Time 2, $r(159) = .091$, $p > .1$ (see Table 6).

These correlations again provided the basis for exploring Fairness and Social Justice scores in accounting for differences in mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios.

ii. Hierarchical Linear Model

A hierarchical linear model was used to analyze a data structure where time points (level-1) were nested within participants (level-2) randomly assigned to conditions. The dependent variable was participants' mean moral acceptability ratings of eight scenarios (either Fair but Unjust or Just but Unfair). Model testing involved five steps that successively added more predictors, all with intercepts- and slopes-as-outcomes as variance existed at both levels; error variance from the individual scenarios was fixed using $1 - \text{reliability (Cronbach's } \alpha)$ multiplied by the variance of the set of scenarios at each time points. The final model included time, condition, Fairness scale score, Social Justice scale score, and their interactions as factors predicting mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios. Scenario type, however, was randomly assigned and because there is no shared variance between participants assigned to either Fair but Unjust or Just but Unfair scenarios, this particular design does not allow for hierarchical linear modeling analysis comparing responses to one set of scenarios vs. the other.

For Fair but Unjust scenarios, the regression coefficient representing the main effect of time was significant and negative as hypothesized ($b = -1.96$, $p < .001$, see Figure 11) indicating that mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios decreased significantly across conditions from Time 1 to Time 2 (Time 1 $M = 5.54$, $SD =$

.90; Time 2 M = 3.85, SD = 1.49). Second, there were no significant main effects of condition (see Figure 12), counter to the second hypothesis. Third, individual differences as measured by the Fairness and Social Justice scales proved influential at different time points, indicating a scale by time interaction. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for Fairness was positive and significant at Time 1 ($b = .30, p = .012$, see Figure 13) suggesting that higher scores on the Fairness scale predicted higher mean moral acceptability ratings of Fair but Unjust scenarios only at Time 1. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for Social Justice was negative and significant only at Time 2 ($b = -.65, p < .001$, see Figure 14) suggesting that higher scores on the Social Justice scale predicted lower mean moral acceptability ratings only when the injustice was made apparent. Last, the hypothesized scale by time by condition interaction was not supported. See Table 7 for regression coefficients.

For Just but Unfair scenarios, the regression coefficient representing the main effect of time was significant and negative as hypothesized ($b = -2.04, p < .001$, see Figure 15) indicating that mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios decreased significantly across conditions from Time 1 to Time 2 (Time 1 M = 5.82, SD = 1.01; Time 2 M = 3.85, SD = 1.42, see Figure 16). Second, an individual difference as measured by the Social Justice scale proved influential at different time points, indicating a scale by time interaction. The regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for social justice was positive and significant at Time 1 ($b = .24, p < .001$, see Figure 17) suggesting that higher scores on the Social Justice scale predicted higher mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios before the unfairness

is made apparent. In addition, the regression coefficient representing the effect of an individual preference for fairness was negative and significant at Time 2 ($b = -.36$, $p = .030$, see Figure 18) suggesting that higher scores on the Fairness scale predicted lower mean moral acceptability ratings of Just but Unfair scenarios when the unfairness was made apparent. Last, there is a scale by time by condition interaction whereby participants with a high preference for social justice who were in both the group prime ($b = .28$, $p = .004$) and the individual prime ($b = .35$, $p < .001$) conditions rated the Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1 as more acceptable than participants in the control condition (see Figure 19). See Table 8 for regression coefficients.

C. Discussion of Study 2

First, the hypothesized effect of time on mean moral acceptability ratings was again borne out for both sets of scenarios such that illumination of the conflict between the two values represented in each scenario at Time 2 resulted in lower moral acceptability across conditions as compared to Time 1. The effect size for this was found to exceed convention for a medium effect ($\eta^2 = .5$), $\eta^2 = .65$ for Fair but Unjust scenarios, and $\eta^2 = .70$ for Just but Unfair scenarios. Essentially, the negative consequences of upholding one (but violating the other) moral value between fairness and social justice were evaluated as less morally acceptable, regardless of primed conditions and individual differences in political ideology, identical to the results of Study 1.

Second, there was no effect of prime condition on the mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios at either of the two time points. Third, however, individual differences in endorsement of fairness and social justice again accounted for a significant amount of variance in the mean moral acceptability ratings of scenarios in a scale by time

interaction. The higher the participants were on the Fairness scale, the more morally acceptable they rated Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1, and the higher the participants were on the Social Justice scale, the more morally acceptable they rated Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1. Moreover, at Time 2 when the conflict was made apparent, evaluation of the scenarios was again consistent with individual differences, as Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 2 (when the injustice was made apparent) were rated as less morally acceptable as participants' endorsement of social justice increased, and Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 2 (when the unfairness was made apparent) were rated as less morally acceptable as participants' endorsement of fairness increased.

The individual difference in endorsement of social justice also affected acceptability ratings of the scenarios when interacting with both priming tasks. The significant interaction effect between scores on the Social Justice scale and both prime conditions on Just but Unfair scenarios at Time 1 may be the result of a failure of the priming task chosen; writing about how one is either different from or similar to close friends and family are both exercises in thinking about others and relationships, which may broadly have emphasized participants' endorsement of social justice rather than fairness. Why might the individual and collective primes not have been effective in their own right? Although the Similarities and Differences from Family and Friends task (Trafimow, et al., 1991) has proven successful at priming an individual or collective identity, it may be that fairness and social justice have more to do with an individual or group/social category identity than an ambiguous collective identity. Perhaps if a group/social category identity is made salient over an individual identity, social justice would become more relevant and vice versa.

However, once again, the majority of participants did not recognize the negative consequences of upholding fairness and violating social justice, or vice versa, at Time 1, but were largely averse to them when they were made apparent at Time 2. Although an individual identity prime and a collective identity prime did not strongly and uniformly affect participants' ratings of scenarios representing conflicting values, participants' individual endorsement of each value separately did affect these ratings. Study 2, then, provides further support for conceptualizing fairness and social justice as separate influential moral values.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

A. General Discussion

Studies 1 and 2 both provide evidence to bolster the conceptualization of social justice as a moral value that is separate from, but comparable to, fairness. In Study 1, priming principles of social justice sensitized participants to social justice concerns implicit in descriptions of Fair but Unjust scenarios before they were made explicit. However, rather than priming task, participants' individual endorsement of fairness and social justice was most predictive of evaluations of both scenarios. High endorsement of fairness predicted increased moral acceptability of fair but unjust scenarios, both when they were first presented and even when the negative consequences to groups in society (social justice) were made apparent. High endorsement of social justice predicted increased moral acceptability of just but unfair scenarios at Time 1. The only objections to the scenarios in terms of individual differences came at Time 2, when the consequences were made apparent, and higher endorsement of the conflicting principle predicted decreased ratings of the scenarios. Importantly, social justice and fairness were not correlated, nor did they differ by condition, supporting the idea that the two are stable and orthogonal individual differences that are differentially made salient by context (i.e. scenario).

In Study 2, priming an "individual" or a "collective" identity did not consistently influence moral acceptability ratings of conflicting scenarios. Nevertheless, the ineffectiveness of the "collective" prime may help clarify the concept of social justice as a distribution rule that requires the acknowledgement of social categories and not simply

collections of people in a group. In fact, across scenarios and conditions, participants' endorsement of fairness and social justice were most predictive of evaluations of scenarios: as participants' endorsement of social justice increased, scenarios were rated as less morally acceptable if they upheld fairness and violated social justice and rated as more morally acceptable if they upheld social justice and violated fairness – and vice versa for participants high on fairness.

Although we had hypothesized condition by time and scale by time interactions similar to the results in both studies, the time point that elicited a reaction was not Time 1, but Time 2 – when the violations of each principle were made apparent. Essentially, across both studies, although individual preferences for fairness and social justice as values increased the moral acceptability of value-consistent scenarios, participants did not seem to recognize the value conflicts inherent in the scenarios until the (conflicting) consequences were made explicit, at which point acceptability significantly decreased. Interestingly, participants displayed a slight inoculation to even these negative consequences if their strong individual preference for fairness or social justice continued to be upheld in the scenario.

Nevertheless, our first hypothesized main effect of time was borne out across scenarios and conditions such that moral acceptability decreased significantly when the violation of the opposing principle was made apparent. The consistent drop in moral acceptability of the scenarios from Time 1 to Time 2 may involve the observation that at Time 2, some harm introduced into a scenario that, at Time 1, involved no harm. However, the harm that is explicit at Time 2 is nevertheless implicit at Time 1 and visible to participants who may be motivated to recognize it, although this may involve too much

effortful processing. Furthermore, priming principles of social justice did decrease moral acceptability of fair but unjust scenarios at Time 1 in study 1, suggesting that at least some participants were sensitized to the implicit harm through this manipulation.

Overall, there was still little recognition of the negative consequences of upholding one moral value and violating the other until the violation was made explicit. Some factors, however, made this recognition more likely. Specifically, strong individual preferences for one or the other value, priming social justice principles, and priming a group identity all had varying effects on moral acceptability ratings of scenarios, but all participants demonstrated the belief that in scenarios where fairness and social justice conflict, the consequences of violating one and upholding the other are markedly less morally acceptable.

B. Limitations & Future Directions

Three methodological changes might be considered to improve upon the limitations of the described studies. First, Fair but Unjust scenarios at Time 1 had the lowest internal reliability of all of the sets of scenarios. Perhaps generating more scenarios and expanding the variety of contexts might give more insight into how the scenarios differ in quality. In addition to expanding the scenarios, both study designs were limited in their inability to compare across sets of scenarios (that is, between Fair but Unjust and Just but Unfair scenarios), which may have yielded more information about how the two types of dilemmas are qualitatively different from each other. Second, Study 2 attempted to prime a “collective” identity that may not be as relevant to social justice and fairness as a “group” identity in the form of social categories. Making these salient or not in a revised study might be more effective at encouraging participants to

use a social justice or fairness lens. Third, both studies made use of a sample recruited online through Amazon Mechanical Turk; although participants reported variance in demographics, some responses may be unique to this sample, such as socioeconomic status as revealed by access to a computer.

Also, in both studies, social justice demonstrated an effect either as an individual difference or as a prime as compared to the control conditions – but not fairness. Might this lack of difference suggest that fairness is the normal “default” lens and using a social justice lens requires different or motivated cognition? A test might, for example, involve participants who express a high preference for social justice who then evaluate similar conflicting scenarios either under cognitive load or with time and capacity to consider their reasoning. A decreased preference for social justice when under cognitive load might lend support to the idea of a fairness perspective being the “default” lens with which we morally evaluate the allocation of resources.

Last, a consistent main effect of time in both studies demonstrates that participants were largely approving of scenarios in which negative consequences based on the violation of fairness or social justice were implicit – until these consequences were made apparent at Time 2 and moral acceptability ratings decreased significantly. Although some individual differences increased moral acceptability at Time 1, no individual differences consistently decreased moral acceptability at Time 1. Besides overtly displaying principles of social justice, what factors will encourage sensitivity to the negative consequences of upholding one moral value while violating the other without overt explanation? Is it that such recognition is too effortful? Must we be motivated by some internal force or external direction to recognize them in spite of

requiring this effort? Or is the simple lack of information about the possible consequences to individuals or groups in society the major barrier to recognition? Further study is warranted.

Table 1: Correlations between FUJ outcomes and individual differences

		FUJT1	FUJT2	Diff_FUJ	Fmean	SJMean
FUJT1	Pearson Correlation	1	.626**	.022	.286**	-.254**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.769	.000	.001
	N	179	179	179	179	179
FUJT2	Pearson Correlation	.626**	1	.793**	.283**	-.536**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	179	179	179	179	179
Diff_FUJ	Pearson Correlation	.022	.793**	1	.141	-.489**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.769	.000		.061	.000
	N	179	179	179	179	179
Fmean	Pearson Correlation	.286**	.283**	.141	1	-.071
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.061		.179
	N	179	179	179	357	357
SJMean	Pearson Correlation	-.254**	-.536**	-.489**	-.071	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.000	.179	
	N	179	179	179	357	357

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2: Correlations between JUF outcomes and individual difference

		Fmean	SJMean	SJUFT1	SJUFT2	Diff_JUF
Fmean	Pearson Correlation	1	-.071	-.040	-.383**	-.360**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.179	.592	.000	.000
	N	357	357	178	178	178
SJMean	Pearson Correlation	-.071	1	.563**	.464**	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.179		.000	.000	.867
	N	357	357	178	178	178
SJUFT1	Pearson Correlation	-.040	.563**	1	.435**	-.378**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.592	.000		.000	.000
	N	178	178	178	178	178
SJUFT2	Pearson Correlation	-.383**	.464**	.435**	1	.669**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	178	178	178	178	178
Diff_JUF	Pearson Correlation	-.360**	.013	-.378**	.669**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.867	.000	.000	
	N	178	178	178	178	178

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 3: Final Estimation of HLM Fixed Effects Fair but Unjust Scenarios Study 1

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>t</i> -ratio	Approx. <i>d.f.</i>	<i>p</i> -value
For INTRCPT1, π_0					
INTRCPT2, β_{00}	5.761154	0.093601	61.550	170	<0.001
FairScale	0.201800	0.086456	2.334	170	0.021
SocJustScale	-0.086299	0.060599	-1.424	170	0.156
SocJustPrime	-0.430457	0.132485	-3.249	170	0.001
FairPrime	-0.258847	0.132679	-1.951	170	0.053
FxFP	-0.185484	0.138369	-1.341	170	0.182
FxSJP	0.213461	0.128863	1.657	170	0.099
SJxFP	-0.109900	0.092124	-1.193	170	0.235
SJxSJP	0.004838	0.098885	0.049	170	0.961
For TIME slope, π_1					
INTRCPT2, β_{10}	-1.300955	0.115000	-11.313	170	<0.001
FairScale	0.267474	0.106222	2.518	170	0.013
SocJustScale	-0.349090	0.074453	-4.689	170	<0.001
SocJustPrime	-0.007275	0.162774	-0.045	170	0.964
FairPrime	-0.095101	0.163012	-0.583	170	0.560
FxFP	-0.189580	0.170003	-1.115	170	0.266
FxSJP	-0.417414	0.158323	-2.636	170	0.009
SJxFP	0.057659	0.113185	0.509	170	0.611
SJxSJP	-0.117397	0.121492	-0.966	170	0.335

Table 4: Final Estimation of HLM Fixed Effects Just but Unfair Scenarios Study 1

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>t</i> -ratio	Approx. <i>df.</i>	<i>p</i> -value
For INTRCPT1, π_0					
INTRCPT2, β_{00}	5.845240	0.121228	48.217	172	<0.001
FMEAN, β_{01}	-0.145402	0.141366	-1.029	172	0.305
SJMEAN, β_{02}	0.510592	0.096037	5.317	172	<0.001
DCSJ, β_{03}	0.108337	0.164080	0.660	172	0.510
DCF, β_{04}	0.084534	0.162750	0.519	172	0.604
FXSJP, β_{05}	0.210463	0.190699	1.104	172	0.271
FXFP, β_{06}	0.057596	0.174723	0.330	172	0.742
SJXSJP, β_{07}	-0.074965	0.126726	-0.592	172	0.555
SJXFP, β_{08}	-0.123092	0.120012	-1.026	172	0.306
For TIME slope, π_1					
INTRCPT2, β_{10}	-2.078849	0.163459	-12.718	172	<0.001
FMEAN, β_{11}	-0.214546	0.190613	-1.126	172	0.262
SJMEAN, β_{12}	-0.052768	0.129493	-0.407	172	0.684
DCSJ, β_{13}	-0.160308	0.221240	-0.725	172	0.470
DCF, β_{14}	-0.077192	0.219446	-0.352	172	0.725
FXSJP, β_{15}	-0.629679	0.257132	-2.449	172	0.015
FXFP, β_{16}	-0.146351	0.235590	-0.621	172	0.535
SJXSJP, β_{17}	-0.129859	0.170873	-0.760	172	0.448
SJXFP, β_{18}	0.192845	0.161820	1.192	172	0.235

Table 5: Correlations between FUJ outcomes and individual differences (Study 2)

		FT1	FT2	DifF	FMean	SJMean
FT1	Pearson Correlation	1	.578**	-.028	.282**	-.281**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.724	.000	.000
	N	167	167	167	167	167
FT2	Pearson Correlation	.578**	1	.799**	.179*	-.660**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.021	.000
	N	167	167	167	167	167
DifF	Pearson Correlation	-.028	.799**	1	.011	-.602**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.724	.000		.883	.000
	N	167	167	167	167	167
FMean	Pearson Correlation	.282**	.179*	.011	1	-.172**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.021	.883		.002
	N	167	167	167	326	326
SJMean	Pearson Correlation	-.281**	-.660**	-.602**	-.172**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.002	
	N	167	167	167	326	326

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6: Correlations between JUF outcomes and individual difference (Study 2)

		SJT1	SJT2	DifJ	SJMean	FMean
SJT1	Pearson Correlation	1	.451**	-.288**	.630**	-.011
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.888
	N	159	159	159	159	159
SJT2	Pearson Correlation	.451**	1	.725**	.538**	-.261**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.001
	N	159	159	159	159	159
DifJ	Pearson Correlation	-.288**	.725**	1	.091	-.272**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.253	.001
	N	159	159	159	159	159
SJMean	Pearson Correlation	.630**	.538**	.091	1	-.172**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.253		.002
	N	159	159	159	326	326
FMean	Pearson Correlation	-.011	-.261**	-.272**	-.172**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.888	.001	.001	.002	
	N	159	159	159	326	326

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7: Final Estimation of HLM Fixed Effects Fair but Unjust Scenarios Study 2

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard error	t-ratio	Approx. <i>df.</i>	p-value
For INTRCPT1, π_0					
INTRCPT2, β_{00}	5.738968	0.107711	53.281	159	<0.001
SJMEAN, β_{01}	-0.038514	0.073189	-0.526	159	0.599
FMEAN, β_{02}	0.295409	0.116600	2.534	159	0.012
DCI, β_{03}	0.576797	0.584502	0.987	159	0.325
DCG, β_{04}	-0.392143	1.349020	-0.291	159	0.772
FIP, β_{05}	-0.225483	0.155815	-1.447	159	0.150
FGP, β_{06}	0.098784	0.193316	0.511	159	0.610
SJIP, β_{07}	-0.175092	0.107249	-1.633	159	0.105
SJGP, β_{08}	-0.077263	0.112868	-0.685	159	0.495
For TIME slope, π_1					
INTRCPT2, β_{10}	-1.956955	0.123380	-15.861	159	<0.001
SJMEAN, β_{11}	-0.652222	0.083837	-7.780	159	<0.001
FMEAN, β_{12}	-0.252525	0.133563	-1.891	159	0.060
DCI, β_{13}	-0.153296	0.669535	-0.229	159	0.819
DCG, β_{14}	-2.369554	1.545275	-1.533	159	0.127
FIP, β_{15}	0.132336	0.178483	0.741	159	0.460
FGP, β_{16}	0.281676	0.221440	1.272	159	0.205
SJIP, β_{17}	0.114462	0.122852	0.932	159	0.353
SJGP, β_{18}	0.225445	0.129288	1.744	159	0.083

Table 8: Final Estimation of HLM Fixed Effects Just but Unfair Scenarios Study 2

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard error	<i>t</i> -ratio	Approx. <i>d.f.</i>	<i>p</i> -value
For INTRCPT1, π_0					
INTRCPT2, β_{00}	5.991525	0.095281	62.882	151	<0.001
SJMEAN, β_{01}	0.240861	0.061104	3.942	151	<0.001
FMEAN, β_{02}	0.109346	0.095284	1.148	151	0.253
DCI, β_{03}	-1.064621	0.932021	-1.142	151	0.255
DCG, β_{04}	-1.422248	1.053675	-1.350	151	0.179
FXIP, β_{05}	-0.185046	0.129264	-1.432	151	0.154
FXGP, β_{06}	-0.053887	0.151158	-0.356	151	0.722
SJXIP, β_{07}	0.346475	0.087069	3.979	151	<0.001
SJXGP, β_{08}	0.282375	0.096584	2.924	151	0.004
For TIME slope, π_1					
INTRCPT2, β_{10}	-2.042973	0.164583	-12.413	151	<0.001
SJMEAN, β_{11}	0.134748	0.105547	1.277	151	0.204
FMEAN, β_{12}	-0.360336	0.164588	-2.189	151	0.030
DCI, β_{13}	-0.233871	1.609915	-0.145	151	0.885
DCG, β_{14}	1.938377	1.820053	1.065	151	0.289
FXIP, β_{15}	0.234949	0.223282	1.052	151	0.294
FXGP, β_{16}	-0.252370	0.261101	-0.967	151	0.335
SJXIP, β_{17}	-0.163506	0.150397	-1.087	151	0.279
SJXGP, β_{18}	-0.095686	0.166833	-0.574	151	0.567

Figure 1: Main effect of time FUJ scenarios Study 1

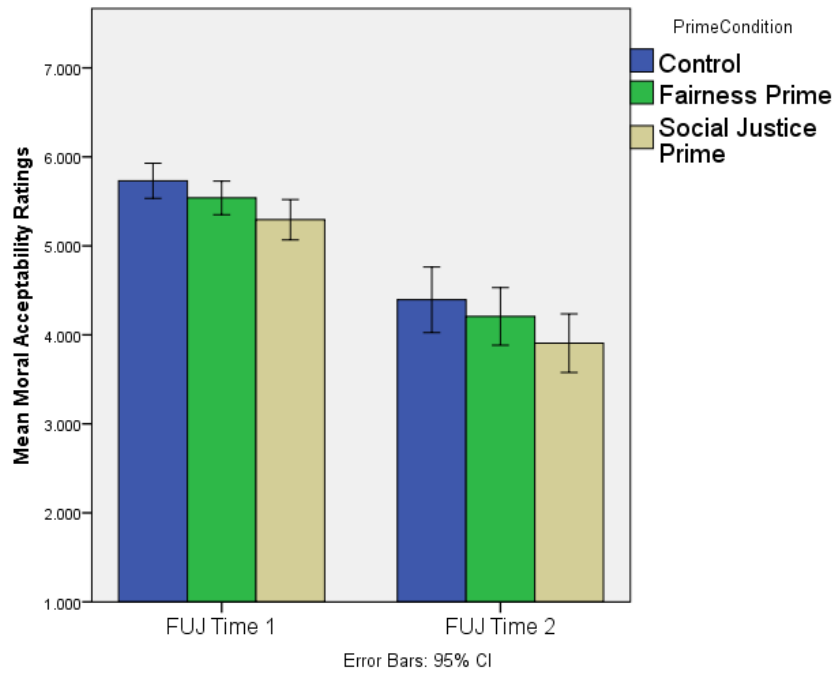


Figure 2: Main effect of condition FUJ scenarios Study 1

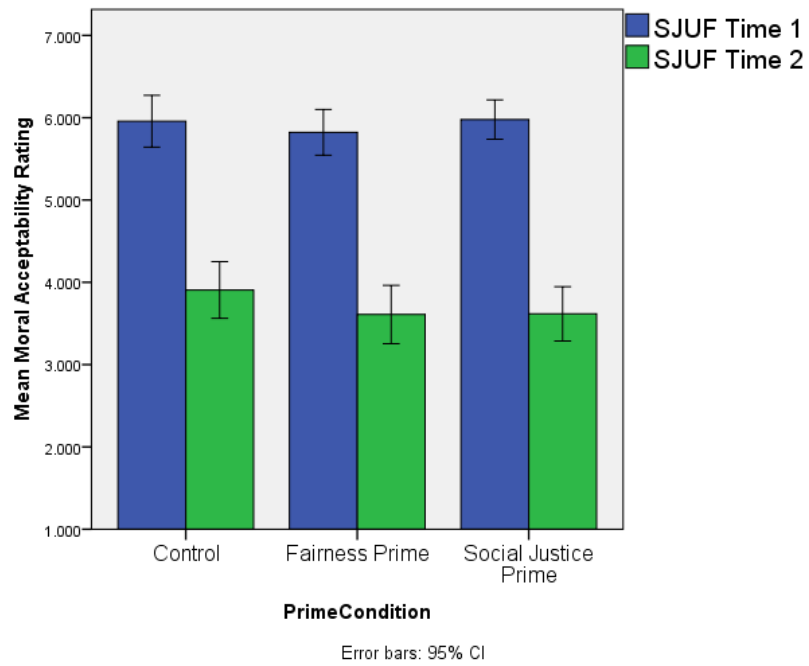


Figure 3: Main effect of Fairness Scale on Time 1 FUJ Scenarios Study 1

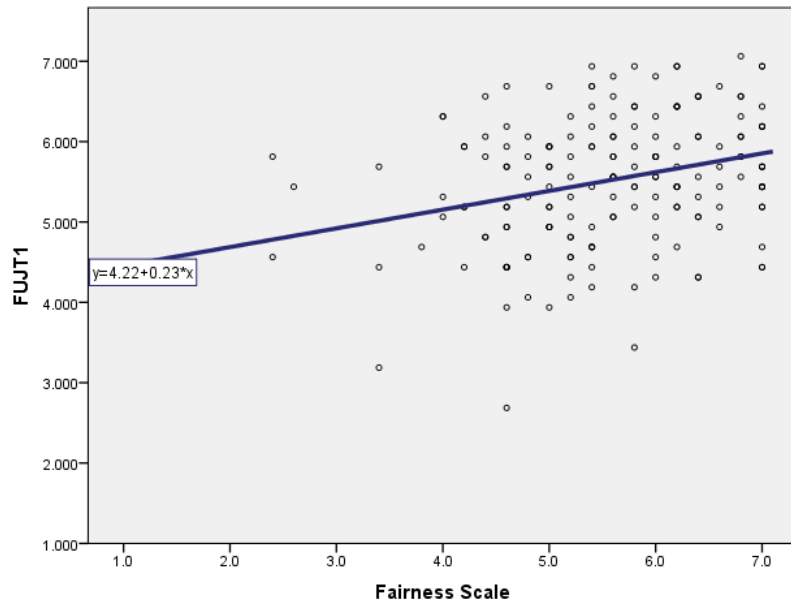


Figure 4: Main effect of Fairness Scale on Time 2 FUJ Scenarios Study 1

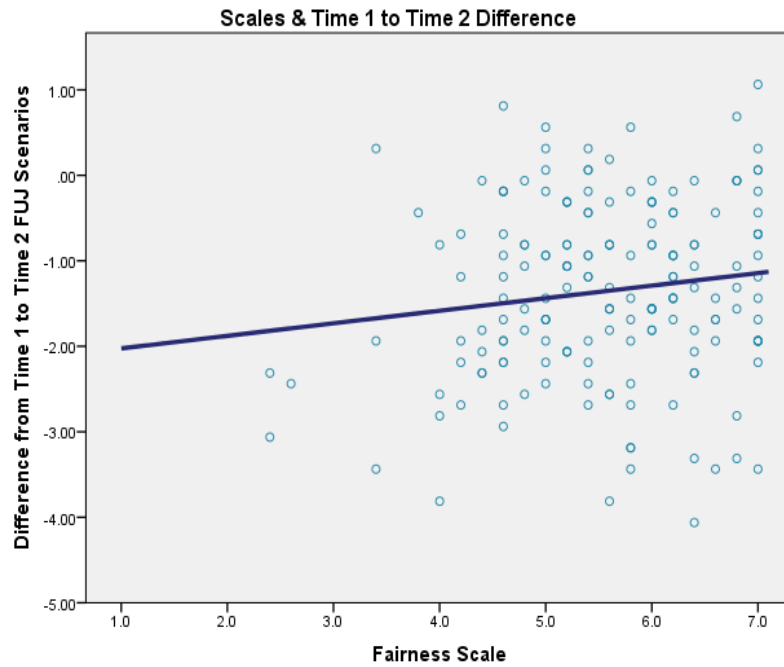


Figure 5: Main effect of Social Justice Scale on Time 2 FUJ Scenarios Study 1

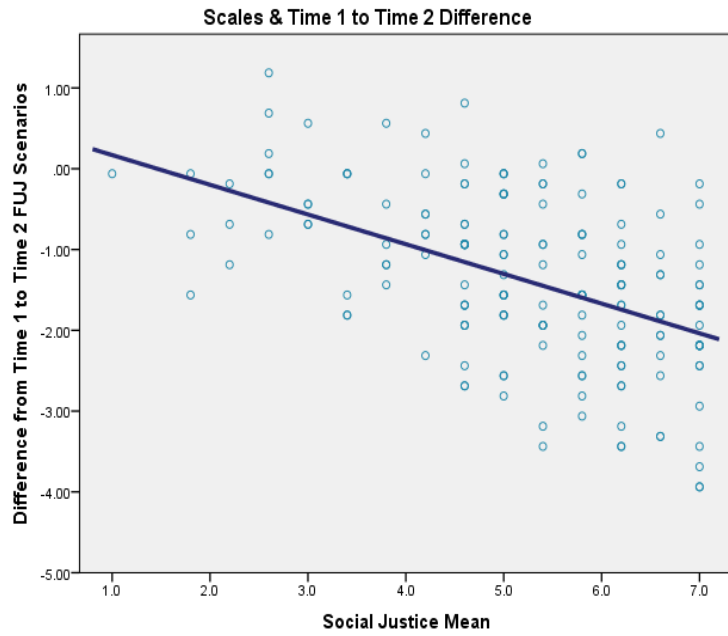


Figure 6: Interaction of Social Justice Prime by Fairness Scale FUJ Scenarios Study 1

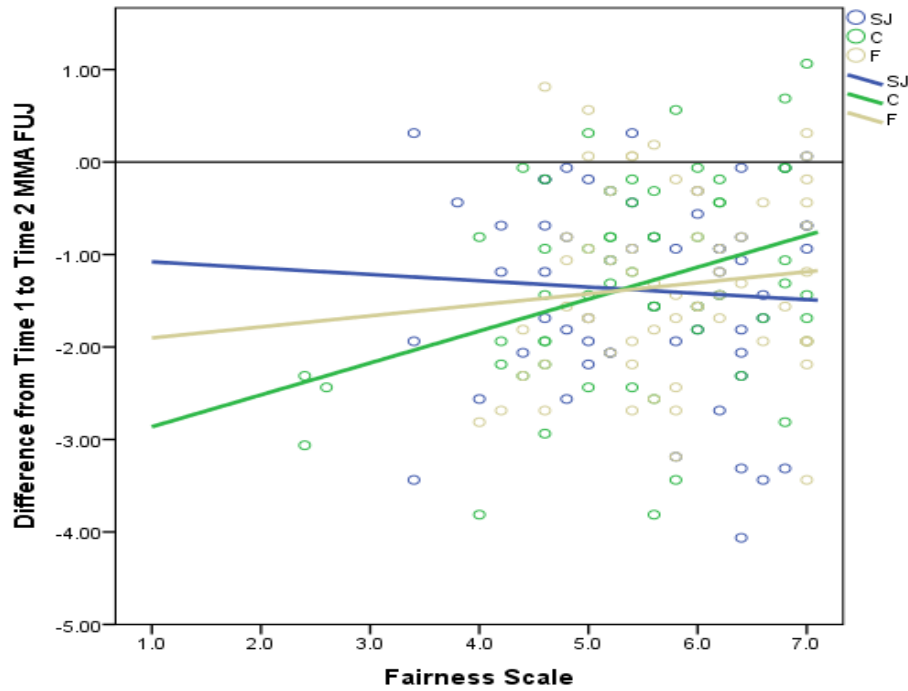


Figure 7: Main effect of time JUF scenarios Study 1

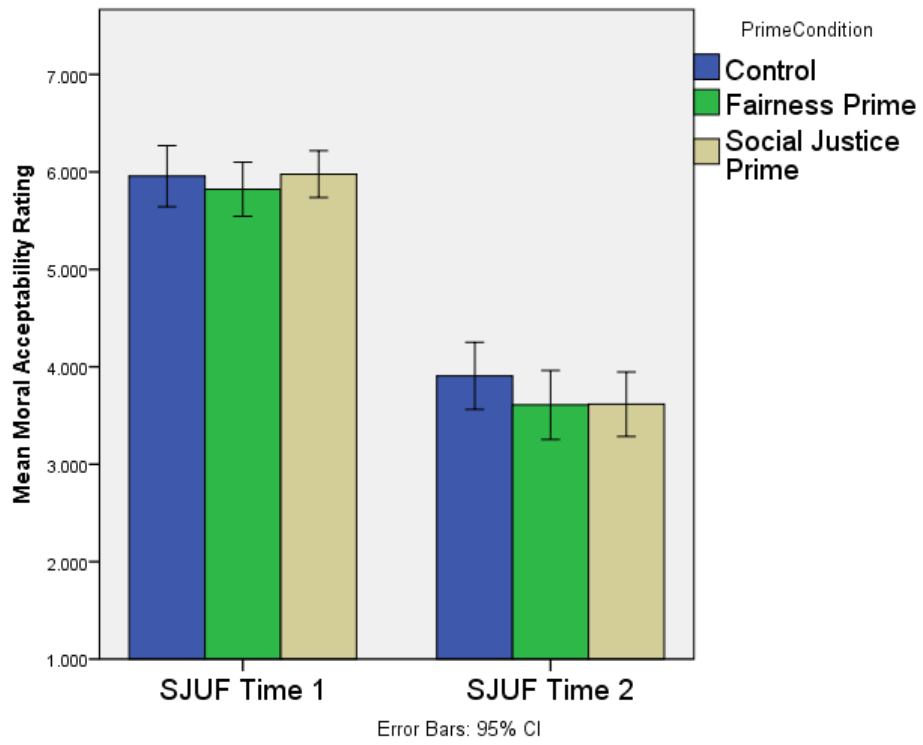


Figure 8: Main effect of condition JUF scenarios Study 1

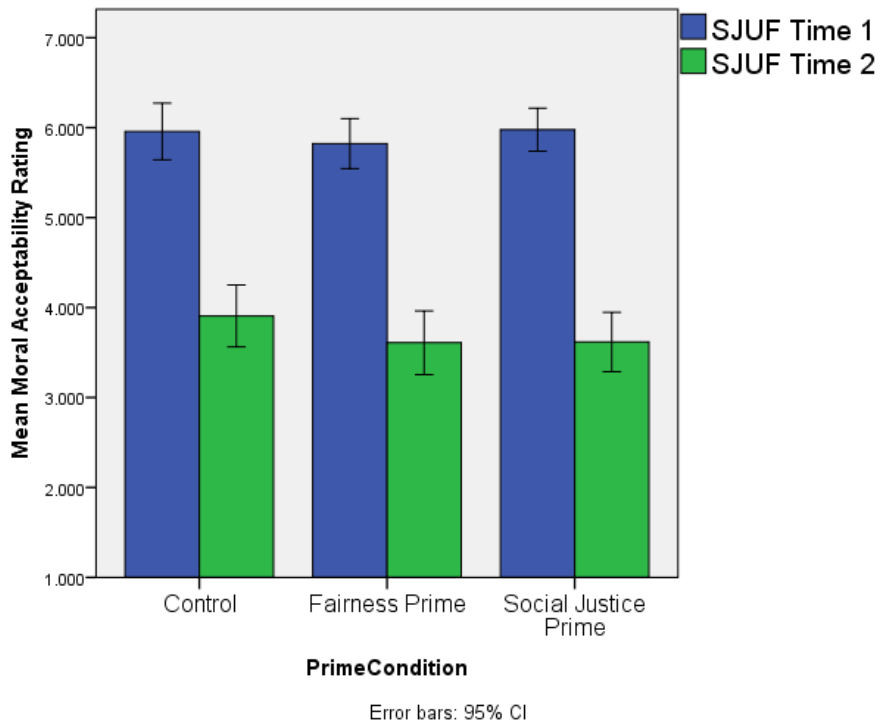


Figure 9: Main effect of Social Justice scale on Time1 JUF scenarios Study 1

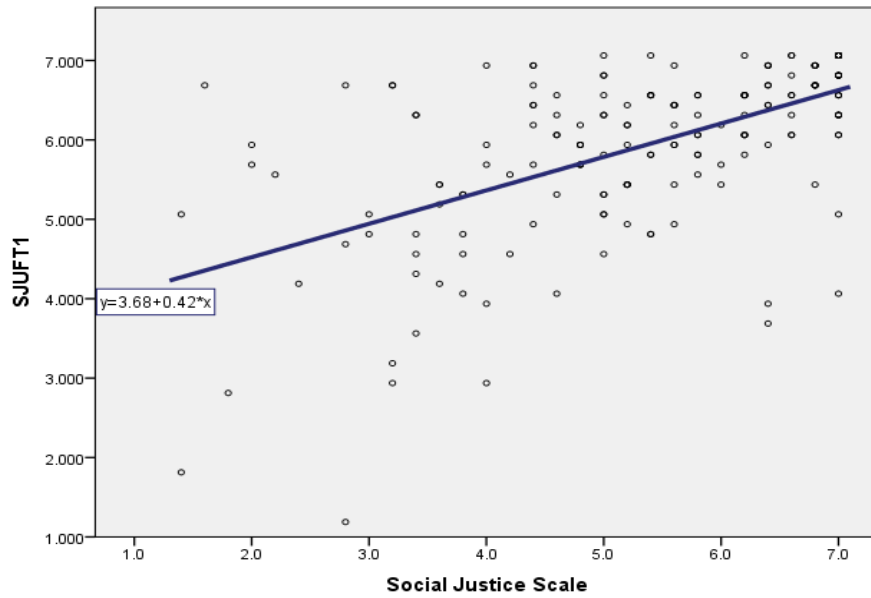


Figure 10: Interaction of Social Justice Prime by Fairness Scale JUF Scenarios Study 1

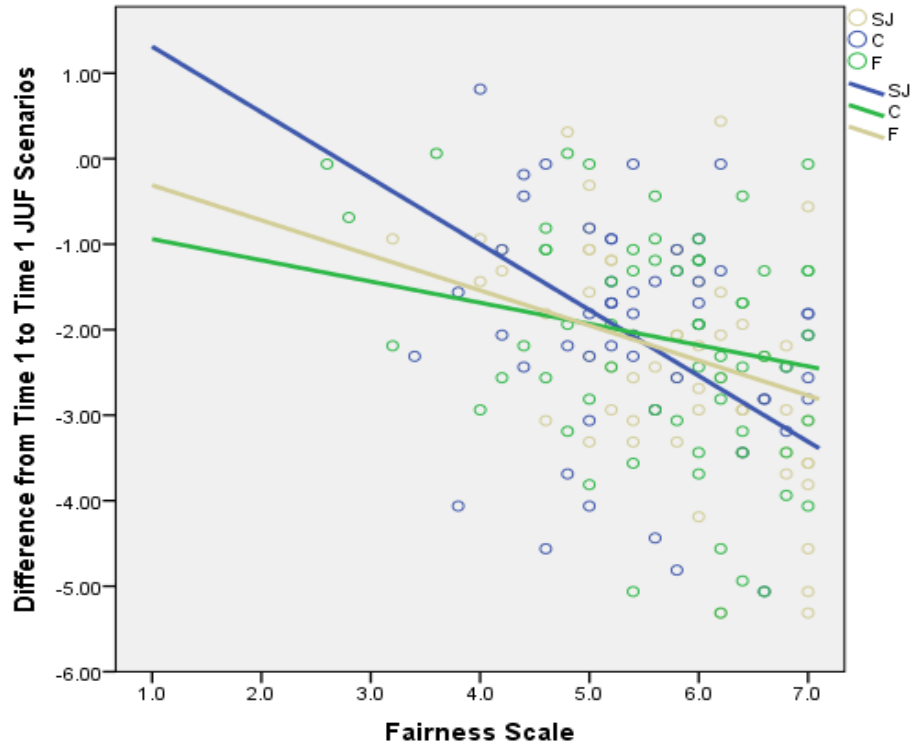


Figure 11: Main effect of time FUJ scenarios Study 2

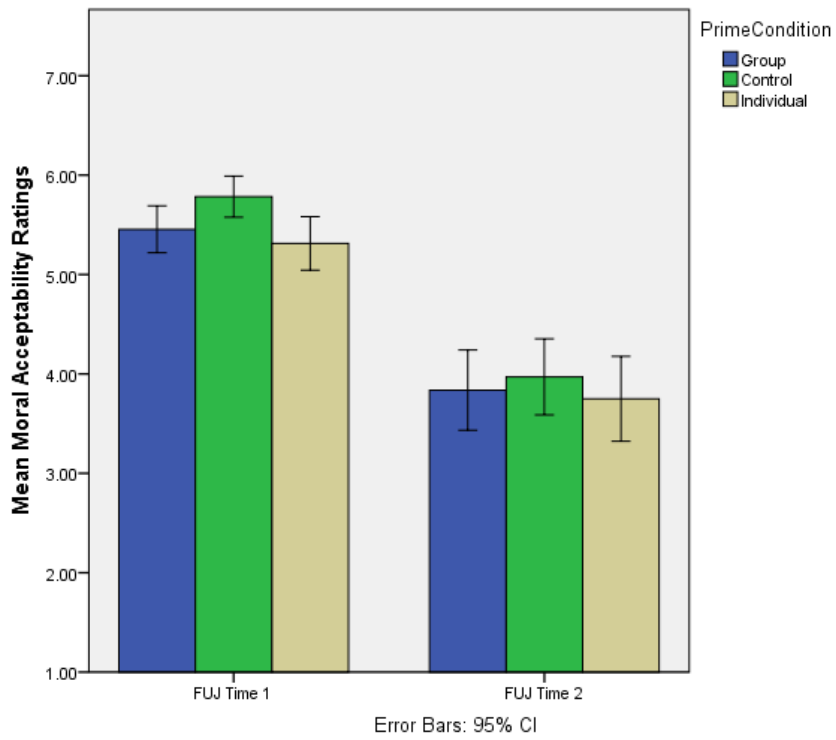


Figure 12: Main effect of condition FUJ scenarios Study 2

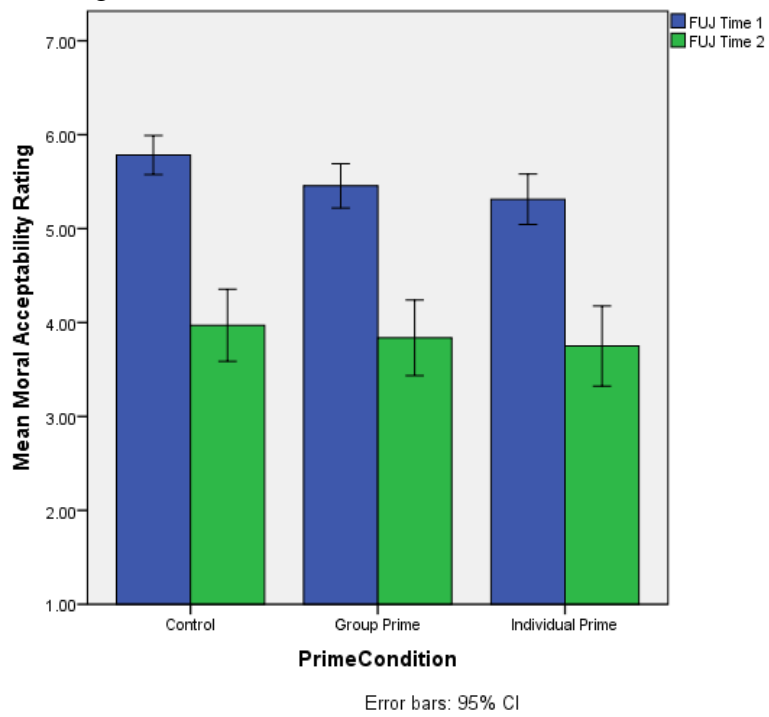


Figure 13: Main effect of Fairness scale on Time 1 FUJ scenarios Study 2

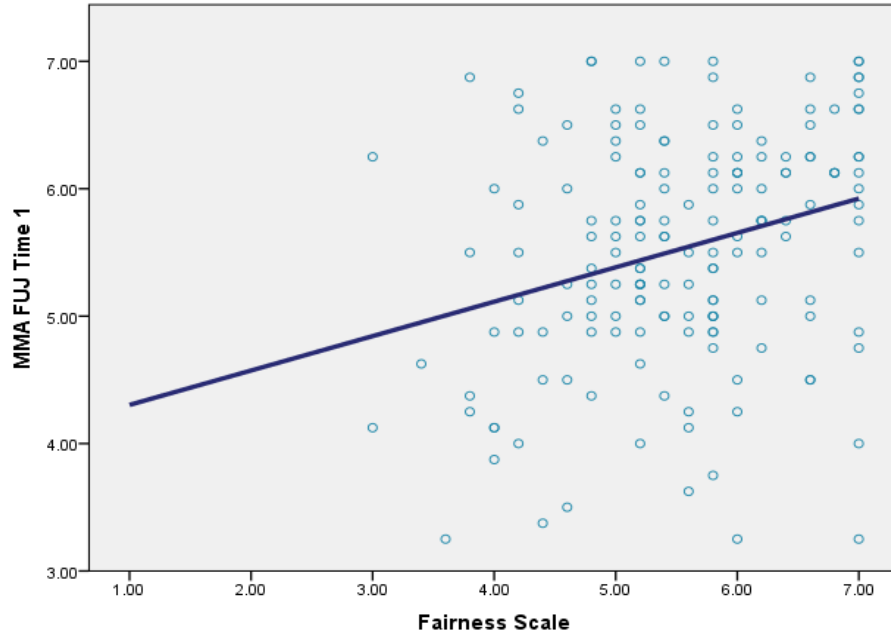


Figure 14: Main effect of Social Justice scale on Time 2 FUJ scenarios Study 2

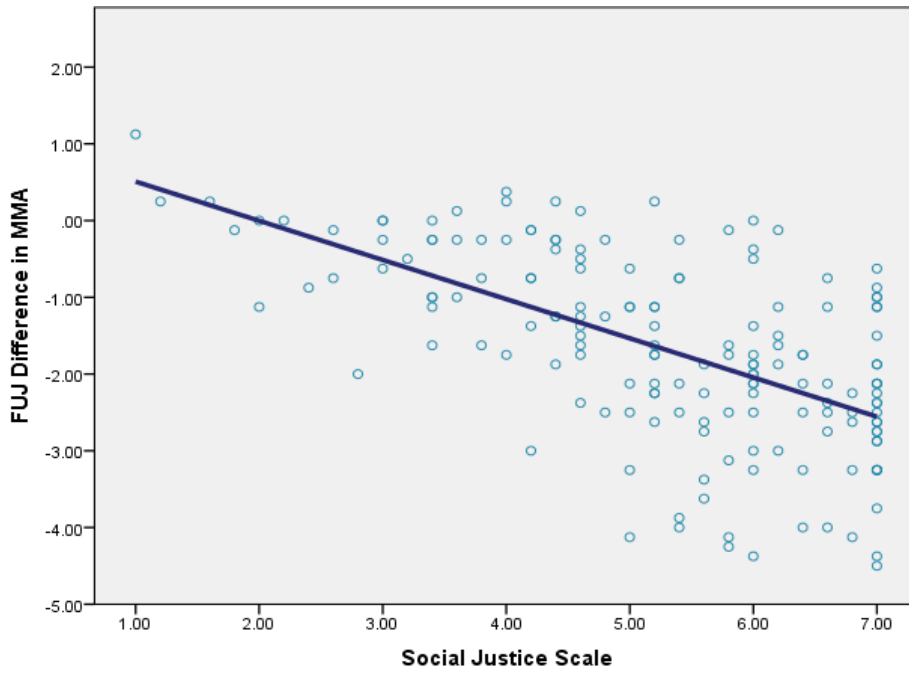


Figure 15: Main effect of time JUF scenarios Study 2

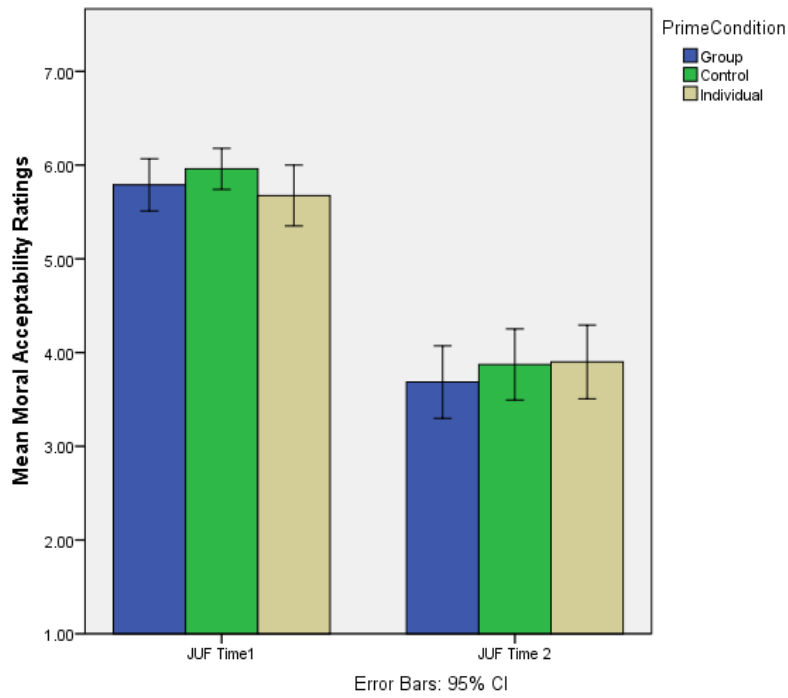


Figure 16: Main effect of condition JUF scenarios Study 2

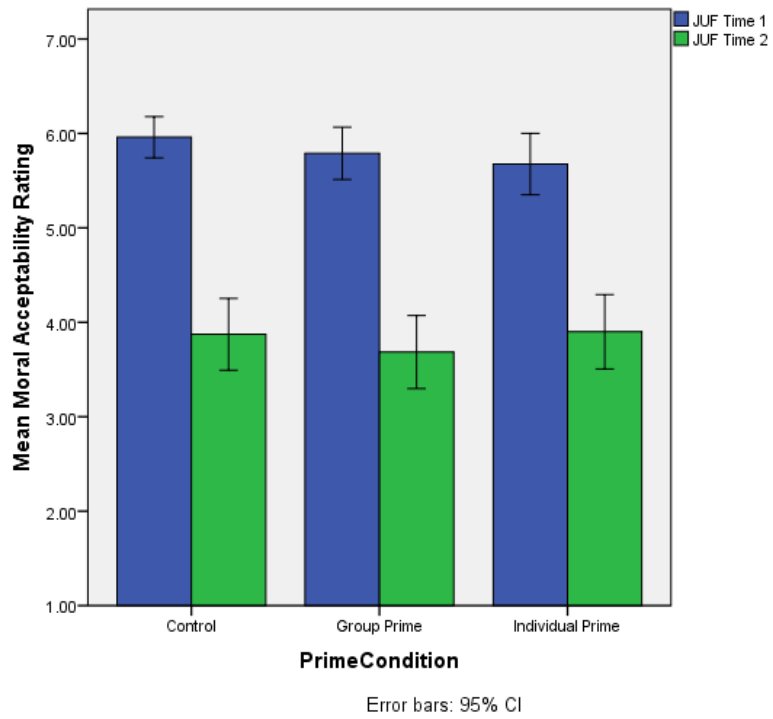


Figure 17: Main effect of Social Justice scale on Time 1 JUF scenarios Study 2

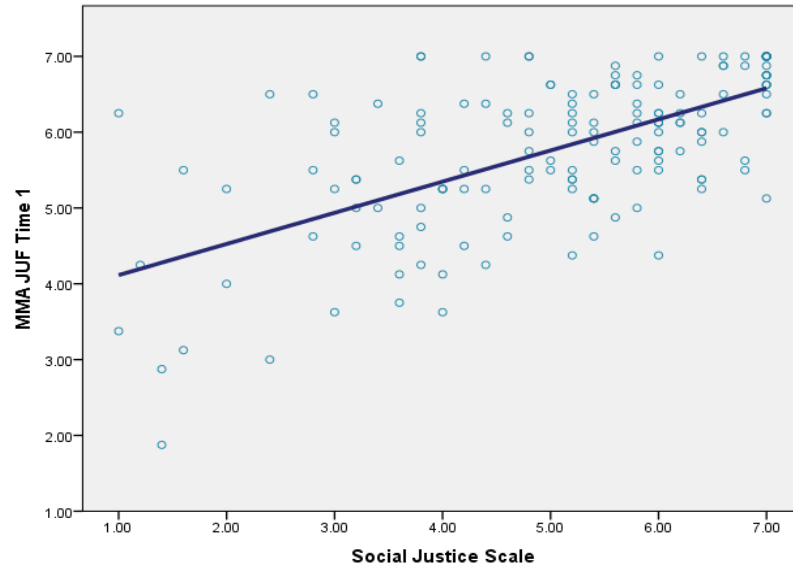


Figure 18: Interaction of Prime Conditions & Social Justice scale JUF scenarios Study 2

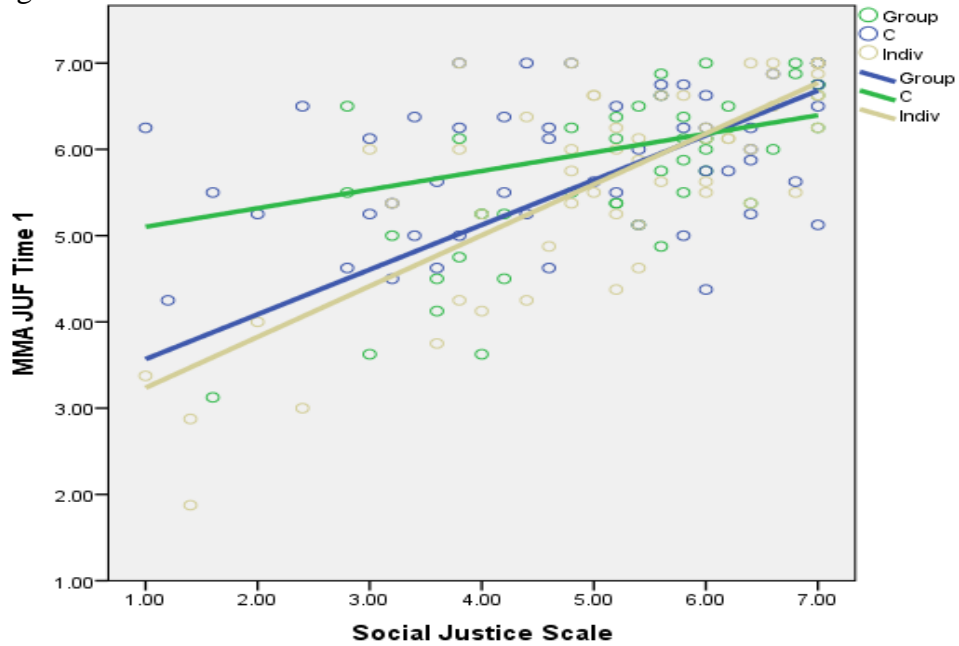
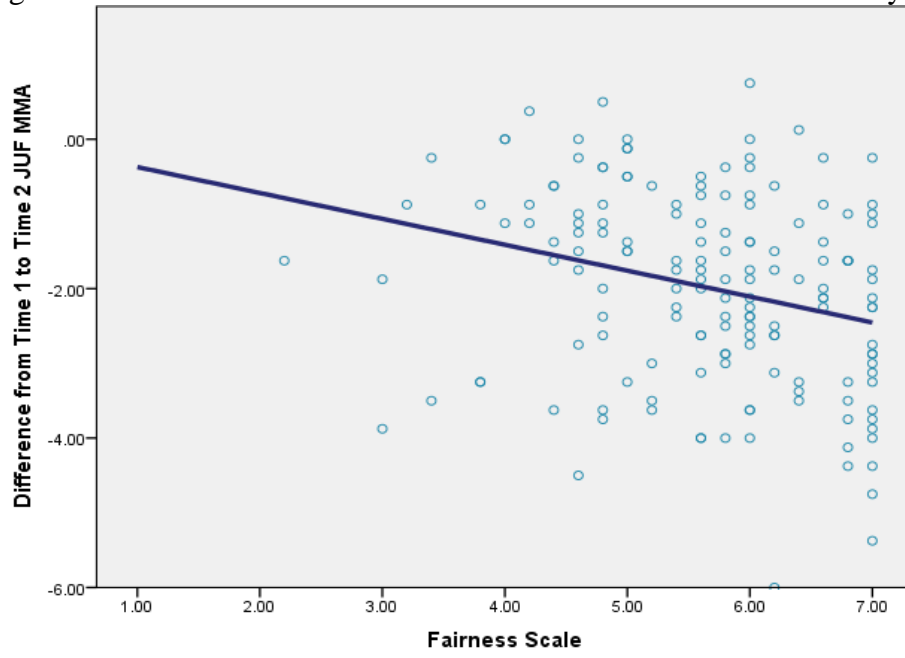


Figure 19: Main effect of Fairness scale on Time 2 JUF scenarios Study 2



APPENDIX A SCENARIOS

- 1) Time 1: In a city neighborhood, parents donate a great deal of money to their children's public school.
Time 2: In a city neighborhood, parents donate a great deal of money to their children's public school. Other public schools in the city with lower income families get no additional funds from parents.
- 2) Time 1: The U.S. has a volunteer army, and individuals are free to enlist.
Time 2: The U.S. has a volunteer army, and individuals are free to enlist. Volunteers in the U.S. army overwhelmingly come from low income families and have few job opportunities.
- 3) Time 1: Students at a respected college are admitted solely on the basis of their academic merit - a combination of students' grade point average and their SAT scores.
Time 2: Students at a respected college are admitted solely on the basis of their academic merit - a combination of students' grade point average and their SAT scores. Students who were not afforded the opportunity to have a high-quality education are very unlikely to be admitted.
- 4) Time 1: A popular company provides experience to students through valuable, unpaid summer internships.
Time 2: A popular company provides experience to students through valuable, unpaid summer internships. Students who must earn money over the summer are not at liberty to accept unpaid internships.
- 5) Time 1: A public school encourages students to join others in field learning outside of the classroom for a travel fee.
Time 2: A public school encourages students to join others in field learning outside of the classroom for a small travel fee. Students from low-income families are not able to pay the fee and, thus, are left behind.
- 6) Time 1: A university offers admission into an exclusive honors program, with smaller classes and greater networking opportunities, which results in increased tuition levels.
Time 2: A university offers admission into an exclusive honors program, with smaller classes and greater networking opportunities, which results in increased tuition levels. Students from low-income families are not able to take advantage of these opportunities, regardless of how quailed they may be.
- 7) Time 1: A state requires all voters to show government-issued identification before casting their vote at state elections
Time 2: A state requires all voters to show government-issued identification before casting their vote at state elections. Poorer residents of the state cannot afford the identification fee or the travel to procure one.

- 8) Time 1: On some crowded highways in the U.S., people can pay to be allowed to drive on a reserved lane that has less traffic.
Time 2: On some crowded highways in the U.S., people can pay to be allowed to drive on a reserved lane that has less traffic. People who cannot afford the extra toll do not have access to the faster lanes.

Scenarios: Just but Unfair

- 1) Time 1: A very successful state-funded program has been established for special needs children who are also from underserved communities.
Time 2: A very successful state-funded program has been established for special needs children who are also from underserved communities. Some parents with special needs children want to send their children to the successful program, but cannot because they are not from an under-served community.
- 2) Time 1: Top colleges are engaging in major recruitment efforts at low income high schools to increase interest and applications from these students.
Time 2: Top colleges are engaging in major recruitment efforts at low income high schools to increase interest and applications from these students. Students at private high schools are now receiving less attention from top colleges.
- 3) Time 1: Students at a major university are admitted based on a combination of factors, including, in particular, past hardship, and group membership.
Time 2: Students at a major university are admitted based on a combination of factors, including, in particular, past hardship, and group membership. Some students with better academic records are not admitted to the university.
- 4) Time 1: Several major universities provide need-based financial aid for students from families living below the poverty line.
Time 2: Several major universities provide need-based financial aid for students from families living below the poverty line. Students from families living even slightly above the poverty line still cannot afford tuition and are not offered the same aid.
- 5) Time 1: In a new urban housing development, rent does not increase for its low-income tenants when the market for real estate changes.
Time 2: In a new urban housing development, rent does not increase for its low-income tenants when the market for real estate changes. The rest of the city's tenants must pay increased rent as market prices for real estate increase.
- 6) Time 1: Currently in the US, health care is provided to everyone and the government pays for those who cannot afford it.
Time 2: Currently in the US, health care is provided to everyone and the government pays for those who cannot afford it. The funds for this program come

from tax payers' contributions and healthcare is provided even to those who do not take good care of their health.

- 7) Time 1: A highly valued job training program is offered to people from typically underserved areas of the city.
Time 2: A highly valued job training program is offered to people from typically underserved areas of the city. People who may benefit from the program, but do not reside in those underserved areas, are not able to participate.
- 8) Time 1: A major company in an urban area works hard to hire employees that reflect the makeup of the city's population.
Time 2: A major company in an urban area works hard to hire employees that reflect the makeup of the city's population. There are therefore highly qualified applicants to the company who are not selected.

APPENDIX B SCRAMBLE PRIMES

Scrambled Sentences: Social Justice (Study 1)

The healthier the society, the greater [equality economic the].

A decent society tries to [the minimize income] between those at the very top and the very bottom.

In the end, large inequalities are [society to harmful].

Wealthy nations have a special responsibility [to poverty eliminate].

Scrambled Sentences: Filler Items (Study 1)

National parks contain many of our [treasured most landscapes].

Mount McKinley, the [highest in mountain] the US, has been renamed Denali.

Scrambled Sentences: Fairness (Study 1)

The [work harder people], the greater the outcome they should receive.

If two people work on a project and [contributes one more] than the other, that person should receive a greater reward.

Promotion decisions ought to take into account the [effort put workers] into their jobs.

In organizations people who do their jobs well [ought rise to] to the top.

APPENDIX C FAIRNESS SCALE

Fairness Scale (Revised Preference for Merit Principle Scale)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number on the scale below. Items are to be rated on a seven-point scale with the following anchors: (1) strongly disagree (2) moderately disagree (3) slightly disagree (4) neither agree nor disagree (5) slightly agree (6) moderately agree and (7) strongly agree.

1. In society, people who do a good job ought to rise to the top.
2. The effort a person puts into something ought to be reflected in the size of the reward he or she receives.
3. Members of a team ought to receive different rewards depending on the amount each person contributed.
4. Between two equally smart people, the one who is the harder worker ought to always be rewarded more.
5. If every person in a group has the same abilities, rewards ought to be given to the person who puts in the most effort.

APPENDIX D

SOCIAL JUSTICE SCALE

Social Justice Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number on the scale below. Items are to be rated on a seven-point scale with the following anchors: (1) strongly disagree (2) moderately disagree (3) slightly disagree (4) neither agree nor disagree (5) slightly agree (6) moderately agree and (7) strongly agree.

1. It is our responsibility, not just a matter of personal preference, to provide for groups worse off in society.
2. It is important for those who are better off to help provide resources for the most vulnerable members of society.
3. In the healthiest societies, those at the top should feel responsible for improving the well-being of those at the bottom.
4. Increased economic equality is ultimately beneficial to everyone in society.
5. Helping those at the bottom of society will not discourage them from working harder.

APPENDIX E
DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Religion

1. To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person?
(Scale from 1 to 7; 1 = not at all religious, 7 = very religious)

2. How important a role does religion play in your life?
(Scale from 1 to 7; 1 = not at all important, 7 = very important)

Politics

1. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
(Scale from 1 to 7; 1 = strong democrat, 7 = strong republican)

2. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
(Scale from 1 to 7; 1 = very liberal, 7 = very conservative)

Ethnicity

White – Black – Hispanic/Latino/a – Asian/Pacific Islander –
American Indian/Alaskan Native – Multiethnic – Other

Age

Open-ended response

Gender

Male – Female – Prefer not to disclose

Father's highest level of education

Did not complete high school – High school degree/GED – Some college –
Bachelor's degree – Master's degree – Advanced graduate work – Not sure

Mother's highest level of education

Did not complete high school – High school degree/GED – Some college –
Bachelor's degree – Master's degree – Advanced graduate work – Not sure

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