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심리학석사학위논문

A Lemon to a Lemonade:
Appraisals of Hardship by The Timing,
The Type, and The Lay Faith

역경에 대한 가치 부여:

시점과 종류, 그리고 신념의 영향

2021 년 8 월

서울대학교 대학원

심리학과 사회심리 전공

정 수 연

A Lemon to a Lemonade:
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Abstract

Experiences of hardship have a substantial bearing on human functioning. While the impact of hardship has been studied on many dimensions, from health to emotion and its individual difference, little exploration has been made of how people actually understand and evaluate the hardship of others. To unravel this matter, this study classified two stimulus-level moderators (i.e., the type and the timing of hardship) and one perceiver-level moderator (i.e., faith in hardship) and examined whether these factors differentiate the value granted to hardships. Study 1 showed that participants expect financial hardship in early life to enhance competence and psychological well-being (i.e., PWB) than do that in later life or relational hardship at any time point. Moderated mediation analyses in Study 2 confirmed that these pathways are partly explained by expectations for resilience and responsibility development. In Study 3, these resulting expectations for competence and PWB further permeated participants' work-related behavioral intention. Lastly, Study 4 demonstrated the discerned patterns are reinforced or mitigated by the lay faith that participants hold in youth hardship. Theoretical implications, limitations, and future research ideas are discussed.

Keywords: hardship, finances, relationship, competence, psychological well-being, resilience

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Humans essentially go through hardships, but few deliberately do. Hardships are mostly painful. They may demand struggles, be physically exhausting, cause anxiety or despair, and scar a wound. Some even leave a black mark. Hence, not many people dive into nor entertain hardship.

A few others, on the other hand, prize hardship. Across cultures, hardships are believed to repay the pain. Schools encourage students to go through challenges. Self-made men share stories about their adversities. Commonly, society describes hardship as an antecedent of success.

No life exists without hardship. Nevertheless, as much as its characteristic varies, its alleged value also does. Are some kinds of hardship particularly appreciated, while some others are devalued? Endeavoring to answer this question, this study examines whether appraisals of hardship fluctuate depending on its type, its timing, and the lay belief that perceivers hold about it.

Sequels to Hardship: Finances and Relationships

Among a variety of hardships, the most pervasive and perhaps pernicious may be that of money. Alongside the income-based measures of poverty, studies have been increasingly focusing on its accompanied adversity. Typically, poverty entails impoverished living conditions, such as the inability to afford essential items like food, clothing, heating, and transport (Heflin & Iceland, 2009; Nelson, 2010; OCC Expert Advisory Group, 2012; Stats NZ, 2019). Altogether, such a lack of resources brings a wide range of negative consequences to human well-being.

Financial hardship exerts a direct impact on health outcomes. For instance, being unable to pay utility bills or experiencing food insecurity are associated with the increased odds of reporting poorer health (Li et al., 2019). Compared to their well-off counterparts, young adults under material hardships suffer more from physical diseases (Huang et al., 2021). Moreover, both medical (e.g., paying medical bills or prescription medicine) and nonmedical (e.g., minimal living expenses) financial hardship independently decrease healthcare utilization and self-rated health among cancer survivors (Zheng et al., 2020).

Deprivation also increases mental health risks among poor populations (Crosier et al., 2007; Heflin & Iceland, 2009; Johnson et al., 2011; Ross & Huber, 1985). A perennial experience of subminimum life quality significantly increases the risk of depression (Kim et al., 2016), wielding a stronger effect than temporary markers like unemployment (Butterworth et al., 2012). Anxiety, insomnia, and suicidal ideations are also prevalent among those with low living standards due to heightened stress (Fryers et al., 2003; Huang et al., 2021). Even under the spread of COVID-19, baseline socioeconomic status predicted the monthly accumulation of financial hardship, which then aggravated psychological distress (Bierman et al., 2021). Generally, losses and shortages harm happiness and life evaluation more than gains (Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016; Wolbring et al., 2013).

The impact of parent's poverty soaks into a child's health and development. Beyond limiting medical or food accesses, financial hardship

induces parental depression (Ashiabi & O’Neal, 2007), stress (Linver et al., 2002; Mistry et al., 2002, 2004), neglect (Guo & Harris, 2000), and negative parental behaviors (Mistry et al., 2002, 2004; Yeung et al., 2002). Children raised in certain environments are exposed to the perils of lifelong diseases and injuries, as well as of decreased well-being (Ashiabi & O’Neal, 2007). Furthermore, those under mothers with chronic financial hardship—like utility interruption or housing instability—show considerably high aggression, anxiety, withdrawal, or antisocial behaviors (Zilanawala & Pilkauskas, 2012). Broadly, inadequate resources seem to engulf many aspects of life with aches and despair (Ross & Huber, 1985).

Many hardships likewise spring from relationships. Human lives flow with a pile of networks. These relations vary in purpose, intimacy, duration, reciprocity, and power distribution; the contexts as well range from family, friendship, love to business, neighborhood, and religion (Adams et al., 2001; Dailey et al., 2015; Lindová et al., 2020; Sluss, 2008; Sutton & Dawson, 2018). Through these connections and affiliations, people reproduce, get nurtured, learn skills, earn social opportunities, share emotions, and enjoy things together (Sharry, 2018; Talebreza-May, 2019; Thomas et al., 2017).

As interdependence is vital for human lives, the consequences of its deprivation are adverse. One form of relational hardship can be domestic troubles. Especially, abusive childhood experiences beget long-term maladaptive behaviors that persist until later life (Garmezy, 1985; Trickett & McBride-Chang, 1995). For instance, maltreatment (e.g., physical and

sexual abuse, neglect, exposure to domestic violence; Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2007, 2009) precludes children from developing competence, resilience, and self-esteem (Bolger & Patterson, 2003; Fraser, 1997; Greene, 2002). Compared to non-abused peers, they are more likely to engage in risk behaviors like alcohol and drug use, sexual violence, and purging (Perkins & Jones, 2004). Adults that were maltreated in childhood are at higher risks for depression, anxiety, lifetime alcohol and substance abuse problems (Herrenkohl et al., 2013). Though not rare (Emery et al., 2005), exposure to parental divorce also leaves behind several sequelae (Amato, 1996). For example, children of divorced parents are prone to conflict behaviors that undermine the quality of later romantic relationships (Cui et al., 2011) and marital life (McCabe, 1997; McCarthy & Taylor, 1999).

Problems in peer or romantic relations can be fatal as well (Berscheid, 1999; Feldman et al., 1998). Relational victimization and the negative quality of best friendships predict adolescent social anxiety and depression, which could decline with positive friendships or dating relations (La Greca & Harrison, 2005). Poor social interaction with peers hinders the development of competence (Parker et al., 2006) and increases the frequency of later-life loneliness (Annette et al., 2017; Matthews et al., 2019; Neighbourhood et al., 2010). Successful romantic involvements during early adulthood promote personal well-being; necessarily, failure to establish and maintain such relations exacerbates physical and emotional distress (Cui et al., 2011; Simon & Marcussen, 1999; Wickrama et al., 1997).

Negative Public Perceptions of Hardship

Distinct from the actual influences, thoughts about hardship have tantamount implications for society. Every day we, as humans, are judged by the way we look and by what we do. We encounter different circumstances and experiences, and reason about their causes, meaning, and consequences (e.g., Durante et al., 2017; Fiske, 2018; Fiske et al., 2006; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007; Piff et al., 2017; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). Importantly, as literature increasingly argues, these impressions can be shared and embedded deeply in society, often evolving into stereotypes (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost et al., 2001).

In line with the strains of chronic pains and insecurity that poverty is found to bring (Drentea, 2000; Mirowsky & Ross, 2001; Rogers, 1996; Stoller & Stoller, 2003; Umberson et al., 1992), people of deprived environments frequently face barriers that rise from certain beliefs (Lott, 2012). Most persistently, they are viewed as unmotivated, not working hard enough, and lacking moral values (Blendon et al., 2006). In 2001, a national poll conducted by National Public Radio (NPR), the Kaiser Family Foundation, and Harvard University's Kennedy School showed that more than eighty percent of the American public blamed low aspiration for poverty (Population Reference Bureau [PRB]). Moreover, while about one-fifth of the general public linked poor people with low ambition and morality, so did more than one-fourth of the poor public—indicating a rife of prejudice against the poor across Americans, irrelevant to their status.

Furthermore, people from low socioeconomic positions are often granted less competence (i.e., less human and more objectified; Durante & Fiske, 2017). Being seen as incompetent constricts their further opportunities and resources (e.g., Cozzarelli et al., 2001). For instance, candidates who were on financial aids during college are precluded from entering mainstream American institutions despite having comparable skills to middle-class candidates (Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). These stereotypes also arise and are reinforced under educational practices; low-income parents are widely viewed as incapable of supporting and upbuilding their children (Lott, 2001, 2012). Their children are also expected to perform worse than others, thereby receiving less attention from their teachers (Durante & Fiske, 2017; Streib, 2011).

Relational deprivation also evokes stereotypical impressions. In general, people pity or stigmatize loneliness (Borys & Perlman, 1985; Lau & Gruen, 1992; Rotenberg, 1998). The hypothetically lonely peers are found to be more disliked (e.g., less desired as a friend and a coworker) and to be ascribed more negative attributes (e.g., less psychologically adjusted, intellectually or socially competent, attractive, and strong) than the hypothetically non-lonely peers (Lau & Gruen, 1992; Rotenberg, 1998). College students expected single dwellers on campus to be undesirable and inactive regardless of their gender, and a seemingly lonely lab partner as less sociable, confirming some negative stereotypes of lonely people (Parmelee & Werner, 1978; Rotenberg et al., 2010).

Again, one central root of loneliness would be a family crisis. Typically, broken homes are discredited for falling short of social norms (Rudowicz, 2001). Many children of divorced or remarried parents are perceived as unsociable, distrustful, and rebellious (e.g., Bryan et al., 1986; Claxton-Oldfield et al., 2002; Ganong et al., 1990; Jessica & Marilyn, 2008). Single mothers confront biases similar to welfare recipients (e.g., needy and financially dependent; Jarrett, 1996; Rudowicz, 2001). Furthermore, due to societal expectations of male dominance (George, 1994; Hines & Douglas, 2009), male victims (e.g., husbands) of intimate partner violence (e.g., aggression by wives) are viewed more negatively—being derided as weak, deserving, or less susceptible to abuse (Arnocky & Vaillancourt, 2014; George, 1994).

Even worse, some people cast a shadow on the victims of peer conflicts. Rejected kids are often viewed as depressed, socially unskilled, overly sensitive, retaliatory, or even accountable for being bullied (i.e., “he would have allowed it to happen”; Gorman et al., 2021; Lindstrom Johnson et al., 2019; Johnson, 2018).

Stigmatization of anomalous relationships can hinder remedies and adaptations (Ainlay et al., 1986). It inhibits lonely people from approaching others (Borys & Perlman, 1985; Lau & Gruen, 1992) and partly diminishes the psychological well-being of single parents (Rudowicz, 2001). Furthermore, condemnation of maltreated children provokes abuse-specific shame (i.e., desiring to hide the self from external censure) and self-blame

attribution (i.e., viewing the self as responsible for the abuse) that exacerbate subsequent delinquencies (Feiring et al., 2007, 2012).

Endorsements of Silver Linings

“Adversity introduces a man to himself.” — Albert Einstein

“Your struggles develop your strengths.” — Arnold Schwarzenegger

“Labour is the source of every blessing.” — Aesop

“What doesn't kill me makes me stronger.” — Friedrich Nietzsche

“Poor background does not mean poor future.” — Anonymous

Yet, interestingly, affirmations about the benefits of hardship also surface consistently around society. Hardship and its accompanied sufferings, in fact, are celebrated more than often. People from various quarters claim that no gains can be earned without pains. Some say that the quality of life is in proportion to the degree of agonies tolerated (e.g., Ramos, 2019; Sekulin, 2019). Some believe that valuable achievements come from overcoming hardships and that comforts are useless because they make us complacent (e.g., Popova, 2018).

Honors on hardship are transmitted over generations. Philosophers as well as anonymous citizens have left many adages and proverbs that frame hardship as worthy of surmounting and necessary for development (e.g., Tolle, 2019). Importantly, approvals for these phrases are universal. Regardless of cultures, people adopt them as their motto, words of consolation, educational philosophy, management strategy, or a theme of

novels and movies (e.g., Mitchell & Calabrese, 2018; Mutonyi, 2015; Outila et al., 2020).

Furthermore, colleges and companies commonly require their applicants to describe how they have grown from withstanding past life challenges. These experiences may at least be outwardly valued as a signal of strength, courage, and humility. On television, successful entrepreneurs, politicians, or celebrities recount how harsh their previous lives had been; moreover, we learn how unfortunate the youth of some great names of history had been from within and outside school. These stories are shared between individuals and through the media, encouraging many desperate individuals. Indeed, while some skeptical lights dominate impressions on deprived people, there also seem to prevail perspectives that cherish their deprivation.

Those Who Survive and Prosper Despite Deprivation

Experiences of hardship, both in poverty and solitude, substantially bear on human functionings (Hagerty 2000; Diener et al. 1999; Gudmundsdottir 2013). Notably, in line with positive perspectives, hardship often brings enduring benefits across the lifespan (e.g., Jayawickreme & Blackie, 2016). During and after combatting adversity, people can transform their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. These changes, consequently, help them better identify their strength, improve relations with others, and appreciate life as a whole (Affleck & Tennen, 1996; Frazier et al., 2009;

Linley & Joseph, 2004; McMillen et al., 1997; Seery, 2011; Seery et al., 2020; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004; Yanez et al., 2011).

Truly, some individuals grow up resilient despite undergoing risk experiences that are anticipated to bring harmful sequelae (Herrenkohl et al., 1994). Here, being resilient means being resistant to environmental risks or fighting well against stress (Rutter, 2006, 2008). Resilience is a malleable, situation-specific ability that individuals can acquire from experiences and is fundamentally different from but closely connected with competence and positive mental health (Layard, 2011; Masten et al., 1999, 2004; Rutter, 2012).

Hardship can confer resilience through a ‘steeling’ effect. According to Rutter (2012), enduring moderate stress in early life heightens resilience, not a vulnerability, to potential anguishes of later stressors (Höltge et al., 2021; Liu, 2015; Rutter, 2012; Sharpley et al., 2020). Mammals extensively share a capacity for steeling; both animal and human body build an effective defense against hazards after inoculating infectious agents (Ashokan et al., 2016; Lyons et al., 2009, Rutter, 2012). Beyond bodily benefits, steeling can alter psychosocial outcomes (e.g., Davidson & Carlin, 2019; Rutter, 2012). For example, changes in life conditions—like being worse off—and minor relationship issues—such as a brief family separation or teasing from peers—are found to aid some children in developing resilience (Sharpley et al., 2020; Rutter, 2012). Presumably, confronting a bearable hardship makes people antifragile by arming their

spirit (Liu, 2015). In other words, immunity can be obtained mentally as much as it can be obtained corporally (Elder, 1974; Pudrovskaya et al., 2005).

Hardships can also become a source of strength by demanding responsibilities (Rutter, 2012). Elder (1974) has discovered that among adolescents that went through economic depression of the 1920s and 1930s, those that successfully undertook adult roles (e.g., becoming a breadwinner) developed better emotional and psychological functioning, such as self-efficacy (Rutter, 2012). Youths from disadvantaged backgrounds can also excel academically; an awareness of their impoverished family circumstances was associated with students' hard-working, agency, and achievements at school (Cheang & Goh, 2018; Chen et al., 2020; Martin, 2002; Wang et al., 2019, Williams & Bryan, 2013; Wyner et al., 2007). Under material constraints, people are urged to devise ways to manage and survive their situations (Rutter, 2006, 2012). This sense of responsibility and determination not only are fundamental to maturity but will catalyze nerves to strive against the fates (Elder, 1974; Pudrovskaya et al., 2005). Some early school-age children from needy homes even exhibit extreme desires to live differently from their parents (Herrenkohl et al., 1994). Truly, such wills can mitigate the ache of deprivations; maladaptive adolescents with great planfulness, autonomy, and motivation become well-adjusted over the shift to adulthood (Arnett, 2014; Masten et al., 2004).

In addition to this, children are generally guided towards particular activities and specialized skills that will help them deal effectively with the conditions they are apt to confront in the future (Stephens et al., 2014).

Notably, working-class parents expect the life of their children to be financially confined, lack accesses, and be economically unsafe; therefore, they continuously encourage their children to develop ‘fortress-like selves’—that is, being self-protective, rugged, and resilient (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Kusserow, 2004)—to thrive in such environments (Bernstein 1977). Such procedures could make children under low-income families more capable of persisting under precarious situations (Stephens et al., 2014).

Distress from financial hardships, in the meantime, can also abate through social support (Ozbay et al., 2007; Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016). Informational (e.g., advice on solving problems), instrumental (e.g., providing tangible goods), and financial supports (e.g., lending money) dissociate poor people from risks of depression, anxiety, and interpersonal difficulties (Chang et al., 2020). Improvements occur more widely among youth; disadvantaged children and young adults under supportive family, positive parenting and family relations, as well as interactive community or school experiences, acquire resilience, cognitive skills, competence, and positive emotions (Cheang & Goh, 2018; Chen et al., 2010; Garnezy, 1993; Gershoff et al., 2007; Herrenkohl et al., 1994; Horning et al., 2005, Shumba, 2010; Wickrama & Vazsony, 2011; Williams & Bryan, 2013).

Collectively, the timing seems critical for diverting hardship to an opportunity. The findings illustrated so far suggest that youths are particularly capable of capitalizing on hardship, notwithstanding the likely harms. Years from late teens through twenties, or so-called emerging

adulthood, are considered “the most volitional years of life” (Arnett, 2014, p. 469). During this period, youths are provided with various options about their undecided future. Through active explorations, they can switch the life course to positive directions, combatting their weakness (Masten, 2015; Masten et al., 2004; Masten & Powell, 2003). Namely, the period can produce important turning points in life.

Many children and adolescents from distressing environments do grow up strong-willed and competent (Cheang & Goh, 2018; Martin, 2002; Masten, 1999, 2004; Ozbay et al., 2007; Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016; Sharpley et al., 2020; Stephens et al., 2014; Williams & Bryan, 2013; Wyner et al., 2007). It is reasonable to expect that just as youths are sensitive to psychological sequelae of adversities, so too may they be potential to craft the meaning of those experiences (Liu, 2015; Pompili et al., 2011; Weber et al., 2008). Youth can be a window for transition, and volitions to grab these chances may even sublimate the aftermath that hardship accompanies (Arnett, 2014; Rutter, 2006, 2012). This study ought to explore whether such potential is recognized by society in general.

Appraising Hardship:

Competence and Psychological Well-Being

According to Fiske et al. (2006), when people encounter others, they discern their backgrounds, affiliations, abilities, and intentions and decide whether to forge relations. This process entails not only predictions of what

others would do (e.g., hobbies, lifestyles) but expectations of what they would be like (e.g., personality traits, aspirations, motivations, Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2006, 2007; Wojciszke, 2005).

The most universally utilized impressions are warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2008; Leary, 2019, Nezlek et al., 2007). Commonly, warmth captures an altruistic intent (e.g., friendliness and trustworthiness) while competence reflects a self-profitable ability (e.g., intelligence and ambition; Holoien & Fiske, 2013; Peeters, 2001). Across cultures, people grant certain levels of warmth and competence to individuals and groups. These beliefs further precipitate distinct emotional reactions, respectively (Durant et al., 2017; Fiske et al., 2006; Fiske, 2002, 2018a, 2018b). For example, those perceived as cold but competent draw cooperative but envious attitudes (e.g., scrutinized for achievements), whereas those seen as warm but incompetent receive paternalistic treatments (e.g., reduced social opportunities; Oldmeadow & Fiske 2007). Those rated high in both constantly elicit positive emotions and actions (Durant et al., 2013, 2017; Fiske et al., 2006; Fiske, 2018a, 2018b; Jetten et al., 2017; Swencionis et al., 2017).

Another abounding impression maybe that about happiness. Contemporary studies construe happiness as building on two related but distinct facets: subjective well-being (SWB) and psychological well-being (PWB). Subjective well-being involves overall emotion and satisfaction (i.e., positive and negative affects and life evaluation). On the other hand, psychological well-being reflects more of positive mind states—that is,

perceived strivings for challenges and fulfillment in life (e.g., having a meaningful life purpose, being independent, and improving; Diener et al., 2009; Henderson et al., 2013; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Sun et al., 2016). Even though several contributors to happiness are already known (e.g., Keyes et al., 2002; Lucas, 2007; Lyubomirsky et al., 2011; Krok, 2017; Sun et al., 2017), studies are yet to explore how people actually think about happiness. Nonetheless, people do distinguish various lives, interpret and evaluate them, and assume the following emotions (e.g., Cherry, 2020; Chou & Edge, 2012). As both varieties of happiness are mainly coordinated by socioeconomic security (e.g., financial resources and access to necessary care) and interpersonal relationship (e.g., social support networks like family and friends; Kim & Lee, 2018), this information is likely to serve as cues also for third-person inferences.

As explained throughout the introduction, situations and experiences play a unique role in evoking one's imprints. Especially, people under deprivation are pretty much doubted about their strength, drive, effort, attitude—which largely comprise competence and positive mind state (Arnocky & Vaillancourt, 2014; Blendon et al., 2006; Claxton-Oldfield et al., 2002; Cozzarelli et al., 2001; Diener et al., 2009; Durante & Fiske, 2017; Fiske, 2002, 2018a, 2018b; Jessica & Marilyn, 2008; Lott, 2012; Parmelee & Werner, 1978; Rotenberg et al., 2010; Scheier et al., 1994; Streib, 2011). Even so, many beliefs are blended. While on the one hand, society stigmatizes hardship, on the other, it awaits hardship to foster fairly, or even remarkably, strong individuals. Clearly, some aspects encircling

hardships create this disparity, prompting either a positive or negative angle. For one of these aspects, I first propose a timing of hardship, anticipating society to recognize a space where youths can design and alter a life path. In addition to this, I suggest two more aspects—one of which is a type and the other of which is a faith of a perceiver—as plausible differentiators of the status that hardship gains.

Overview of Studies

This study examines whether the two stimulus-level moderators—timing and type of hardship—and one perceiver-level moderator—faith in hardship—impact people's appraisal of hardship. I mainly predict that hardship endured during youth evokes relatively positive impressions than the same hardship endured during adulthood, as youths are generally recognized with more potential. Whether this pattern coincides or varies across different types of hardships will be open to possibility.

For this, first of all, I operationalize expectations of two universal characteristics of human—traits (warmth, competence) and happiness (SWB, PWB)—as the appraisal of hardships (Arnocky & Vaillancourt, 2014; Cozzarelli et al., 2001; Diener et al., 2009; Durante & Fiske, 2017; Fiske, 2002, 2018a, 2018b; Rotenberg et al., 2010). Then, I analyze whether expectations of those characteristics are underlain by a conceptual link between sustainment of deprivation and a development of resilience and responsibility.

Next, I examine whether an appraisal of hardship extends to behavioral intentions—that is, whether the expectations people have of particular traits and the happiness of the target influence their interpersonal preference. At the last stage of the study, I will be exploring whether the emergence of overall tendencies differs between those who truly believe in the merit of hardship and those who relatively do not. Such a comparison will uncover individual differences as well as some mechanisms that may drive the discovered phenomenon.

Study 1

Study 1 examines how much people appreciate or depreciate other's hardship depending on when it was experienced and what was experienced. Precisely, I assume that people will have a more positive expectation of the character that went through hardship in youth more than the character who went through it in adulthood, driven by recognition for youth potential. This pattern may commonly arise across different types of hardship or be specific to a particular type of hardship. To test these predictions, eight narratives in which a fictitious character describes its experience at some time point of life were created.

Method

Participants. 256 participants from various socioeconomic backgrounds took part in this study. The participants were recruited online and compensated through Prolific, a widely used recruitment platform for

social psychological research. I excluded eight participants that failed to answer the attention check questions. This left 248 participants (126 female, 122 male, M age = 34.57, SD = 11.47). The ethnic distribution of the participants was approximately 56% Caucasian, 22% Asian-American, 11% African-American, 4% Native American, and 7% Latino, Middle Eastern, or others.

Procedure. To measure people's appraisal of hardship, I first created two short paragraphs that a fictitious character narrates about its life in the past. Among two narratives, one described financial hardship, and the other described relational hardship. Next, for a comparison, I created another two narratives that a fictitious character talks that its past life had none of the hardship. These narratives depicted how enough either financial resources or relationships had been. Then, in front of each narrative, I added a sentence that indicates the timing of the experience—one saying that it was during youth and the other saying that it was during adulthood.

As a result, two conditions of life—harsh versus easy—were created, each consisting of four characters. In the harsh life condition, the character either experienced 1) financial hardship in youth, or 2) in adulthood, 3) relational hardship in youth, or 4) in adulthood (For a better understanding, from now on, I refer to these experiences as poverty and loneliness, either existed in early-life or in later life). In the easy life condition, the character either experienced 5) none of the financial hardship in youth, or 6) in adulthood, 7) none of the relational hardship in youth, or 8) in adulthood. (I

refer to these experiences as affluence and affection). Each of the narratives was recounted in the first-person narrative.

The narrations in the harsh life condition were as follows:

[Poverty] "Life in my youth (my adulthood), in terms of money, was close to agony. I was starving. Every day, I had to give up whatever I wanted to eat or buy. My body and mind were always exhausted. As much as people like me do, I spent days and nights struggling to improve my circumstances."

[Loneliness] "Life in my youth (my adulthood), in terms of relations, was close to agony. I was lonely. Most of my relationships were ruined. The more I fought or got betrayed, the more I got traumatized and isolated myself. I struggled, but things barely seemed to help improve the circumstance."

The narrations in easy life condition were as follows:

[Affluence] "Life in my youth (my adulthood), in terms of money, was close to bliss. I was affluent. Every day, I could relish whatever I wanted to eat or buy. My body and mind were always relaxed. As much as people like do, I barely struggled to improve my circumstances."

[Affection] "Life in my youth (my adulthood), in terms of relations, was close to bliss. I was loved. Most of my relationships were great. I received supports, avoided fights, and socialized well. I barely struggled, and things seemed to help improve the circumstance every time."

After this process, I created a survey that randomly presents two of the eight narratives and subsequent questions assessing expectations of the character's warmth, competence, subjective well-being, and psychological well-being. Half of the participants were assigned to the harsh life condition, and the other half were assigned to the easy life condition. Participants in each condition were given narratives that indicate the same timing but

different types. For example, a narrative about early-life poverty (i.e., financial hardship in youth) was followed by that about later-life poverty (i.e., financial hardship in adulthood). Two narratives were presented in random order. As a result, the effect of the timing was assessed in a between-subjects design, and that of the type was assessed in a within-subjects design.

Measures.

Manipulation check. After reading the narratives, participants indicated the degree of harshness they perceived of the experiences that the character went through (i.e., “How harsh or distressful does the life of this person look like, either physically or mentally?”) on a 10-point Likert scale (1 = not distressful or harsh at all, 10 = extremely distressful and harsh).

Expected warmth and competence. Participants’ expectations of the character’s warmth and competence levels were measured using an adapted version of the warmth and competence scale (Fiske, 2015; Fiske, 2018; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015). This scale assesses the levels of the twelve items associated with each trait (i.e., six sociability and morality-related indicators of warmth and six capability and agency-related indicators of competence; Abele et al., 2016). Specifically, the warmth was computed using the following items: warm, friendly, honest, sincere, trustworthy, and likable. The competence items were: competent, assertive, confident, efficient, intelligent, and skilled (Fiske & Durante, 2014; Fiske, 2018). Participants indicated the extent that they think the character corresponds to each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely). Both

warmth and competence items showed an acceptable level of reliability (Cronbach's alpha for warmth = .76; for competence = .69).

Expected subjective well-being (SWB). The fundamental components of subjective well-being are affect and life satisfaction (Luhmann et al., 2012). Thus, two measures were utilized to assess participants' expectation of the character's subjective well-being: (1) Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) and (2) Satisfaction with Life Scale SWLS; Diener et al. 1985).

Positive Affect Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) measures people's generally experienced positive (PA) or negative (NA) affective states. Both scales include 10-items, where the average of the 10 positive emotions (e.g., "interested," "excited," "strong," "enthusiastic") represents positive affect, and the average of the 10 negative emotions (e.g., "distressed," "upset," "irritable," "nervous") represents negative affect. Participants indicated the extent to which they think the character may have felt each emotion over the past week, using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = very slightly or not at all, 5 = extremely).

The 5-item Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) captures people's cognitive evaluation of their life as a whole, using five items. Participants reported the extent to which they agree that each item describes the character (e.g., "In most ways, this person's life will be close to an ideal," "This person will be satisfied with life."), on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). Scores ranged from 5 to 35, and a

higher score indicated a greater expectation of the character's satisfaction with life. The SWLS has been validated to comprise a single factor and possesses high internal consistency and test-retest reliability (Diener et al., 1985). In this study, Cronbach's alpha was .85. All the PA, NA, and SWLS scores were transformed into z-scores, and subjective well-being was calculated with the following formula: $SWB = SWLS + (PA - NA)$.

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). Participants' expectation of the character's psychological well-being was measured using Ryff's (1989) Psychological Well-Being scale (PWB; Ryff, 1989). The Psychological Well-Being scale (PWB) consists of six dimensions: Self-Acceptance, Environmental Mastery, Positive Relations With Others, Personal Growth, Purpose in Life, and Autonomy. Each dimension is composed of three subscales that are either positive or negative. Participants reported the extent to which they agree that each item describes the character on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). The items were as follow: "This person will like most parts of its personality [Self-Acceptance]," "This person will be good at managing the responsibilities of daily life [Environmental Mastery]," "People would describe this person as a giving person, willing to share my time with others [Positive Relations with Others]," "For this person, life would have been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth [Personal Growth]," "Some people wander aimlessly through life, but this person may not be one of them [Purpose in Life]," "This person will tend to be influenced by people with strong opinions [Autonomy; reverse-coded]."

Perceived gender and age. Participants indicated their perceptions of the character's gender (i.e., "Which gender identity does this person seem to have?") and current age (i.e., "Approximately how old does this person look like?"). Perceived gender was chosen between female (0) and male (1). Perceived current age was manually written in a number between 1 and 100.

Demographics. Participants reported their demographic information, including gender, age, and ethnicity, at the end of the survey. Gender was coded as female = 0 and male = 1.

Control variables. Gender stereotypes have prevalent and powerful impacts on evaluation processes (e.g., Prentice & Carranza, 2002, 2004; Rosette & Tost, 2012). Though being the same in content, therefore, hardships experienced by males can be perceived differently from those experienced by females. Furthermore, research consistently suggests that consequential reactions toward status, experiences, and behaviors can vary not only by the target's gender (e.g., Correll et al., 2007; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016; Schaumberg & Flynn, 2017) but by evaluator's gender, though findings are inconsistent (e.g., Erlandsson, 2019). Moreover, the associations between economic hardship and self-rated health and depression are found to diminish among older adults, perhaps because they are more familiar with and adaptable to such an experience (Li & Mutchler, 2019; Mirowsky & Ross, 2001). Concerning these influences, I controlled for participants' gender, perceived gender of the character, participant's age, and perceived age of the character.

Results

2 (life condition: easy, harsh) \times 2 (timing of experience: youth, adulthood) \times 2 (type of experience: financial, relational) linear mixed model analysis was conducted. The model included the control variables—age, gender, perceived age, perceived gender—and the interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience, as well as expected warmth, competence, SWB, and PWB as dependent variables (see Table 2 and 3). Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables.

Manipulation check. First, I examined the harshness ratings of the experiences depicted in eight narratives, of which four were under the harsh life condition, and the other four were under the easy life condition. As expected, results indicated that the two conditions of life were significantly different in terms of rated harshness, $F(1,493) = 4.81, p < .001$. Narratives describing a harsh life were averagely perceived as significantly more harsh and distressful ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.83$) than those describing an easy life ($M = 6.36, SD = 2.04$). Furthermore, no difference was found in the harshness ratings across two types of hardships (i.e., financial and relational, $F(1,257) = 2.90, p = .24$) as well as across two timing of hardships (i.e., youth and adulthood, $F(1,257) = 4.02, p = .60$). Likewise, narratives in easy life condition showed no difference in their harshness ratings both across type ($F(1,234) = .75, p = .26$) and timing ($F(1,234) = .00, p = .40$)—that is, they were similarly rated as being not harsh. The results suggest that the

Table 1
Correlation Matrix for Key Variables, U.S. sample, N=248

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Expected warmth	-	.72**	.58**	.76**	.54*	.59**	.01	.12**
2. Expected competence		-	.65**	.71**	.51**	.64**	.15**	.05
3. Expected SWB			-	.64**	.30**	.59**	-.07	-.00
4. Expected PWB				-	.60**	.61**	.07	.06
5. Preference					-	.39**	-.06	.04
6. Expected resilience						(.71)	-.08	.11*
7. Expected responsibility							(.66)	.02
8. Lay faith								(.74)
<i>M</i>		3.20	3.00	3.00	3.26	3.19	2.69	.06
<i>SD</i>		.90	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.01	1.08

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Values reported in parentheses are Cronbach's alpha.

SWB = subjective well-being; PWB = psychological well-being.

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

narratives successfully indicated the harshness of past experiences as intended.

Expected warmth. There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected warmth, $b = .51$, $SE = .22$, $p = .02$ (Table 2). However, interactions between life condition and timing of experience were non-significant in both types of experiences. There was no difference in the expected warmth of all four characters (Figure 1). Loneliness, on the other hand, was negatively related to expected warmth regardless of the timing of experience ($b = -1.37$, $SE = .15$, $p < .001$, see Table 2).

Expected competence. There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected competence, $b = 1.09$, $SE = .22$, $p < .001$ (Table 2). The interaction between life condition and timing of experience on expected competence was significant only when the experience was about finances, not about relationships.

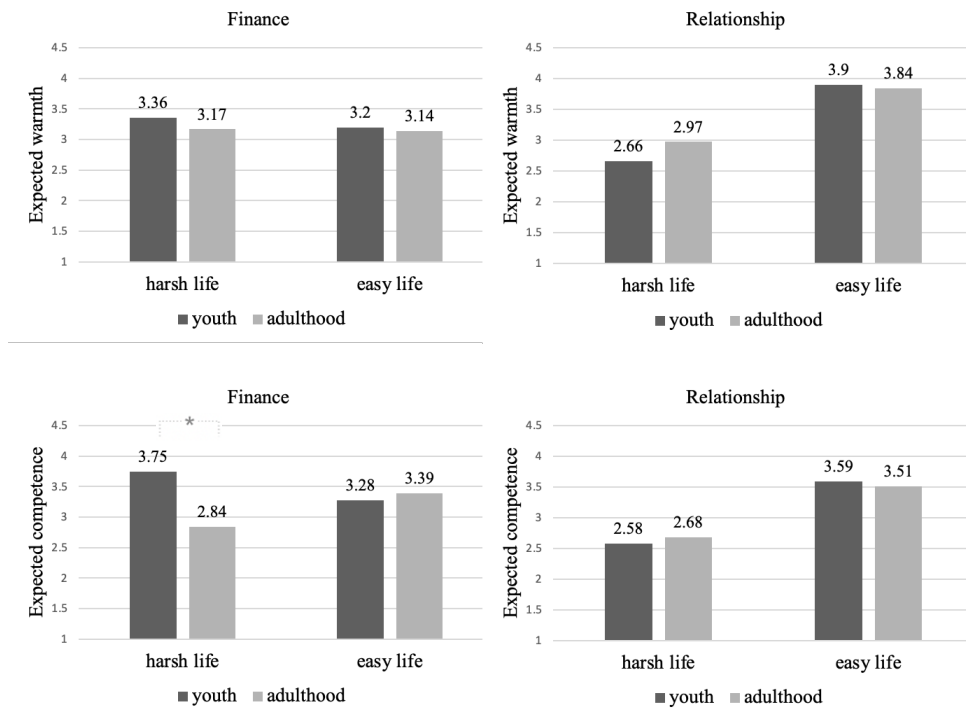
Expected competence was positively related experiencing financial hardships, $b = .47$, $SE = .13$, $p < .001$. Yet, a significant interaction qualified this effect ($b = -.96$, $SE = .20$, $p < .001$): the character with early-life poverty was expected to be considerably more competent than the character with later-life poverty, $F(1,129) = 2.46$, $p < .001$ (Figure 1). Furthermore, people expected that early-life poverty will increase competence more than will early-life affluence do ($p < .001$). On the other hand, the character with

later-life poverty was expected to be less competent than the character with later-life affluence ($p = .001$).

Meanwhile, relational hardships were negatively associated with expected competence, regardless of the timing of experience ($b = -.99$, $SE = .14$, $p < .001$, see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Mean Expected Warmth and Competence by Type and Timing of Experience.

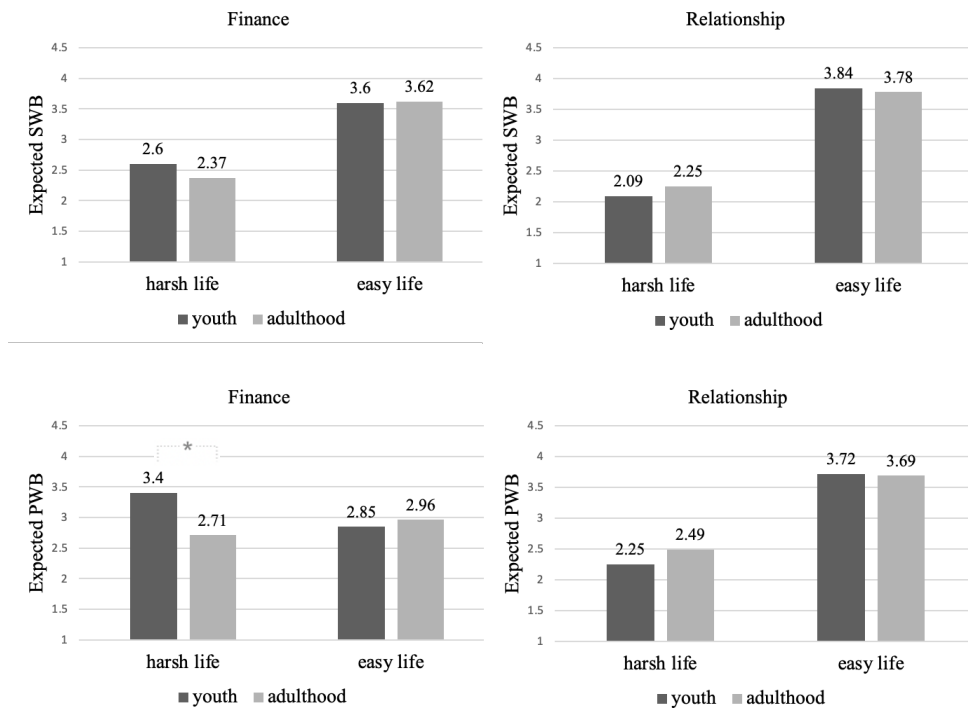


Expected subjective well-being (SWB). There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected SWB, $b = 1.14$, $SE = .50$, $p = .02$ (Table 3). However, the timing and type of experience brought no significant

differences to the expectations; both youth and adulthood poverty as well as loneliness were negatively associated with expected SWB (financial: $b = -2.48$, $SE = 0.31$, $p < .001$; relational: $b = -4.38$, $SE = .31$, $p < .001$, see Figure 2). In other words, the characters that underwent hardship were expected to be low in subjective well-being, no matter when they experienced it nor what they experienced.

Figure 2

Mean Expected SWB and PWB by Type and Timing of Experience.



Expected psychological well-being (PWB). There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected PWB, $b = 1.44$, $SE = .30$, $p < .001$ (Table 3). Similar to expected competence, meanwhile, the interaction between life

Table 2

Fixed Effect Estimates of the Linear Mixed Model Analysis of Expected Warmth and Competence, N = 248

Predictor	Expected warmth			Expected competence		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>
Life condition	.15	.14	.30	.48	.13	.00***
Type	.67	.11	.00***	.30	.11	.00***
Timing	-.03	.15	.85	.07	.14	.63
Age	-.02	.00	.59	-.00	.00	.68
Gender	.18	.09	.05	.07	.08	.43
Perceived age	.01	.00	.06	.01	.00	.04*
Perceived gender	-.18	.07	.00**	-.03	.07	.70
Life condition x Type	-1.37	.15	.00***	-1.46	.15	.00***
Life condition x Timing	-.17	.20	.40	-.98	.19	.00***
Type x Timing	-.01	.16	.96	-.10	.16	.54
Life x Type x Timing	.51	.22	.02*	1.09	.22	.00***

Note. Life is dummy variable that was coded 1 for harsh life condition and 0 was control (easy life) condition.

Type was coded for relational hardship. Timing was coded 1 for adulthood. Gender was coded 1 for female and 0 for male. *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3*Fixed Effect Estimates of the Linear Mixed Model Analysis of Expected SWB and PWB, N = 248*

Predictor	Expected SWB			Expected PWB		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>
Life condition	-2.36	.30	.00***	.76	.19	.00***
Type	.61	.25	.02*	1.11	.15	.00***
Timing	.15	.31	.62	.26	.20	.00***
Age	.00	.01	.81	-.01	.01	.30
Gender	.11	.19	.56	-.01	.12	.59
Perceived age	.02	.01	.01**	.01	.00	.10
Perceived gender	.01	.15	.93	-.22	.09	.02*
Life condition x Type	-1.87	.34	.00***	-2.65	.21	.00***
Life condition x Timing	-.74	.43	.08	-1.73	.27	.00***
Type x Timing	-.18	.36	.62	-.20	.22	.37
Life x Type x Timing	1.14	.50	.02*	1.44	.30	.00***

Note. Life is dummy variable that was coded 1 for harsh life condition and 0 was control (easy life) condition. Type was coded for relational hardship. Timing was coded 1 for adulthood. Gender was coded 1 for female and 0 for male. SWB = subjective well-being; PWB = psychological well-being. *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

condition and timing of experience on expected PWB was significant only when the experience was about finances, not when it was about relationships.

Expected PWB was positively related to experiencing financial hardship ($b = .75$, $SE = .19$, $p < .001$), while a significant interaction qualified this effect ($b = -1.14$, $SE = .27$, $p < .001$): the character with early-life poverty was expected to have much higher PWB than the character with later-life poverty, $F(1,129) = 2.61$, $p < .001$ (Figure 2). Moreover, people expected that early-life poverty will increase PWB more than will early-life affluence do ($p < .001$). Expected PWB of the character with later-life poverty did not differ from that of the character with later-life affluence. Relational hardship was negatively associated with expected PWB, regardless of the timing of experience ($b = -1.90$, $SE = .20$, $p < .001$, see Figure 2).

Discussion

Participants assumed the character with early-life poverty to be significantly more competent and psychologically healthier than the character with later-life poverty. The results support my initial anticipation of social recognition for youth potential. However, such a pattern did not emerge across expectations of warmth and subjective well-being. Usually, warmth and competence inferences are compensatory, or at times independent, to each other (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Judd et al., 2005; Kervyn et al., 2009; Swencionis et al., 2017; Yzerbyt et al., 2008).

Moreover, the two varieties of well-being also have distinct sociodemographic and personality predictors (Keyes et al., 2002). The overall results partly, though not fully, correspond to these relational natures.

Furthermore, the timing of hardship was found to have a valid impact only when it is about a specific issue: finances. Loneliness was negatively associated with expectations of all four attributes, despite being rated as sore alike with poverty. This finding not only supports the speculation that the type of hardship may contribute to altering the appraisal but provides an insight into the type-specific power of youth potential over the appraisal.

In the next study, I sought to unravel the root of these patterns. Considering that the timing of hardship had significant effects only on the expectations of competence and PWB, further investigations narrow the focus down to these two dimensions.

Study 2

The purpose of Study 2 was to explore the mechanism by which the timing and the type of hardships impact the expectations that people have about the character. Why would people expect those poor in youth to become markedly competent and psychologically healthy, whereas assuming that those poor in adulthood or lonely in both periods will comparably not?

Economic deprivation is detrimental both physically and mentally. Yet, as described earlier, a period between adolescence and adulthood is filled with ample opportunities to transform into a successful person. During this period, youths under impoverished contexts will face exhaustion, but at the same time, be impelled to stay strong. Withstanding the constraints, they may not only steel themselves for another struggle but become determined to change the circumstance. The possible output of this process may be striving, robustness, and growth.

Meanwhile, relational deprivation can have a different end. Hostile relationships might be irrelevant, or worse, deleterious to promoting any of those outcomes. Indeed, many interpersonally wounded children and adolescents fail to develop normal resilience, to maintain romantic and marital relationships, and to refrain from alcohol or drug abuse (Fong & Greene, 2017; Fraser, 1997; Greene, 2002; Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2007, 2009, Herrenkohl et al., 2013; McCabe, 1997; McCarthy & Taylor 1999; Perkins & Jones, 2004). Although some conflicts can fortify people, they do only when they are minor in degree (Sharpley et al., 2020; Rutter, 2012).

Thus, Study 2 examines whether the public also carries these conceptions, thereby making different appraisals of different hardships. In other words, will people cast a positive light on early-life poverty because they think that youths are basically potential to improve and that poverty would especially provide them a training?

Method

Participants. 248 participants (126 female, 122 male) in Study 1 were again the subjects of Study 2. The ethnic distribution of the participants was approximately 56% Caucasian, 22% Asian-American, 11% African-American, 4% Native American, and 7% Latino, Middle Eastern, or others.

Procedure. Study 2 utilized the same survey described in Study 1, with the inclusion of questions asking participants' expectations of the character's resilience and responsibility. Again, half of the participants were assigned to the harsh life condition, and the other half were assigned to the easy life condition. To focus specifically on expectations of competence and PWB, I excluded answers about warmth and SWB from the analysis. The effect of the timing was assessed in a between-subjects design, and that of the type was assessed in a within-subjects design.

Measures.

Expected competence. Expected competence level was measured through the same, adapted version of warmth and competence scale used in Study 1 (Fiske, 2015; Fiske, 2018; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015), which assesses the levels of six capability and agency-related indicators of competence (Abele et al., 2016). These items included: competent, assertive, confident, efficient, intelligent, and skilled (Fiske & Durante, 2014; Fiske, 2018). Participants indicated the extent that they think the character corresponds to each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely).

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). Expected psychological well-being was measured through the same scale used in Study 1 (i.e., the Psychological Well-Being scale; Ryff, 1989), consisting of six dimensions: Self-Acceptance, Environmental Mastery, Positive Relations With Others, Personal Growth, Purpose in Life, and Autonomy. Participants reported the extent to which they agree that each item describes the character on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Expected resilience. To measure how much participants expect the character to have become resilient throughout the narrated experiences, I asked them to indicate the extent to which they agree that each of the four items describes the character (i.e., “This person will tend to bounce back quickly after hard times,” “This person will be resistant to environmental risk experiences,” “This person will be able to overcome stress,” “This person will be willing to use adversity as a source of life strengthening.”) using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Among them, the first item was extracted from the Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al., 2008)—a reliable means of assessing resilience as the ability to resist and recover from stress. The latter three were created by incorporating the definitions commonly used in resilience studies (e.g., Herrenkohl et al., 1994; Rutter, 2006, 2012).

Expected responsibility. To assess how much participants expect the character to have developed a sense of responsibility throughout the narrated experiences, I asked them to indicate the extent to which they agree that each of the two items describes the character (i.e., “The experience would

have required this person to take on new roles and responsibilities,” “The experience would have required this person to understand and manage the circumstance.”) using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

Perceived gender and age. Participants indicated their perceptions of the character’s gender (i.e., “Which gender identity does this person seem to have?”) and current age (i.e., “Approximately how old does this person look like?”). Perceived gender was chosen between female (0) and male (1). Perceived current age was manually written in a number between 1 and 100.

Demographics. Participants reported their demographic information, including gender, age, and ethnicity, at the end of the survey.

Control variables. I controlled for the effects of participants’ gender, perceived gender of the character, as well as of participants’ age, and perceived age of the character.

Results

First, 2 (life condition: easy, harsh) \times 2 (timing of experience: youth, adulthood) \times 2 (type of experience: financial, relational) linear mixed model analysis was conducted. The model included control variables—age, gender, perceived age, perceived gender—and the interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience, as well as expected resilience and expected responsibility as dependent variables (see Table 4). Then, I ran a moderated mediation test to see whether such expectations lead to expectations of competence and

PWB. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables are presented in Table 1.

Expected resilience. There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected resilience, $b = .81$, $SE = .29$, $p = .01$ (Table 4). The interaction between life condition and timing of experience on expected resilience was significant only when the experience was about finances, not about relationships (Table 5, 6).

Expected resilience was positively related to experiences of financial hardship, $b = .41$, $SE = .16$, $p = .01$. Yet, a significant interaction qualified this effect ($b = -.83$, $SE = .23$, $p < .001$): the character with early-life poverty was expected to be considerably more resilient than the character with later-life poverty, $F(1,129) = 5.28$, $p < .001$ (Figure 3). Furthermore, people expected that early-life poverty will increase resilience more than will early-life affluence do ($p = .007$). On the other hand, the character with later-life poverty was expected to be less resilient than the character with later-life affluence ($p = .02$).

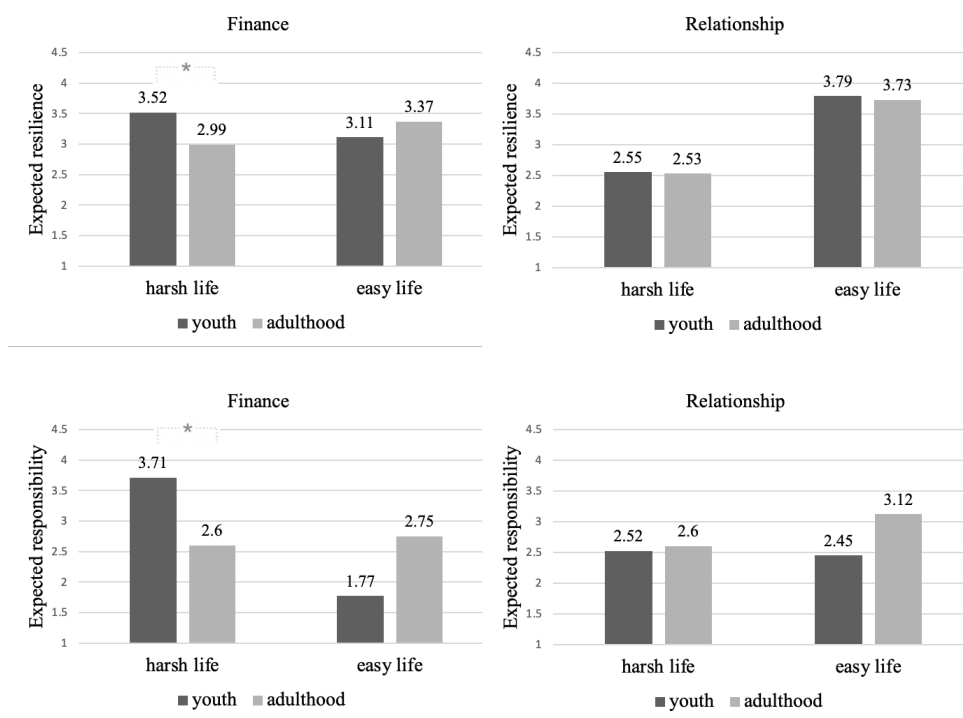
Meanwhile, relational hardship was negatively associated with expected resilience, regardless of the timing of experience ($b = -1.23$, $SE = .15$, $p < .001$, see Figure 3).

Expected responsibility. There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and type of experience on expected responsibility, $b = 1.49$, $SE = .30$, $p < .001$ (Table 4). The interaction between life condition and timing of experience on expected responsibility

was significant both when the experience was about finances and relationships (Table 5, 6).

Figure 3

Mean Expected Resilience and Responsibility by Type and Timing of Experience.



Expected responsibility was positively related to experiences of financial hardships ($b = 1.96$, $SE = .15$, $p < .001$), while a significant interaction qualified this effect ($b = -2.08$, $SE = .21$, $p < .001$): the character with early-life poverty was expected to have much higher responsibility than the character with later-life poverty, $F(1,129) = .64$, $p < .001$ (Figure 2). Moreover, people expected that early-life poverty will strengthen

Table 4
Fixed Effect Estimates of the Linear Mixed Model Analysis of Expected Resilience and Expected Responsibility,
N = 248

Predictor	Expected resilience			Expected responsibility		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>
Life condition	.40	.15	.01**	1.96	.15	.00***
Type	.67	.14	.00***	.67	.15	.00***
Timing	.28	.16	.08	.97	.15	.00***
Age	-.00	.00	.24	.01	.00	.10
Gender	.07	.09	.44	.02	.08	.78
Perceived age	.01	.00	.05*	.00	.00	.98
Perceived gender	-.04	.08	.66	.07	.08	.41
Life condition x Type	-1.62	.20	.00***	-1.88	.02	.00***
Life condition x Timing	-.80	.22	.00***	-2.10	.21	.00***
Type x Timing	-.31	.21	.14	-.28	.22	.20
Life x Type x Timing	.81	.29	.01**	1.49	.30	.00***

Note. Life is dummy variable that was coded 1 for harsh life condition and 0 was control (easy life) condition. Type was coded for relational hardship. Timing was coded 1 for adulthood. Gender was coded 1 for female and 0 for male. PWB = psychological well-being; *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

responsibility more than early-life affluence will do ($p < .001$). No significant association was found between relational hardship and expected responsibility (see Figure 3).

Moderated Mediation. Moderated mediation models were conducted to test whether expected resilience and expected responsibility mediated the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardship on expected competence and PWB. I used a bootstrapping procedure for testing conditional indirect effects developed by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007). Mediation is indicated by the 95% confidence interval for this indirect effect, excluding zero. The indirect effects of hardships on expected competence and PWB through 1) resilience and 2) responsibility were examined separately for the two time points: youth and adulthood.

A significant moderated mediation effect was found in the pathway from financial hardship to expected resilience to expected competence (moderated mediation index = $-.31$, 95% CI: $-.50$ to $-.12$), from financial hardship to expected resilience to expected PWB (moderated mediation index = $-.36$, 95% CI: $-.60$ to $-.15$), and from financial hardship to expected responsibility to expected competence (moderated mediation index = $-.38$, 95% CI: $-.62$ to $-.17$).

Expected competence. As Table 5 shows, the expected resilience mediated both the youth advantage (95% CI for the indirect effect: $.04$ to $.27$) as well as the adulthood disadvantage (95% CI for the indirect effect: $-.29$ to $-.03$) in the effect of financial hardship on expected competence. The expected responsibility also mediated the youth advantage in the effect of

Table 5

Moderated Mediation Effects of Expected Resilience and Responsibility on the Relationship between Financial Hardships and Expected Competence and PWB, N = 254

Predictor	Expected resilience			Expected responsibility		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>
Life	.41	.16	.01**	1.96	.15	.00***
Life x Timing	-.83	.23	.00***	-2.08	.21	.00***
Effect	Expected competence			Expected PWB		
	<i>b</i>	SE	95% CI	<i>b</i>	SE	95% CI
Resilience						
Total	.35	.05	-.25 .45	.32	.07	.22 .43
Direct						
Youth	-.03	.16	-.35 .29	.38	.23	.03 .73
Adulthood	-.32	.13	-.57 -.06	-.16	.19	-.44 .12
Indirect						
Youth	.15	.06	.04 .27	.13	.18	.03 .25
Adulthood	-.15	.07	-.29 -.03	-.14	.18	-.27 -.03
Responsibility						
Total	.18	.05	.08 .29	.03	.08	-.09 .14
Direct						
Youth	-.03	.16	-.35 .29	.38	.23	.03 .73
Adulthood	-.32	.13	-.57 -.06	-.16	.19	-.44 .12
Indirect						
Youth	.36	.10	.16 .57	.05	.07	-.19 .30
Adulthood	-.02	.03	-.09 .04	-.00	-.00	-.04 .02

Note. PWB = psychological well-being; *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. Fit for competence model $R^2=.58$, Adjusted $R^2=.33$, $F(7, 246) = 13.97$, $p < .001$. Fit for PWB model $R^2=.47$, Adjusted $R^2=.22$, $F(7, 246) = 7.79$, $p < .001$.

Table 6

Moderated Mediation Effects of Expected Resilience and Responsibility on the Relationship between Relational Hardships and Expected Competence and PWB, N = 241

Predictor	Expected resilience			Expected responsibility				
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i>		
Life	-1.23	.15	.00***	.08	.16	.61		
Life x Timing	.05	.22	.82	-.06	.23	.01**		
Effect	Expected competence			Expected PWB				
	<i>b</i>	SE	95% CI		<i>b</i>	SE	95% CI	
			Lower	Upper			Lower	Upper
Resilience								
Total	.64	.64	.55	.72	.65	.86	.55	.75
Direct								
Youth	-.21	.11	-.43	.01	-.64	.18	-.90	-.37
Adulthood	-.06	.12	-.30	.19	-.42	.20	-.71	-.12
Indirect								
Youth	-.78	.11	-1.01	-.57	-.80	.16	-1.04	-.58
Adulthood	-.75	.13	-1.02	-.52	-.77	.18	-1.06	-.52
Responsibility								
Total	-.01	-.01	-.09	.07	-.05	-.07	-.15	.05
Direct								
Youth	-.21	.11	-.43	.01	-.64	.18	-.90	-.37
Adulthood	-.06	.12	-.30	.19	-.42	.20	-.71	-.12
Indirect								
Youth	-.00	.08	-.02	.01	-.00	.02	-.04	.02
Adulthood	.00	.02	-.04	.05	.03	.04	-.02	.09

Note. PWB = psychological well-being; *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. Fit for competence model $R^2=.79$, Adjusted $R^2=.63$, $F(7, 233) = 44.92$, $p < .001$. Fit for PWB model $R^2=.80$, Adjusted $R^2=.64$, $F(7, 233) = 47.02$, $p < .001$.

financial hardship on expected competence (95% CI for the indirect effect: .16 to .57). Furthermore, expected resilience mediated the negative association between relational hardships and expected competence in both timings: youth (95% CI for the indirect effect: -1.01 to -.57) and adulthood (95% CI for the indirect effect: -1.02 to -.52, see Table 6). Expected responsibility did not mediate any of these pathways.

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). As displayed in Table 5, the expected resilience mediated both the youth advantage (95% CI for the indirect effect: .03 to .25) as well as the adulthood disadvantage (95% CI for the indirect effect: -.27 to -.03) in the effect of financial hardship on expected PWB. Expected resilience also mediated the negative association between relational hardships and expected PWB in both timings: youth (95% CI for the indirect effect: -1.04 to -.58) and adulthood (95% CI for the indirect effect: -1.06 to -.52, see Table 6). None of the timing-moderated pathways from financial hardship and relational hardships to expected PWB was mediated by expected responsibility.

Discussion

In support of the second prediction, the character with early-life poverty was expected to have acquired 1) resilience and 2) responsibility than did the character with later-life poverty. This difference further extended into different expectations given to each character about their competence and PWB. Specifically, higher expectations of resilience and responsibility of the character with early-life poverty led to higher

expectations of its competence. Higher expectations of its resilience significantly increased expectations of its PWB as well. On the contrary, both the characters with early-life loneliness and adulthood received lower expectations of their resilience, which led to lower expectations of both their competence and PWB.

Together, the results again imply that people acknowledge some bright sides of youth poverty, but not those of adulthood poverty nor loneliness in general. It seems that forgoing financial necessities in youth, but not in adulthood, are deemed to enhance resilience as well as a little responsibility and to promote subsequent competency and positive mental health throughout life. Ample relationships, on the contrary, might be generally emphasized for all ages. Further analyses investigate how the detected conception, particularly of financial hardship, interacts with some aspects of participants themselves.

Study 3

Thus far, Study 1 and 2 have confirmed the moderating effects of the timing and the type of hardship on the value it earns. Particularly, the character that went through financial hardship during early life received a relatively favorable view because participants anticipated such an experience to foster resilience and responsibility. This anticipation carved a route in which a story about hardship provoked a positive expectation of competence and psychological health.

Research consistently argues the huge influence of intuitive impressions over interpersonal relations (e.g., Durant et al., 2017; Fiske et al., 2006; Fiske, 2002, 2018a, 2018b). As described earlier, people instinctively gauge the attributes and motives of others based on their states and positions. These portrayals predict emotions, that directly elicit behaviors (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2007; Swencionis et al., 2017). In particular, competence and autonomy are central elements for facilitating cooperation (Anderson et al., 2015). People generally intend to empower or associate with individuals they rate as high in such traits (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Fiske et al., 2006; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007).

Notably, these impacts are rife in work settings. An expression of an agency, confidence, or self-regard yields advantages over procedures ranging from selection to status attainment and support within organizations (Anderson et al., 2015; Bencharit et al., 2018; Fragale, 2006; Kennedy et al., 2013; Stephens et al., 2019). Competence even profits collaboration between leaders and members; a competent leader promotes members' desire for exchange relations, and a competent member wins respect from its leader (Byun et al., 2017; Klumper et al., 2019; Tepper et al., 2011; Venkataramani et al., 2010). By virtue of these influences, strategic impression management is commonplace in workplaces (Anderson et al., 2012; Goffman, 1959; Holoien & Fiske, 2013; Leary, 2019).

Deriving an idea from here, I decided to investigate if the impressions detected in this study can also carry such an influence. Thus, Study 3 additionally assesses participants' behavioral intention—a

willingness to form a work-related interaction. Will higher expectations of the competence and PWB of the character prompt an accordingly higher preference for working together with it?

Method

Participants. 248 participants (126 female, 122 male) in Study 1 were again the subjects of Study 2. The ethnic distribution of the participants was approximately 56% Caucasian, 22% Asian-American, 11% African-American, 4% Native American, and 7% Latino, Middle Eastern, or others.

Procedure. Study 3 utilized the same survey described in Study 1, with the inclusion of questions asking participants' preference for the character. Half of the participants were assigned to the harsh life condition, and the other half were assigned to the easy life condition. To focus specifically on expectations of competence and PWB, as well as on appraisals of financial hardship, I excluded answers regarding relational hardship, warmth, and SWB from the analysis. The effect of the timing of hardship was assessed in a between-subjects design.

Measures.

Expected competence. Expected competence level was measured through the same scale used in previous studies (Fiske, 2015; Fiske, 2018; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015). Participants indicated the extent that they think the character corresponds to each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely).

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). Expected psychological well-being was measured through the same scale used in previous studies (Ryff, 1989). Participants reported the extent to which they agree that each item describes the character on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Work-related preference. Participants indicated their willingness to work together with the character (i.e., “Would you be willing to work on or accomplish something together with this person?”) using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely).

Perceived gender and age. Participants indicated their perceptions of the character’s gender (i.e., “Which gender identity does this person seem to have?”) and current age (i.e., “Approximately how old does this person look like?”). Perceived gender was chosen between female (0) and male (1). Perceived current age was manually written in a number between 1 and 100.

Demographics. Participants also reported their demographic information, including gender, age, and ethnicity, at the end of the survey.

Control variables. I controlled for the effects of participants’ gender, perceived gender of the character, as well as of participants’ age, and perceived age of the character.

Results

2 (life condition: easy, harsh) x 2 (timing of experience: youth, adulthood) two-way between-subjects ANOVA was performed. The model included the control variables—age, gender, perceived age, perceived

gender—and the interaction between life condition and timing of experience, as well as interpersonal preference as a dependent variable (see Table 7). Table 1 presents means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables.

Work-related preference. Financial hardship was positively associated with work-related preference, $F(1,244) = 12.75, p < .001$ (Table 7). However, a significant interaction between financial hardships and the timing of experience qualified the effect: $F(1,244) = 8.24, p < .001$. People favored to work together with the character with early-life poverty considerably more than with the character with later-life poverty, $F(1,144) = 1.11, p = .003$ (see Figure 4). Furthermore, people favored the character with early-life poverty more than the character with early-life affluence ($p < .001$). No other differences were found.

Figure 4

Mean Work-Related Preference by Timing of Experience.

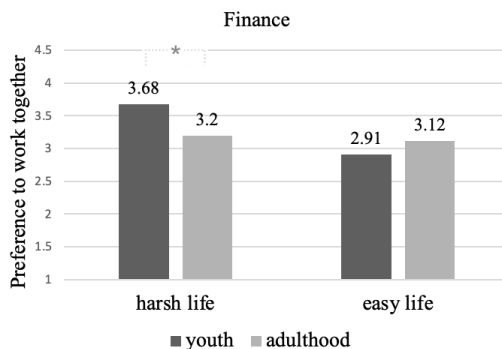


Table 7

Mean, Standard Deviations, and Two-Way ANOVA Statistics for Work-Related Preference, N = 254

Variable	Harsh life				Easy life				ANOVA		
	Youth		Adult		Youth		Adult		Effect	F(1,244)	η^2
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD			
Preference	3.68	.98	3.20	.94	2.91	.87	3.12	.99	Life condition x Timing	.00	.03**

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

Table 8

Moderated Mediation Effects of Expected Competence and PWB on the Relationship between Financial Hardships and Work-Related Preference, N = 254

Effect	Work-related preference			95% CI	
	b	SE	Lower		Upper
Competence					
Total	.31	.08	.16	.46	
Direct					
Youth	.39	.14	.12	.67	
Adulthood	.36	.14	.08	.63	
Indirect					
Youth	.15	.05	.05	.26	
Adulthood	-.15	.06	-.28	-.05	
PWB					
Total	.32	.06	.21	.45	
Direct					
Youth	.39	.14	.12	.67	
Adulthood	.36	.14	.08	.63	
Indirect					
Youth	.24	.07	.12	.38	
Adulthood	-.13	.07	-.27	.01	

Note. PWB = psychological well-being; *b* = unstandardized coefficient; SE = standard error; CI = confidence interval. Fit for competence model $R^2=.39$, Adjusted $R^2=.15$, $F(7, 246) = 6.45$, $p < .001$. Fit for PWB model $R^2=.32$, Adjusted $R^2=.10$, $F(7, 246) = 4.13$, $p < .001$.

Moderated Mediation. Moderated mediation models were run to test whether expected competence and PWB mediated the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardship on interpersonal preference. I used a bootstrapping procedure for testing conditional indirect effects developed by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007). Mediation is indicated by the 95% confidence interval for this indirect effect, excluding zero. The indirect effects of financial hardships on interpersonal preferences through 1) expected competence and 2) expected PWB were examined separately for the two time points: youth and adulthood.

A significant moderated mediation effect was found in the pathway from financial hardship to expected competence to work-related preference (moderated mediation index = $-.30$, 95% CI: $-.50$ to $-.13$) and financial hardship to expected PWB to work-related preference (moderated mediation index = $-.36$, 95% CI: $-.58$ to $-.18$).

Both expected competence (95% CI for the indirect effect: $.05$ to $.26$) and expected PWB (95% CI for the indirect effect: $.12$ to $.38$) mediated the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardship on preferences to work together with the character (Table 8). Expected competence, but not expected PWB, also mediated the adulthood disadvantage in such an effect (95% CI for the indirect effect: $.05$ to $.26$).

Discussion

Study 3 shows that the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardship on expected competence and PWB extends to a behavioral

intention—that is, an inclination to work together with the character. It may be doubted that the question used to measure this intention was too short and vague to embrace actual behaviors. However, the question attempted to capture some intent beyond a mere expectation, and the result demonstrates that the impact of timing did also infuse into an emotional reaction, ultimately supporting the prediction. In other words, thoughts about hardship may at least partially influence some social interactions, and a few individuals may benefit by sharing their experiences of youth poverty.

Now the studies are finished apart from the last question. The final study takes individual differences into account. Will the erstwhile reactions manifest uniformly across people? To address this question, I delve into exploring how faith is associated with the appraisals specified so far.

Study 4

Throughout Study 1, 2, and 3, it has been clarified that people prize financial hardship that is experienced early in life, compared to that experienced later in life, and that this attitude can extend even into a behavioral intention. Nevertheless, checking whether this tendency arises universally or exceptionally among some individuals remains vital.

Albeit life experiences are predestined to certain consequences, people, in fact, comprehend them very much in their own way. Even from a similar event, they deduce different reasons and worth. Importantly, these construals affect how they feel and behave at last (Bower, 2020; Forgas, 1991; Lyubomirsky & Tucker, 1998; Seidlitz & Diener, 1993). Furthermore,

studies show how sensitive a propensity to bestow specific abilities upon particular individuals or groups is to ideological orientation. People who believe in social fairness, for instance, are much inclined to view high-status individuals as more competent than low-status individuals, whereas their counterparts disapprove of this linkage (Hafer & Begue, 2005; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007; Pratto et al., 1994). Hence, people will vary in their third-person inferences about hardship, particularly contingent on how much they value in the first place.

A discordance features in social perception of hardship. While sometimes hardship is stigmatized, it is also often acknowledged. Heretofore, I have identified how the timing and the type of hardship alter the light flashed upon it. In Study 4, I posit that a perceiver-related factor, aside from that about hardship itself, will also be contributing to such a discordance. To this end, I assess the extent to which each participant agrees with the maxims that endorse an adverse youth and explore whether this produces a shift in the dominant trend. Will advocacy of the character with early-life poverty, for instance, manifest differently across those who cherish all kinds of similar experiences and those who do not?

Method

Participants. 248 participants (126 female, 122 male) in Study 1 were again the subjects of Study 2. The ethnic distribution of the participants was approximately 56% Caucasian, 22% Asian-American, 11%

African-American, 4% Native American, and 7% Latino, Middle Eastern, or others.

Procedure. Study 4 utilized the same survey described in Study 1, with the inclusion of questions asking participants' faith in the merit of youth hardship. Half of the participants were assigned to the harsh life condition, and the other half were assigned to the easy life condition. Identically, I excluded answers regarding relational hardship, warmth, and SWB from the analysis. The effect of the timing was assessed in a between-subjects design.

Measures.

Expected competence. Expected competence level was measured through the same scale used in previous studies (Fiske, 2015; Fiske, 2018; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015). Participants indicated the extent that they think the character corresponds to each item on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely).

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). Expected psychological well-being was measured through the same scale used in previous studies (Ryff, 1989). Participants reported the extent to which they agree that each item describes the character on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Lay faith in youth hardship. Participants reported the extent to which they agree with a total of four maxims about youth adversity, using a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). One of these phrases endorses hardship globally (i.e., "*Struggles develop strength.*"),

while the others specifically refer to youth (i.e., “*Early training means more than late learning.*,” “*Labour is the source of blessing for the youth.*,” “*Great men are grown up in poverty.*”). The items were either modified from the original format or extracted from collections of dialogues; for instance, “*Struggles develop strength.*” is the variant of the famous quote “*Your struggles develop your strengths*” by Arnold Schwarzenegger, while “*Great men are grown up in poverty.*” was transformed from the speech of Abraham Lincoln (Burlingame, 2013).

All four phrases were found to have high internal consistency (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .74$). I averaged the centralized scores of the agreements with each phrase, and this mean score was operationalized as participants’ lay faith in hardships. For the analysis, participants were divided into two groups based on their score: the high-faith group (above the mean) and the low-faith group (below the mean).

Perceived gender and age. Participants indicated their perceptions of the character’s gender (i.e., “Which gender identity does this person seem to have?”) and current age (i.e., “Approximately how old does this person look like?”). Perceived gender was chosen between female (0) and male (1). Perceived current age was manually written in a number between 1 and 100.

Demographics. Participants also reported their demographic information, including gender, age, and ethnicity, at the end of the survey.

Control variables. I controlled for the effects of participants’ gender, perceived gender of the character, as well as of participants’ age, and perceived age of the character.

Results

2 (life condition: easy, harsh) \times 2 (timing of experience: youth, adulthood) \times 2 (lay faith: low, high) three-way between-subjects ANOVA was conducted. The model included the control variables—age, gender, perceived age, perceived gender—and the interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and perceiver’s lay faith (see Table 9), as well as expected competence and PWB as dependent variables. Means, standard deviations, and correlations among variables are presented in Table 1.

Figure 5

Mean Expected Competence and PWB by Timing of Experience and Lay Faith in the Merit of Hardship.

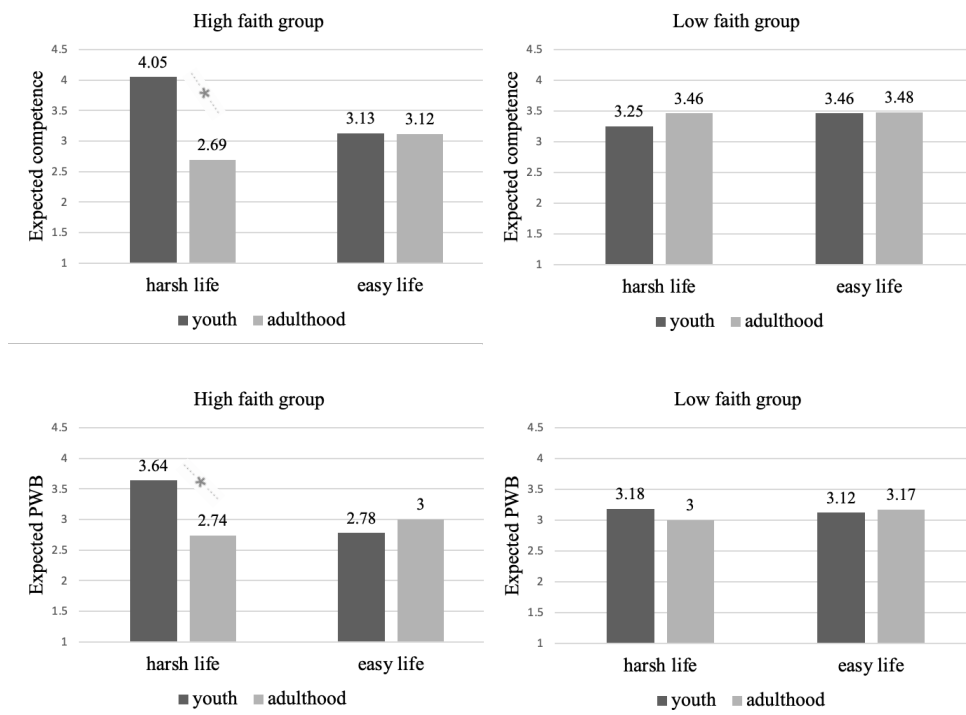


Table 9
Mean, Standard Deviations, and Two-Way ANOVA Statistics for Expected Competence and PWB, N = 254

Variable	Harsh life						Easy life						ANOVA		
	Youth			Adult			Youth			Adult			Effect	F(1,140)	η ²
	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD		M	SD				
Expected competence															
High faith group	4.05	.80		2.69	.86		3.13	.64		3.12	.80		Life condition x Timing	24.54***	.15
Low faith group	3.25	.86		3.46	.56		3.46	.61		3.48	.54		Life condition x Timing	.34	.00
Expected PWB															
High faith group	3.64	.85		2.74	.69		2.78	1.18		3.01	1.09		Life condition x Timing	13.25***	.08
Low faith group	3.18	.98		2.98	.78		3.12	1.11		3.17	.97		Life condition x Timing	1.04	.01
													Life condition x Timing x Faith	F(1,240) 3.80*	.02

Note. PWB = psychological well-being.
 * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Expected competence. There was a significant interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and perceiver's lay faith in expected competence, $F(1,240) = 13.64, p < .001$ (Table 9). Among those with high levels of faith (above the mean), the timing moderated the effect of hardship ($F(1,140) = 24.54, p < .001$). This created a gap in the expected competence of the character with early-life poverty and that of the character with later-life poverty—supporting the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardships, $F(1,90) = 3.67, p < .001$ (see Figure 5). Furthermore, they expected the character with early-life poverty to be more competent than the character with early-life affluence ($p < .001$).

On the other hand, however, these patterns disappeared among those with low levels of faith (below the mean); the timing of hardship did not significantly moderate the effect of hardship. No differences in the expected competence of the characters were found by their timing of hardship (i.e., youth and adulthood) neither by their life condition (i.e., poverty and affluence).

Expected psychological well-being (PWB). There was a marginal interaction among life condition, timing of experience, and perceiver's lay faith in expected PWB, $F(1,240) = 3.80, p = .05$. Among those with high (above the mean) levels of faith, the timing moderated the effect of hardship ($F(1,140) = 13.25, p < .001$). This led to a significant difference between the expected PWB of the character with early-life poverty and that of the character with later-life poverty—again, supporting the youth advantage in the effect of financial hardships, $F(1,90) = 5.30, p < .001$ (see Figure 5). The

character with early-life poverty was also expected to be more psychologically healthier than the character with early-life affluence ($p < .001$). On the other hand, however, this effect disappeared among those with low levels of faith (below the mean); no differences in the expected PWB of the characters were found by their timing of hardship (i.e., youth and adulthood) neither by their life condition (i.e., poverty and affluence).

Discussion

Throughout Study 1, 2, and 3, participants expected the character with early-life poverty to be more competent and psychologically healthier than the character with later-life poverty. In Study 4, this tendency got further strengthened among participants that hold high faith in the merit of youth hardship—that is, accepting the phrases that claim adverse youth experiences as valuable and necessary. This tendency, however, disappeared among participants that hold comparatively lower faith—that is, among those that discount youth adversity, the expectations of both the characters with early-life and later-life poverty were no different from each other, as well as from those of the affluent characters. The results confirm that the observed youth advantage emanates prominently from an inherent appreciation of the worth of hardship, rather than being global, and that an ideology does widen a discordance of appraisals made by individuals.

General Discussion

“Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime.” — Aristotle

While hardships generate contrasting physical and psychological outcomes, the social perceptions of hardships diverge even to a greater degree. The mixed attitudes—either endorsement or stigmatization—have warranted an investigation of the moderating factors. The findings consistently supported hypotheses: people that underwent hardships received different expectations based on when they have experienced them and what they have experienced. Specifically, those who encountered financial hardships during youth were expected to be more competent and psychologically healthier than those encountered during adulthood, while such a pattern did not manifest in case of relational hardships. People’s recognition for youth potential mediated this timing effect; a belief that early-life deprivations would have 1) enhanced resilience and 2) promoted responsibility led to positive expectations of competence and psychological well-being of those who went through poverty in youth. These expectations further stretched out to people’s preferences to work with them.

Importantly, however, such an appreciation was found to be subject to an individual difference. Poverty in youth captivated those who truly believe in the merit of early-life adversities but not the remaining others. This goes in line with previous notions that people construe social phenomena dissimilarly, and a behavior linking a certain context or experience with particular attributes hinges on one’s ideological beliefs. Across results and especially among these faithful individuals, meanwhile,

those who suffered poverty in adulthood received a negative light compared to their youth counterparts and affluent counterparts. While several messages look like throwing an encouragement to anyone deprived, starving as grown-ups seems to be less appealing to the public in general.

Altogether, the entire study demonstrates that social appraisal of hardship can be delicately influenced by its type, timing, and belief that the people hold, which may then penetrate several social interactions. Indeed, some stories of hardship can pull off a triumph when mingling well with the predominant atmosphere.

Theoretical Implications

This study illuminates distinct expectations that hardship receives, defusing some discordances present in the real world. By focusing on how the appraisals of hardship revolve around its timing (i.e., youth and adulthood) and its type (i.e., financial and relational), this study helps to clarify when and how could hardships boost the evaluation of the subject, providing an insight into the role that some facets of experiences can play in their appearance.

The findings of this study do not tackle whether the perceptions of hardships coincide with their actual consequences. Rather, spotlighting ‘attitudes’ have a unique entailment. From day to day, we observe and meet with a variety of people. Even with a small amount of information, we make assumptions about them. When these assumptions interact with our goals and values, they become attitudes, and some preferences can generate biased

behaviors. In this sense, efforts to uncover how people think of and react to others' circumstances and experiences have theoretical and practical implications.

As illustrated earlier, deprived backgrounds stigmatize people in a wide range of aspects perchance due to their noted impacts. For example, poverty is known as one of the most lethal stressors that threaten not only morbidity (Mirowsky & Ross, 1999) but psychological functioning (Dreentea, 2000; Mirowsky & Ross, 2001; Rogers, 1996; Stoller & Stoller, 2003; Umberson et al., 1992). Despite some hopeful notions about hardships, the preponderance of such evidence labels poor individuals as lethargic, timid, and unintelligent (Blendon et al., 2006; Côté, 2011; Lott, 2012; Stephens et al., 2014). What is worse is that these beliefs can interfere with adequate respect, as status is usually afforded when individuals are perceived to be competent (Anderson et al., 2015; Leary, 2019; Ridgeway, 1984).

Furthermore, empirical evidence suggests that such stereotypes could forbid upward mobility. Even without discriminatory intentions, people of higher social status tend to shape their institutions with cultural norms like independence, a sense of control, and nonconformity (Lachman & Weaver 1998, Pattillo-McCoy, 2013). By nature of their environments, lower-status individuals are deemed distant from these ideals (Stephens et al., 2014); consequently, they get excluded from and within key gateway organizations to success (Côté, 2011; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). Their access

to resources and valuable networks remains confined in such a way (Côté, 2011; Ridgeway & Fiske, 2012; Rivera, 2012).

This study, however, offers somewhat an optimistic perspective. Deprivations may not ‘always’ be trapped by stereotypes about which scholars have argued or concerned so far. Instead, the results propose that disclosing early life experiences of economic hardship can often present oneself as competent and psychologically healthy. In other words, rather than intrinsically serving as a weakness, a history of hardships can have divergent impacts; it can either benefit or hurt individuals contingent upon when the hardship was experienced and what it was about.

This fresh possibility, more importantly, seems to entail people’s consciousness of the potential that youths have. Many resilient individuals develop personalities like psychological capability, goal orientation, and confidence (O’Heron and Orlofsky 1990; Yon et al. 2012). In this study, people expected youths under financially deprived contexts to acquire resilience to later-life challenges and develop responsibility for resolving ongoing difficulties. The following hope for their capabilities intensified with a sincere belief that hardships—especially those in early years—are worthwhile experiencing. I surmise that a part of society throws support behind individuals who withstand scarcity and prospects for their progression.

Notwithstanding the potentials, yet, a dearth of interpersonal relations was constantly depreciated regardless of the time point. Particularly, they were considered to have damaged the resilience of both

adults and youths, thereby lowering hopes for developments. This result indicates a shared valuation upon quality relationships. As the phrase “*Love can buy money, but money cannot buy love.*” says, society often puts considerable weight on relationships even more than on economic circumstances. Truly, the power of positive interactions and social supports is so strong that it can relieve children and adolescents from the adverse effects of poverty (Cheang & Goh, 2018; Garnezy, 1993; Gershoff et al., 2007; Herrenkohl et al., 1994; Horning et al., 2005; Ozbay et al., 2007; Reeskens & Vandecasteele, 2016; Shumba, 2010). They offer tangible resources and practical learnings and provide a sense of life purpose and meaning (Hartwell & Benson, 2007; Kawachi & Berkman, 2014). Injuries in such connections may abandon an individual to despair, leaving her or him no place to derive any encouragement. This assumption may also fuse into people’s perceptions, viewing lonely teenagers as relatively incapable of conquering life struggles.

Limitations and Future Research

While this study has explored the two most commonly encountered and discussed human hardships (Herrenkohl & Herrenkohl, 2007; Mirowsky & Ross, 1999), questions remain about whether the experimental findings would be generalized across different types and degrees of hardships. We experience diverse types of hardships—including career problems, physical abuse, or death of a close family—and the magnitude of ensuing pains varies as well (Ashiabi & O’Neal, 2007; Cui et al., 2011; Kim et al., 2016;

Seery et al., 2010). Beyond material or interpersonal deprivals, hardship can be about lacking a sense of accomplishment, physical or psychological health, or basic cravings. Exploring how people perceive such deprivations will be an interesting avenue for future research.

In line with this notion, being rich in one aspect does not mean being rich in life as a whole. Even though people are materially satisfied, their life can still be distressful or challenging. The framework of this study, however, did not incorporate this possibility. The condition was dichotomous—indicating either an easy life or a harsh life. People, therefore, may have perceived the character with an easy life to have strived with ‘nothing.’ I aim at creating a follow-up study where different types and degrees of hardships are embraced in a single narrative. For instance, a character can have either relished or lacked both finances and relationships or have lacked one aspect but relished the other aspect. This approach will reveal whether a particular experience (e.g., loneliness or affection) overshadows or buffers the appraisals of other experiences (e.g., poverty or affluence), signifying a respective power that distinct experiences hold.

Furthermore, studies increasingly support a trade-off between warmth and competence in impression formation (Fiske et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 1999, 2002; Holoien & Fiske, 2013; Russell & Fiske, 2008). Primarily, those perceived as warm tend to be seen as incompetent, and vice versa (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Judd et al., 2005; Kervyn et al., 2009; Yzerbyt et al., 2008). In this study, however, no such a compensatory relationship was found. Rather, expected warmth and competence were

predominantly parallel to each other. Whether perceptions of these two constructs get distinguished by more detailed and inclusive descriptions will be a meaningful avenue.

By inspecting an ideological factor in the final analysis, I have enhanced the validity of the overall findings. Interestingly, however, among those holding low faith in youth hardship, the appraisals of youth poverty and adulthood poverty were mostly alike to each other as well as to those of affluence. Perhaps, this can be because those individuals affirm some merits of adulthood adversity, because disagreement with the phrases did not essentially indicate a strong disaffirmation of youth adversity, or because they do not have clear opinions about hardship at all. Future studies should implement more phrases and precise analyses that can identify these ideological differences much concretely.

Another intriguing work would be taking participants' social class into account. The tendency to associate financial hardships with certain attributes may either be amplified or abate with the perceiver's economic background. Scholars argue that social class influences how people understand the self, others, and social environments (Côté et al., 2010; Kraus et al., 2012; Manstead, 2018; Piff et al., 2017; Shweder, 1991; Stephens et al., 2014). Typically, upper-class individuals are found to attribute personal and societal outcomes to disposition or capabilities rather than to situations (Johnson & Krueger, 2005; Kraus et al., 2012). In contrast, lower-class individuals tend to focus on external factors, ascribing many outcomes to circumstances (Kraus et al., 2009; Mendoza-Denton &

Mischel, 2007). I speculate that these orientations may also permeate their perceptions of others' experiences. If so, lower-class participants may blame situations, whereas upper-class participants blame dispositions for the character's hardships, making contrasting appraisals.

This study, finally, calls attention to the power that a single narrative could have over evaluations. The narratives used in the current study were shown to have effectively signaled the characteristics of hardships and promoted different expectations of the fictitious character. Nevertheless, much longer and concrete descriptions of experiences are needed. For instance, rather than creating a fictitious narrative, collecting essays written by individuals about their real experiences will ensure the reality of the study. In addition to this, much various facets can become evaluation criteria. Beyond warmth, competence and happiness, subjects can be guessed about their moral values, personality traits like consciousness, or even work performances—whose associations with certain status or group are fairly established (e.g., Blendon et al., 2006; Côté, 2011; Oldham & Hackman, 1980). Together, these efforts will help infer richer predictions and implications regarding different judgment situations, ultimately deriving a vital role that stories can play in inculcating distinct impressions in those in charge of crucial evaluations.

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국문 초록

역경의 경험은 인간이 기능하는 데에 있어 여러가지 영향을 불러 일으킨다. 정서적 후유증과 그 안에서의 개인 차까지 역경의 다양한 측면이 연구되어 왔으나, 사람들이 타인의 역경에 대해 어떻게 이해하고 평가하는지에 대한 탐색은 아직까지 거의 이루어지지 않았다. 이에 따라, 본 연구는 두가지 자극제 역할의 조절 변인(종류와 시점) 그리고 한가지 지각자 수준의 조절 변인(역경에 대한 신념)을 구분하고, 해당 요소들이 역경에 부여되는 가치를 변화 시키는지 확인하였다. 연구 1에서는 사람들이 유년 시절의 경제적 역경을 성인 이후의 경제적 역경이나 시점과 상관 없는 모든 관계적 역경보다 유능감(competence)과 심리적 안녕감(psychological well-being)에 유익하다고 믿는다는 사실이 드러났다. 연구 2에서의 매개된 조절효과 분석은 이러한 믿음이 회복 탄력성(resilience) 및 책임감(responsibility) 발달에 대한 기대에 기반한다는 것을 보여주었다. 연구 3에서는 유년 시절의 경제적 역경에 대한 긍정적 평가—즉, 그것이 유능감과 심리적 안녕감을 높일 것이라는 믿음이 곧 업무 관련 선호도로 이어짐을 확인하였다. 마지막으로, 연구 4에서는 개개인이 역경에 대해 갖고 있는 신념에 따라 앞서 드러난 경향성이 더욱 강화 혹은 약화될 수 있음을 발견하였다. 종합 논의에서 본 연구의 함의와 한계점, 그리고 추후 연구 아이디어에 대해 이야기한다.

주요어: 역경, 경제력, 관계, 유능감, 심리적 안녕감, 회복 탄력성

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