

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS AND EMOTION REGULATION IN THE SYSTEM
JUSTIFICATION PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS AND EMOTION REGULATION IN THE SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION PROCESS

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The studies of emotions and emotion regulation from the social psychological perspective have been dominated by two general approaches, namely, individual and group-based research perspectives (e.g., Frijda, 1986; Gross, 2014; Halperin, 2014; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007). Considering that emotions cannot only be limited to the individual- and the group-level contexts, the system-level dynamics (Stangor & Jost, 1997) should be examined to better understand their impacts on both individual and society.

Drawing on system justification theory (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004), the current study has attempted to provide empirical evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions (Solak, Jost, Sümer, & Clore, 2012). Moreover, the present study was aimed to examine how system justification affects the regulating ways of emotions evoked by the system-level context. In doing so, in Study 1 and Study 2,

system justification motivation was measured as an individual difference variable in the US and Turkish samples, respectively. In Study 3, the study hypotheses were tested during the 2013 Gezi Protests, and in Study 4, system justification motivation was experimentally manipulated.

The current study provided empirical evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions. These are system-based emotions (I) reflect standing in the social order, (II) reflect appraisals of the social order, (III) affect action tendencies and behaviors. Moreover, it was demonstrated that emotion regulation strategies affect the relationship between system justification and system-level emotions. The implications and contributions of the study were discussed.

Keywords: Emotion, system justification theory, emotion regulation, system-level emotion, group-based emotion

ÖZ

SİSTEMİ MEŞRULAŞTIRMA SÜRECİNDE DUYGU VE DUYGU DÜZENLEMENİN ROLÜ

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Sosyal psikolojide duygu ve duygu düzenlemesi üzerine yapılan çalışmalar genelde birey ve grup düzeyindeki duygulara odaklanmaktadır (e.g., Frijda, 1986; Gross, 2014; Halperin, 2014; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007). Bununla beraber, duyguların birey ve toplum üzerindeki etkilerini daha iyi anlamak için mikro, makro ve yapısal etkileri de içeren sistem-düzeyindeki dinamikler de incelenmelidir.

Sistem-düzeyindeki analizi benimseyen Sistemi Meşrulaştırma Kuramı (Jost, Banji, & Nosek, 2004), biliş, motivasyon, davranış ve duyguyu sistem-düzeyindeki süreçler bağlamında kavramsallaştırmıştır. Sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı temel alınarak, bu çalışmanın amacı, sistemin bazı özelliklerinden ortaya çıkan, sosyal sistemi destekleyen ya da buna karşı çıkan sistem-temelli duygulara (Solak, Jost, Sümer, & Clore, 2012) empirik destek sağlamaktır. Ayrıca, mevcut çalışmanın diğer bir amacı da, sistem duygularının düzenlenmesinde sistemi meşrulaştırma sürecinin etkilerini incelemektir. Söz konusu iki araştırma amacı doğrultusunda, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın duygu ile ilişkili temellerinin daha iyi

anlaşılması için dört araştırma yapılmıştır. Çalışma 1 ve Çalışma 2’de, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi Amerika ve Türkiye örneklemelerinde bireysel bir fark değişkeni olarak ölçülmüştür. Çalışma 3’de, araştırma hipotezleri 2013 Gezi Olayları bağlamında test edilmiştir. Çalışma 4’te ise sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonu deneysel olarak manipüle edilmiştir.

Mevcut çalışma, sistem-düzeyindeki duyguların üç özelliği hakkında empirik destek sağlamıştır. Bu özellikler şunlardır: (I) sistem temelindeki duygular kişinin sosyal yapıdaki “yeri”ni yansıtır; (II) sistem temelli duygular kişinin sosyal düzen hakkındaki öznel değerlendirmelerini yansıtır; ve (III) sistem düzeyindeki duygular sistemin istikrarına ve değişimine yönelik sistem düzeyindeki eğilimleri ve davranışları etkiler. Ayrıca, duygu düzenleme stratejileri sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri ve sistem-düzeyindeki duygular arasındaki ilişkileri etkilemektedir. Çalışmanın mevcut yazına katkısı tartışılarak, gelecek çalışmalar için önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

Anahtar kelimeler: Duygu, sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı, duygu düzenlemesi, duygu-düzeyindeki duygu

*To my lovely parents **Nezahat Solak & Mehmet Solak**
&
To my sister **Melek Solak***

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Major turmoil in social, political, and cultural systems generates powerful emotions which colligate strongly both the supporters and challengers of these systems. Social and political behavior is embedded in emotions. Hence, emotions and emotion regulation as multifaceted phenomena play a central role in understanding social and political attitudes (Bar-Tal, Halperin, & de Rivera, 2007; Gill & Matheson, 2006; Halperin, Sharvit, & Gross, 2011; Marcus, 2003). Social reactions to the system are not only influenced by emotions, but also emotions influence the ways of sustaining or rejecting the existing status quo in various forms (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2013; Sweetman, Spears, Livingstone, & Manstead, 2013, Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Consistently, many contemporary thinkers from sociology and political science (e.g., Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2011; Marcus, 2003; Kemper, 1991) have been fascinated with the way in which emotions are reciprocally linked with macro social systems. Over the last two decades, the role of emotions in political and social lives of individuals has also been noticed in psychology. In other words, research has come to view emotions not only as a core concept, but also as an important phenomena in people's social and political cognition and action (e.g., de Rivera, 1992; Mackie & Smith, 1998; Parkinson, Fischer, & Manstead, 2005; Tiedens & Leach, 2004).

Accumulated empirical findings and reviews have featured the role of emotions in political ideology (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Pliskin, Bar-Tal, Sheppes, & Halperin, 2014; Napier & Jost, 2008), voting behavior (Ladd & Lenz, 2008, 2011), collective action (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), social status (Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2011), political conflict (Cohen-Chen, Halperin, Crisp, & Gross, 2014; Cohen-Chen, Halperin, Porat, & Bar-Tal, 2014; Halperin, 2014), terrorism and war (Huddy, Feldman, Taber, &

Lahav, 2005; Lerner, Gonzalez, Small & Fischhoff, 2003; Pagano & Huo, 2007) as well as reconciliation (Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008).

However, the social psychology studies of emotions and emotion regulation have been dominated by two general approaches, namely individual and group-based research perspectives (e.g., Frijda, 1986; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988; C. A. Smith & Ellsworth, 1985; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007; Ray, Mackie, & Smith, 2014). Traditionally, on the one hand, in line with the well-known distinction between intrapersonal/interpersonal behavior and intergroup behavior deriving from personal and social identity, respectively (Tajfel, 1978), researchers have generally considered emotions as an individual phenomenon (Ortony, et al., 1988; C. A. Smith & Ellsworth, 1985) related to individual-level goals, appraisals, and resources or group phenomenon based upon group appraisals, group-level goals, group identification, and membership (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Kuppens & Yzerbyt, 2014; Kuppens, Yzerbyt, Dandache, Fischer, & Van der Schalk, 2013; Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2007; Smith et al., 2007). On the other hand in line with emotion research, adult emotion regulation literature (Gross, 2007) has largely narrowed its attention to intrapersonal or interpersonal nature of emotion regulation (Butler & Gross, 2009; Rime, 2009) in which only individual-level motivations are emphasized. Although the concept of emotion regulation has been recently applied in understanding the nature of intergroup conflicts, the researchers have paid considerable attention on regulating the ways of group emotions experienced as a result of social identification in a particular intergroup context (Gross, 2014a; Halperin & Gross, 2011; Halperin et al., 2011; Halperin, 2014).

Despite the expansive writings of researchers of these two dominant perspectives which have emphasized individual and intergroup processes, human behavior is not only limited to the individual- and the group-level contexts, which are largely influenced by the individual and group characteristics, respectively (Doise, 1986; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). Rather, it is deeply affected by the system-level dynamics such as operation of macro, micro social systems and structures (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Stangor & Jost, 1997; Wakslak, Jost, & Bauer, 2011).

Stangor and Jost (1997) argued that system-level or social structural analysis is different from, and as informative as individual level and group level of analyses. That is to say, system, institutional or organizational levels of analyses entail explanations regarding the characteristics of the social systems, which typically involve individuals and groups as well as reactions to the system, groups, and individuals.

Embracing the system-level of analysis, System Justification Theory (SJT) (Jost, 2011; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2010; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012; Van der Toorn & Jost, 2014) provides a comprehensive framework to understand the reciprocal associations between psychological processes on the one hand and social structure, status quo, power, and ideology on the other. Hence, SJT brings a new perspective that contextualizes cognition, motivations, behavior, and emotion in the light of system-level concerns. Hence, in recent years, the research attention to emotions evoked by system-level of analysis focusing on the role of system justification motive has increased (cf. Chapleau & Oswald, 2014; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Godfrey, 2013; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Jost & Kramer, 2003; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Jost, Wakslak, & Tyler, 2008; Napier & Jost, 2008; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Rankin, Jost, & Wakslak, 2009; Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007; Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013). This research focus has taken place as a result of recognition that individuals' reactions to system is indeed ranging from paranoia to idealization, which are linked to different emotions as a result of system justification motives (Jost & Kramer, 2004) because justifying the existing status quo has a palliative function (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). However, it appears that affective aspects of system justification have attracted relatively less research attention as compared to motivational and cognitive aspects of system justification.

Solak, Jost, Sümer, and Clore (2012) have extended the functions of emotions to the system-level by benefiting from the previous empirical evidence from system justification theory as well as other research lines in social psychology, such as social status (e.g., Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Kraus et al., 2011), group-level emotions (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Leach, 2010; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Ray et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2007), and emotion regulation (e.g., Gross, 2014; Gross & John, 2003; Gill & Matheson, 2006). Solak et al. (2012) drew heavily on the

perspective of sociology of emotions for understanding the effects of macro systems and social structure on emotions (e.g., Jasper, 2014; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001a). In this framework, system-level emotion is an integrative concept, including ideological and social structural factors. This new conceptualization does not contradict with the previous work, rather it is supplementary to the existing work on individual-and group-level conceptualizations of emotions. Such an eclectic explanation may contribute to scientific progress (see McGuire, 1989).

Following the previous debates, the present dissertation is an attempt to provide empirical evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions proposed by Solak et al. (2012). Moreover, it is aimed to examine how system justification affects the regulating ways of emotions evoked by the system-level context. Addressing these two research goals, this dissertation consist of four related studies. In Study 1 and Study 2, system justification motivation was measured as an individual difference variable in the US and Turkish samples, respectively. In Study 3, the system-level emotions were examined in the context of the Gezi Park protests, and in Study 4, system justification motivation was experimentally manipulated. Overall, the current dissertation attempts to better understand the affective processes of system justification. In the following sections, first a brief overview of role of emotions in social systems and taxonomy levels of emotions will be summarized. And then, system justification theory and characteristics of system-level emotions will be presented. Next, the interplay between system-level emotions, system justification, and emotion regulation will be described. Finally, the specific hypotheses will be provided.

1.1. The Role of Emotions in Social Systems

Emotions, as affective laden, are “reactions to different situational structures” (Clore & Ortany, 2008, p. 632), and they arise when an individual construe a situation as relevant to his or her goals (Gross & Thompson, 2007). Emotions are also “multifaced, whole-body responses that involve coordinated changes in the domains of *subjective experience*, *behavior*, and *peripheral physiology*” (Mauss, Silvia, & Gross, 2007, p. 2). In other words, situations frequently generate emotions,

thereby, emotions are considered as responses to social events and entities (Tiedens & Leach, 2004).

According to the mainstream sociological accounts, emotions are not only social but also they are directly related with both macro systems, including social institutions, ideologies, national climate, discourses, and micro social systems, including norms, everyday social situations, interactions, feeling rules, social roles, and expectations (Barbalet, 1998; Gordon, 1989, 1990; Ridgeway, 2006; Stets & Turner, 2008). As Goodwin et al. (2001a) pointed out emotions refer to “permeate large scale units of social organizations, including workplaces, neighborhood and community networks, political parties, movements, and states, as well as interactions of these units with one another” (p. 16; see also A. R. Hochschild, 1979; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). Similarly, Gordon (1990) noted that “when we think of a social institution, we often think of a particular emotion associated with it” (p. 167). For example, military system is related to anger (e.g., see Tagar, Federico, & Halperin, 2011), religious system leads to hope by increasing feelings of control (Kay, Gaucher, McGregor, & Nash, 2010), market democracies based on meritocracy mean pride for who is “winner” (Fields., Copp., & Kleinman, 2007), patriarchy bolsters jealousy as “evidence” for love (Clanton, 2006), modern marriage is linked with romantic love (Hill, 2012), and modern science is closely related to curiosity (Benedict, 2001).

Social structure of society, including social institutions, ideologies, status positions, distribution of resources, process of interactions, networks, norms, social expectations, and obligations, obviously influence and are reproduced by emotions (Barbalet, 1998; Gordon, 1989; Ridgeway, 2006; Tiedens, 2000). Social arrangements, thus, live in type, frequency, and intensity of emotional practices (see also Gordon, 1990). In this regard, it appears that emotions are not only hidden characteristics of the social systems but also common ideological devices of either justifying or challenging the status quo (e.g., Goodwin & Jasper, 2006; Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Wakslak et al., 2007). For instance, because feeling shame is related to self-blame and feeling anger is linked with other-blame, the poor is expected to report more shame than anger, and thus, feeling shame of one’s economic conditions justifies inequalities (Power, Cole, & Fredrickson, 2011).

Gordon (1990) wisely argued that “Emotions may be legitimated by becoming attached to social institutions” (p.167). Therefore, social systems, even extremely unjust ones, cannot survive without their followers having strong emotional attachment to these systems (see also Fields et al., 2007). For example, emotions such as guilt and shame, which are conceived of as self-regulation devices, serve to maintain the status quo by increasing adherence to prescriptive norms and conventional standards (e.g., Sheikh & Janoff-Bulman, 2010). Social inequalities could not exist without satisfaction with the status quo (Jost & Hunyady, 2005), and the political systems could not survive without fear (Clough, 2012).

Given that social behavior occurs within the contexts of institutional, political, and cultural systems, structural or institutional level of analysis can enable us to improve our understanding of how the characteristics of social systems and ideologies are related to emotions. Without considering the characteristics of social structure, ideology or system-level motives (as well as individual and group reactions to the status quo), it would be difficult to understand, for example, why some individuals feel anger and outrage for unequal distribution of wealth but some others are satisfied with the same unjust situation (Cichocka & Jost, 2014; Kluegel & Smith, 1986), why individuals feel emotional discomfort when their particular ideal system view is threatened by the actual pervasive inequalities in society (Jost et al., 2008; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003), why economically insecure groups feel shame, anxiety, distress, humiliation, and embarrassment in response to poverty, unemployment, and job insecurity (Adair, 2002; Ashford, Lee, & Bobko, 1989; Fields et al., 2006; Greenhalgh & Rosenblatt, 1984; Lane, 1962; McKee-Ryan, Song, Wanberg, & Kinicki, 2005; Paul & Moser, 2009), why some immigrant groups are perceived as warm but others evokes envy and contempt in the observers (Caprariello, Cuddy, & Fiske, 2009; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2003), why low status group members experience more negative emotions toward their ingroup but more positive emotions toward high status groups (Ashburn-Nardo, Knowles, & Monteith, 2003; David & Okazaki, 2006a,b; Jost et al., 2004), why some complementary examples, such as “rich but miserable” or “poor but happy”, allow individuals to feel better (Kay & Jost, 2003), or why gender-based token hiring practices—which are

unequal in their nature -in organizational settings evoke positive emotions among women (Danaher & Branscombe, 2010).

The characteristics of social systems and ideologies lead people to develop positive or negative emotions about themselves, other people, social groups, and social systems (see also Stangor & Jost, 1997). Studies derived from various research traditions seem to provide evidence for this phenomenon. For instance, self-hatred which is closely associated with a sense of feeling shame for one's stigmatized self (Allport, 1954; Clark & Clark, 1947; Lewin, 1941), shame for being poor (Adair, 2002), embarrassment and shame from one's culture as a results of internalization of one's cultural inferiority (David & Okazaki, 2006b), body shame as a result of being exposed to sexist ideology (Calogero & Jost, 2011) or self-objectification (Fredrickson et al., 1998), shame among battered women (Buchbinder & Eisikovits, 2003), as well as disgust toward one's own menstrual cycle as a result of internalization of sexually objectified view of physical appearance (Roberts, 2004) are derived from a tacit (ideological) acquiescence to the status quo (e.g., Jost, 2011; pp. 239-243).

Besides, there are other examples of system-based emotions such as experiencing anger, frustration, distress, fear evoked by perceptions of unequal distribution of household labor (Lively, Powell, Giest, & Steelman, 2008; Ross & Van Willigen, 1996) and feeling decreased entitlement as a result of justification of inequality (Jost, 1997), which is closely related to "paradoxical contentment" (see Major, 1994). Additionally, displaying greater romantic interest in women with benevolent sexist attributes under system threat (Lau, Kay, & Spencer, 2008) or liking tall poppies who are "evidence" for the American Dream (Mandisodza, Jost, & Unzueta, 2006) can be considered as the examples of system-based emotions. All of these phenomena cannot be fully understood without a societal or system-level analysis. The current research focused on system-level analysis of emotions to better understand emotional experiences embedded in the social status quo.

1.2. Taxonomy Levels of Emotions

Stangor and Jost (1997) argued that social psychologists investigate phenomena at three distinct levels of analysis, namely individual, group, and system levels of analyses. In the context of emotions, individual level of analysis focuses on unique properties of individuals or personal identity such as personal cognitive reappraisals, physiological states or personal experiences (Davidson et al., 2003; Ortony et al., 1998). Adopting a group level of analysis seeks to explain characteristics of ingroup, outgroup, or intergroup relations. According to this perspective, salient group membership dictates the group emotions (Mackie et al., 2008). For example, being a fan of a soccer team, a member of a school board committee, or a political party may trigger group emotions. Likewise, feeling *schadenfreude*, a pleasure derived from misfortunes of others when a hated rival team loses is an example for group emotions (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003).

However, a system level of analysis seeks to explain characteristics of micro and macro social systems and social structures which involve individual, groups and reactions to system related ideology, culture, and political atmosphere. Solak et al. (2012) noted that system-level emotions can be negative, such as fear, anxiety, outrage, frustration derived from bureaucratic injustice, dictatorship, unemployment, poverty, economic crises, or unstable political systems as well as positive, such as satisfaction with the current status quo, trust in government, honor derived from sexist practices, hope and confidence regarding economic growth in the country or joy and amusement evoked by successful protests. As Goodwin et al. (2001) indicated that “Moral outrage over feared practices, the shame of spoiled collective identities or the pride of refurbished ones, the indignation of perceived encroachment on traditional rights, the joy of imagining a new and better society and participating in a movement toward that end... They are related to moral institutions, felt obligations and rights, and information about expected effects...” (p. 13).

A number of previous studies and reviews on emotions in social psychology have addresses the effects of social structure such as group hierarchies, power, and inequality on emotions from the perspective of group-level analysis derived from

social identity and relative deprivation theories (e.g., see Iyer & Leach, 2008; Kaiser & Major, 2004; Kessler et al., 2010; Leach, 2010; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2007; Mummendey, Kessler, Klink, & Mielke, 1999; Ray et al., 2014; Simon & Klandermans, 2001; Thomas, McGarty, & Mavor, 2009; Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). For example, research on emotion within the framework of social identity theory suggests that social identification is necessary for experiencing “intergroup emotions” (e.g., E. R. Smith & Mackie, 2008). These studies have made impressive contribution to social psychology literature by extending the concept of emotion to the group context and by demonstrating how emotions are significant parts of the stereotypes and prejudices (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008; Smith & Mackie, 2008). Therefore, this expansive work has challenged the individual-centered conceptualizations of emotions and linked them to the group-level characteristics.

However, system-level emotions are not feelings simply derived from being a member of a larger or more inclusive group, but rather they are evoked by the activation or accessibility of structural and ideological characteristics of the status quo. As Solak et al. (2012) suggested experiencing emotions triggered by or directed at the system may not necessarily need any “us” versus “them” categorization. For instance, there is no need to identify oneself as either a capitalist or a non-capitalist to feel emotions toward Wall Street protests or to identify with any liberal political party to participate in protests against existing inequalities in society.

In this regard, Solak et al. (2012) argued that as shown in Figure 1.1, individuals may experience emotions related to individual and group processes, but also related to system-level processes (cf. Jost, 2011). Based on Figure 1.1, Solak et al. (2012) suggested that system-level emotions either elicited by some characteristics of the system or directed toward individual, group, and the system. Specifically, while system-based emotions “as those emotions that are experienced as a direct or indirect result of subjective or objective system-level characteristics” (p.659), system-targeted emotions, on the other hand, are defined as emotions that “originate on the basis of individual, group, and system-level attributes” (p. 680). In this regard, paths 7, 8, 9, reflect system-based emotions, emotions derived from, but not restricted by system justification motive. On the other hand, paths 3, 6, 9 reflect

system-targeted emotions such as emotions toward capitalist or communist system. The current research focused on system-based emotions, rather than system-targeted emotions.

Moreover, previous conceptualizations of emotions have largely reduced the system-based reactions such as paths 7, 8, and 9 to path 4 and 5 under the category of “intergroup emotions”. For instance, stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2002) conceptualized emotions derived from perceived social status and competence of the target group under the category of intergroup emotions. Indeed, the ideology of meritocracy, that is considered as a system-justifying ideology, results in stereotyping high and low status groups as competent versus incompetent (Power et al., 2011). Additionally, endorsing complementary stereotypes (e.g., high status groups are agentic; low status groups are communal), which are linked with certain emotions and have motivational implications, are dependent on the degree of the chronic and temporary activation of system justification motive (Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermandi, & Mosso, 2005). Similarly, Kaiser and Major (2004) conceptualized internalization of inferiority (e.g., African American children preferred white dolls over black dolls) and Jewish anti-Semitism as “individual” or “collective” self-directed emotions. Specifically, outgroup favoritism among disadvantaged groups are linked with supporting of system-justifying beliefs (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2003; Jost et al., 2004). I do not claim that previous categorizations are erroneous. Rather, I argue that researchers should take into account system-level analysis, such as the impacts of characteristics of social systems on emotions, and seek to trace the emotions regarding status quo by considering system-level motives, attributes, and tendencies in order to fully understand the dynamics of emotions in social and political systems.

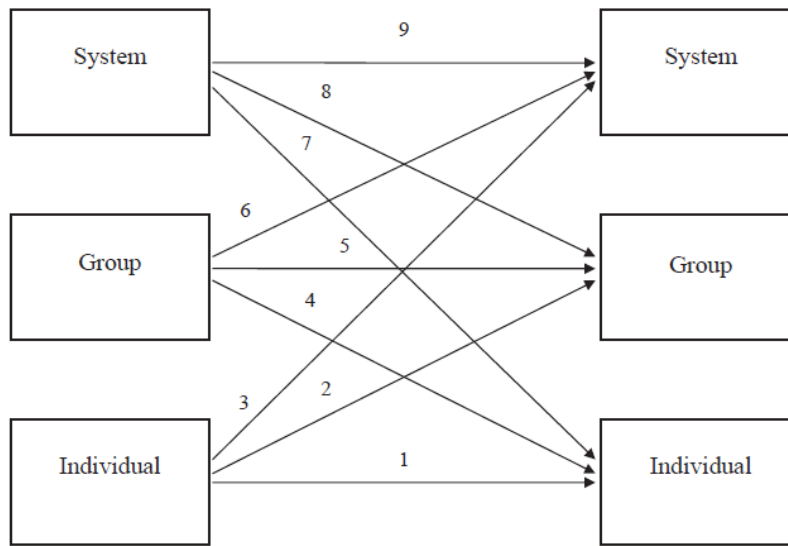


Figure 1.1. *Individual, group, and system levels of analysis (causes and effects).*
This illustration is adapted from Stangor and Jost (1997; p. 341)

1.3. System Justification Theory

The conception of system-level emotions is derived in part from system justification theory, which offers a social-cognitive analysis of the individual's motivation to defend and justify the existing social systems (Jost et al., 2004; Jost et al., 2010; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012, Van der Toorn & Jost, 2014). The theory suggests that people are motivated to defend, rationalize, justify and maintain the social, economic, and political systems in which they live. System justification refers to “the psychological process whereby prevailing conditions, be they social, political, economic, sexual, or legal, are accepted, explained, and justified simply because they exist” (Jost & Banaji, 1994, p. 11). System is considered not only as large scale-social systems, including economic, political, and national institutions, but also as small scale social systems or norms of networks, such as high school and families (Jost et al., 2011; Wakslak et al., 2011).

A large amount of accumulated evidence from different social groups and countries based on social class, gender, sexual orientation, age, race, ethnic groups

have shown that people accept and maintain the status quo (Cichocka & Jost; 2014; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Henry & Saul, 2006; Jost, Pelham et al., 2003; Kay & Jost, 2003; Kilianski & Rudman, 1998; Lau., et al., 2008). Research has demonstrated that both advantaged and disadvantaged group members internalize the status quo on both explicit and implicit measures (e.g., Ashburn-Nardo & Johnson, 2008; Ashburn & Nardo et al., 2003; Bonnot & Jost, 2014; Jost et al., 2001; Rudman et al., 2002; Uhlmann et al., 2002).

The theory argues that ego, group, and system-level motives are distinct phenomena with their distinct implications (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Specifically, while ego justification serves to protect and enhance a positive self-image, group justification motivates individuals to develop and maintain a positive group image. System justification motive, however, serves to protect the perceived legitimacy of the status quo and leads individuals to exaggerate the accuracy of existing social order (e.g., Jost, Pelham et al., 2003).

SJT also claims that the strength of system justification goal is expected to vary across situations and dispositional factors. More specifically, system justification goal is more pronounced when the system is perceived to be (a) threatened, (b) inevitable or inescapable, (c) the individual feels dependent on or controlled by the system or its representatives, (d) older; and (e) stable (see Blanchard & Eidelman, 2013; Kay & Friesen, 2011; Laurin, Gaucher, & Kay, 2013). Specifically, threat to the system increases the engagement to system justification (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). Past research showed that threats to the legitimacy of social system leads individuals to use stereotypes to justify inequalities in the system (Jost et al., 2005; Kay et al., 2005) and leads men to prefer female romantic partners who confirm sexist system justifying stereotypes as compared to those who not (Lau et al., 2005). Moreover, thinking of international terrorism, as source of threat, increases system justification tendencies (Ullrich & Cohrs, 2007).

Similarly, when individuals are dependent to a given context, they are more motivated to justify the social structure (Shepherd & Kay, 2012; Van der Toorn et al., 2011). For example, when undergraduate participants were made to feel dependent to their country, they defended the policy of the government more than when they were made to feel dependent to their university (Kay et al., 2009).

According to SJT, the legitimacy of people's own system (e.g., university, health care) on which they are relatively more dependent is more psychologically important than the legitimacy of other institutions (Kay & Friesen, 2011).

In addition, research has demonstrated that people are motivated to justify the systems that are relatively more inescapable (Kay & Friesen, 2011). For instance, restricted freedom of movement leads individuals to justify the status quo (Laurin, Shepherd, & Kay, 2010). Because people feel "stuck" with a particular system, facing with and recognizing the system's problems increases the threat to the system (Laurin et al., 2010). In one laboratory experiment, Kay et al. (2009) found that when the country becomes inescapable, even with the obvious evidence for income inequality in the current political system, participants perceived the status quo as more desirable compared to the participants in a low inescapable condition.

Because system justification tendencies indicate fundamental human needs and motives, they are psychologically appealing (Hennes, Nam, Stern, & Jost, 2012). Therefore, individuals' evaluations about status quo are influenced by their degree of epistemic needs to decrease uncertainty and instability (e.g., uncertainty avoidance), existential needs to achieve safety and reduce threat (e.g., eliminate fear of death, system threat) and relational needs to affiliate with similar others by sharing social reality (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost, Ledgerwood, & Hardin, 2007). In line with this formulation, a meta-analysis by Jost et al. (2003b) showed that uncertainty avoidance, intolerance of ambiguity, personal needs for order, structure, and closure, perceptions of a dangerous world, and death anxiety are positively related to system-justifying ideologies (see also Jost et al., 2007). Hennes et al., (2012) found that heightened epistemic, existential, and relational needs result in supporting more system-justifying ideologies and movements and less system-challenging ideologies and movements. These needs are conceptualized as sources of system justification goal, motivating individuals to perceive the system as legitimate and stable (Jost, Pietrzak, Liviatan, Mandisodza, & Napier, 2008; Liviatan & Jost, 2014).

Jost et al. (2008) suggested that system justification operates as both a conscious and unconscious goal, and thereby carries potential features of goal pursuit. As a result, individuals not only tend to believe but also *want* to believe that the social system is stable and fair (Jost et al., 2008; Jost et al., 2010; Liviatan & Jost,

2014; Kay et al., 2009). Research lines on goals and goal pursuit converge on the idea that “individuals have desired states toward which they aspire and continue striving toward these ends until the experienced state sufficiently approximates the desired state” (Gollwitzer & Moskowitz, 1996, p.362). In view of SJT, ideological endorsement, stereotyping, ingroup versus outgroup favoritism, rationalizations operate as different means of achieving system justification goal (Jost et al., 2008). They indeed provide interchangeable means of attaining the system justification goal (Jost et al., 2010; Kay et al., 2005). In this regard, the activation of system justification goal motivates individuals to restore their belief toward the status quo by leading them to adopt system justification means. Supporting this notion, a growing body of research has demonstrated the fundamental motivations for system justification tendencies (Haines & Jost, 2000; Ledgerwood et al., 2008; Liviatan & Jost, 2014; Jost, Glaser et al., 2003; Kay et al., 2009). Jost and his colleagues (1997) suggested that “stability and hierarchy generally provide reassurance and structure, whereas change and equality imply greater chaos and unpredictability” (p. 990). Then, achieving system justification goal via various means can reduce uncertainty and threat (Jost et al., 2008).

Ideologies or belief systems are important ways for bolstering the social status quo (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady, 2003; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Lerner & Miller, 1978; Major, 1994; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Examples of system justifying ideologies include the Protestant work ethic, belief in a just world, meritocratic ideology, economic system justification, political conservatism, religious fundamentalism, social dominance orientation, right-wing authoritarianism, and fair market ideology. All these system-justifying beliefs explain social systems in a way that supports and justifies the status quo.

Importantly, by drawing also on the logic of cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957), SJT posited that individuals who are at the most disadvantaged position in the system experience the highest ideological dissonance caused by the discrepancy between one’s beliefs about the system and pervasive inequalities in society (Jost et al., 2008) or by the discrepancy between system justification and group/ego justification motives, which leads them to have the highest desire to justify

the status quo (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). System justification among disadvantaged groups may be derived from the need to reduce cognitive dissonance regarding participating in a system that has high personal costs (e.g., Blanton, George, & Crocker, 2001; but see Brandt, 2013 for a critique of this idea). According to the theory, both advantaged status and disadvantaged group members contribute to system justification by sharing dominant ideology which favors the self and the group interests of advantaged group members (Jost, 2001). As a result, the three motives (ego, group, and system justifying motives) are generally consistent and complementary to each other for those who have advantageous status in the social system, whereas they are in conflict with each other for those who are disadvantaged (Jost & Burgess, 2000; Jost & Thompson, 2000; O'Brien & Major, 2005; O'Brien, Major, & Gilbert, 2012). When the salience of individual and collective interests is low, members of disadvantaged groups tend to support the unequal social arrangements (Jost, Pelham, et al., 2003). Supporting this, Henry and Saul (2006) demonstrated that compared to members of a high ethnic status group, the members of a low status ethnic group in Bolivia, which is one of the poorest countries in the world, were least likely to criticize the government and most likely to believe that the government takes care of all of its citizens. This phenomenon is difficult to be understood from the perspectives from social identity theory that emphasized on ingroup bias and individuals' motivation to achieve a positive group distinctiveness (see Jost et al., 2004).

In order to explain system justification tendencies among disadvantaged groups, Jost and Hunyady (2002) suggested that system justification has a palliative function. Confirming legitimacy of status quo increases the perceptions that the world is familiar, controllable, safe, and fair place, and thus, system justification serves as the basis for coping strategies (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; 2005; Jost et al., 2008). Hence, both correlational and experimental studies showed the palliative function of system justification, at least in the short run. Adopting system justification beliefs increases satisfaction with status quo, positive affect, life satisfaction, subjective sense of security, and reduced moral outrage, cognitive dissonance, anger, frustration, helplessness both in advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Dalbert, 2002; Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Rankin et

al., 2009). For instance, Jost, Pelham et al. (2003) demonstrated that endorsement of meritocratic ideology predicted greater satisfaction with one's economic situation for rich and poor individuals (see also Kluegel & Smith, 1986).

However, the theory also suggests that because justification of status quo evokes psychological dissonance among disadvantaged groups, bolstering the status quo has numerous disadvantages in the long run, including outgroup favoritism, lower self-esteem, neuroticism and well-being for disadvantaged groups but has advantages in the short run (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2003; 2008; Jost & Burgess, 2000; Jost, Burgess, & Mosso, 2001; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Jost et al., 2002; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Quinn & Crocker, 1999). Overall, system justification theory has provided important tools in understanding cognitive, social, motivational, and behavioral underpinnings of social stability versus social change.

1.4. Characteristics of System-Level Emotions

Drawing on the theoretical distinction among ego, group, and system justification motives, individuals may experience emotions not only for the individual and group processes but also on the basis of system-level processes (Solak et al., 2012). Three characteristics of system-level emotions are as follows: (I) System-based emotions reflect one's subjective as well as objective standing in the social order; (II) System-based emotions reflect one's subjective appraisal of the social order; and (III) System-level emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors, including behaviors that promote system stability vs. change. The current study attempts to provide the empirical support for these propositions.

1.4.1. System-Level Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order

Both sociological and psychological research has converged on the idea that social status has implications for emotional processes (Ridgeway, 2006; Tiedens, 2000). Because "a person's position in a social structure (class, gender, generational membership, etc.) determines the type, frequency, and intensity of emotions that will be directed to the person or aroused in him or her" (Gordon, 1990, p.161),

experiencing and expressing emotions are not equal across status structures (Barbalet, 1998; Keltner et al., 2003; Kraus, Piff, & Keltner, 2011; Stets & Turner, 2008). In other words, emotions function as “place markers” by reflecting one’s “place” in the hierarchical systems (Clark, 1990) or have different “epidemiology” (Thoits, 1989) across status structures, which result in legitimizing and sustaining the status quo (Jost, Wakslak, & Tyler, 2008; Ridgeway, 2006). This form of reciprocal link between emotions and social status indeed hinders social change (Tiedens, 2000).

Consistent with this observation, past research findings from psychological studies of status and power differences demonstrated that individuals and groups differing in social status or power tend to experience qualitatively different emotional states (Keltner et al., 2003; Mackie et al., 2000; Tiedens, 2000, 2001; Van Kleef, Oveis, Van der Löwe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, 2008). For example, in a large scale cross-cultural study, it was found that whereas men displayed more “dominant” emotions (e.g., anger) and tried to control their fear and surprise, women displayed more “submissive” emotions (e.g. sadness, fear) and controlled their anger, contempt, and disgust (Fischer et al., 2004; Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayani, Kouznetsova, & Krupp, 1998). Conway, Di Fazio, and Mayman (1999) also showed that while low status individuals were perceived as inhibiting their expression of anger and disgust, high status individuals were perceived as displaying these emotions readily. Likewise, it was demonstrated that high-status individuals are free to express anger and resentment (Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990). Moreover, perceived higher power/upper class individuals (versus lower power/class individuals) are less emphatic and less accurate in perceiving the emotions of others (Cote, Piff, & Willer, 2013; Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). As compared to lower-class individuals, upper-class individuals not only reduce their empathy as a response to the suffering of others (Piff, Kraus, Côté, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010; Stellar, Manzo, Kraus, & Keltner, 2012), but also identified different emotions less accurately (Kraus, Cote, & Keltner, 2010).

In addition, individuals seem to use others’ emotions to infer their status using social expectations related to emotions, Tiedens, Ellsworth, and Mesquita (2000) demonstrated that participants who read a description of an angry individual

assumed that the individual had high status, whereas the description of a sad individual leads participants to infer that the individual had low status. Similarly, in positive situations, proud individuals were assumed to be high status, but appreciative individuals were assumed to be low status. Tiedens (2001) also found that the target who exhibited anger was thought to deserve more status than the target who exhibited sadness.

Mosquera, Van Vienen, and Manstead (2004) made a distinction between “powerful” emotions such as anger, contempt, disgust, and “powerless” emotions such as sadness, fear, shame, and guilt. Whereas powerful emotions were linked to assertiveness and control reflecting the traits related to high status, powerless emotions implied self-blame, inability to change the situation, and vulnerability, which are usually linked with low status. All of these correlational and experimental studies showed that system-level emotions reflect standing in the social order.

Consistent with this proposition, Jost et al. (2008) described the results of “Star Power” simulation of social interactions that was used to create three groups which differ in power, status, and privilege. It was hypothesized that creating a system of relative inequality among participants would lead them to experience some level of emotional distress as a result of their standing in the social order. Consistent with the previous psychological and sociological accounts (e.g., Barbalet, 1998; Branscombe, 1998; Gurr, 1970; J. L. Hochschild, 1981; Walster, Berschild, & Walster, 1973), researchers found that the most advantaged group reported more satisfaction and guilt than less advantaged groups who reported more frustration.

Based on the documented evidence, the first hypothesis of current dissertation was that system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order. Specifically, individuals with high social status will report more positive and less negative system-based emotions as compared to individuals with low social status. In addition, due to the palliative function of system justification motivation, system justification is expected to moderate the relationship between system-based emotions and social status, in a way that system justification will serve as a buffer for detrimental effects of low social status on negative system-based emotions.

1.4.2. System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

The second proposition of system-level emotions is that system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. In other words, system-based emotions are affected by one's ideological appraisal of the status quo. Supporting this notion, as mentioned above, growing body of evidence demonstrates that justifying the system justification has a palliative function, which allows individuals to feel better, happier, and more satisfied by increasing their satisfaction with the social arrangements (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Jost, Pelham et al., 2003). In other words, system justification makes people feel better about their situation (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). It has been previously shown system justification increases positive affect and decrease negative affect (Cichocka & Jost, 2014; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Napier & Jost, 2008; Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Rankin et al., 2009). For example, a survey study by Chapleau and Oswald (2014) yielded that less moral outrage at human suffering was predicted by more gender-specific system justification. Similarly, McCoy et al. (2013) demonstrated that endorsing meritocracy among lower-status women was positively related to self-esteem and physical health. Wakslak et al. (2007) provided a more direct evidence of the hypothesis that system justification alleviates emotional distress. Specifically, priming a system justification mind-set (by reading "rags to riches" stories) brought about a reduction of negative affect and moral outrage regarding inequality in society.

Additionally, the "Star Power" study designed by Jost et al. (2008) allowed researchers to test the additional hypothesis that emotional distress derived from inequality among participants would be alleviated by supporting system-justifying ideologies, including the beliefs that the system is fair, legitimate, and meritocratic (e.g., Jost, Blount et al., 2003; Kluegel & Smith, 1986). In the experiment, members of the advantaged group were allowed to draw valuable chips that represent privileged opportunities in society. Moreover, individual mobility was included by the system. Generally speaking, the most advantaged group maintained dominance and determined the rule changes which are system-serving. Results demonstrated that supporting system-justifying statements related to the rules and procedures of the

game was associated with increased satisfaction for low, medium, and high power groups, (b) decreased frustration for members of the medium and low power groups, and (c) decreased guilt for members of the most powerful groups. These results are not only consistent with the palliative function of system justification but also the second characteristic of system-based emotions, which is that system-based emotions reflect one's subjective (i.e. ideological) appraisal of the social order.

Jost and Kramer (2003) pointed out that emotionally relevant reactions to social, political, and economic system were ranging from extreme paranoia to more moderate forms of rejection or distrust and idealization view. Chronic or temporary levels of system justification motivation can predict individuals' tendency within this range from paranoia to idealization. For instance, a study by Crocker, Luhtanen, Broadnax, and Blaine (1999) showed that African Americans who showed strong support for "system-blaming ideologies" are more likely to subscribe to various conspiracy theories about the U.S. government's role in perpetuating racial inequalities. Reviewing studies from Post-Communist countries, Cichocka and Jost (2014) demonstrated that lower system justification was associated with higher political alienation which captures "relatively enduring sense of estrangement from existing social institutions and leaders" (Citrin, McClosky, Shanks, & Sniderman, 1975, p.3). Political alienation is closely related to social cynicism, which is associated with lower life-satisfaction (Bond et al., 2004).

Considering the accumulated findings, in the current dissertation, it was hypothesized that system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. Specifically, system-based emotions will be dependent on the person's degree of system justification. Thus, system justification is expected to be the strongest predictor of system emotions, even after controlling group justification.

1.4.3. System-Level Emotions Affect System-Relevant Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The third characteristic of system-level emotions is that system-level emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors, including behaviors that promote system stability vs. change. In other words, system-level emotions affect a wide

range of system actions. A growing body of research in the sociological theories of protest and rebellion has pointed out the role of emotions, such as frustration, moral outrage, anger in motivating participation in the protests (e.g., Barbalet, 1998; Goodwin et al., 2001b; Gurr, 1970; Jasper, 2014). For example, Jasper (1998) identified the examples of emotions which are prevalent in social movements such as outrage toward nuclear plans, fears of radiation and wars, trust or mistrust toward governmental actors or anger at governmental decision. Others argued that mitigating of fear among protestors (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2001) or venting moral outrage and anger against the targets of the social protests (Goodwin & Jasper, 2006) are critical for collective action.

Indeed, social psychological research, influenced by social identity and relative deprivation theories, has also showed the predominant role of emotions in collective protests (Becker, Tausch, & Wagner, 2011; Jost & Kay, 2010; Jost et al., 2012; Klandermans, 1997; Montada & Schneider, 1989; Iyer et al., 2007; Shepherd et al., 2013; Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010; Van Zomeren et al.; 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2004). Past research has documented that satisfaction with the system reduces system-related action tendencies, whereas moral outrage and anger are the central components of the social protests and supporting social policies (Gurr, 1970; Montada & Scheinder, 1989; Nepstad & Smith, 2001; Smith, Cronin, & Kessler, 2008). Specifically, for example, Wakslak et al. (2007) showed that system justification mindset not only reduced negative affect and moral outrage, but also reduction in moral outrage was associated with a withdrawal of support for redistributive policies (e.g., willingness to donate money). Chapleau and Oswald (2014) found that moral outrage is negatively related to rape-myth acceptance which reflects system-justifying ideology. Jost et al. (2012) conducted a series of experiments to examine how system justification process affects commitment to protests. May Day protestors in Greece who were exposed to the complementary stereotypes (“poor but happy”) reported less anger at the government and less willingness to participate in protests compared to participants who were exposed to the noncomplementary stereotype examples (“poor and unhappy”). In this regard, system justification not only motivates individuals to think and behave on behalf of the social arrangements but also feel in a way supportive of the status quo. All of

these emotions are related to certain aspects of the status quo and they regulate actions in ways that promote either system change or system stability (e.g., Brown & Pickerill, 2009; Tiedens, 2000).

Additionally, the role of collective guilt and political trust-emotions that are linked with some aspects of the social system- are significantly important in system-related action tendencies. For instance, system justification tendencies are associated with the denial of environmental problems such as global warming and less engagement in pro-environmental action (Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith, 2009) but feeling collective guilt is related to willingness to engage in mitigation (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2010). In contrast, political trust (trust to government)-which is not emotion but has emotional consequences-is negatively related to supporting protests and positively predicted by higher levels of hierarchal orientation, conflict avoidance, and perceived responsiveness of government (Shi, 2001).

There are other examples regarding the effect of system emotions on actions. Because shame and embarrassment are more likely to be evoked when individuals violate the moral standards, they are related to social conformity (Barbalet, 1998) and play a role in bolstering social hierarchies in the society (Clark, 1990; see also Keltner & Haidt, 1990). In line with this argument, Jost (1995) claimed that the belief that “protest is embarrassing” is harmful for social change because it leads individuals to embrace or be afraid to voice their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Also, shame and “protected” honor derived from patriarchal system arrangements are central reinforcements of honor killings (e.g., Wikan, 2008), which represents the extreme case of system justification. Similarly, fear, threat, and emotional disgust are embedded in the system justifying ideologies, such as conservatism which is closely associated with the resistance to change (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Overall, system-level analysis of emotions may have potential to highlight how emotions and emotion management play roles in social stability versus social change. Based on these considerations, it is hypothesized that system emotions will uniquely predict action tendencies and behaviors above and beyond the effects of individual and group emotions. Moreover, system emotions are expected to mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors, in a way that system

justification both directly and indirectly- via system emotions- will undermine support for collective action.

1.5. System-Level Emotions, Emotion Regulation, and System Justification

Supporting Solak et al.'s (2012) arguments, the current study suggests that system-level emotions should exert a unique characteristic that differentiates them from the individual-and group-based emotions. Moreover, regulating routes of system emotions can also play a significant role in imbuing the status quo with legitimacy and stability.

Emotion regulation has increasingly attracted research attention in the past two decades (Gross, 2007). In the literature, emotion regulation as part of affect regulation (Gross, 1998a) has been commonly defined as “the ways individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and express these emotions” (Gross, 1999a, p. 557). During emotion regulation, emotions are initiated, decreased, increased, changed, maintained, inhibited, and managed by individuals (Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2004; Gross, 1999b; Thompson, 1994) congruent with their goals (Gross, 2013). Therefore, emotion regulation is a goal directed process in which intensity, duration and types of emotion experienced are affected (Gross & Thompson, 2007). Gross (1999b) has conceptualized emotion regulation as a “heterogeneous set of processes by which emotions are themselves regulated” (p. 557). According to him, this conceptualization underlines regulation of emotions rather than regulation by emotions indicating that emotions regulate other psychological processes such as behavior and thoughts (Gross & Munoz, 1995).

Emotions are regulated both consciously (Bonano, Papa, Lalande, Westphal, & Coifman, 2004; Gross, 1999a; Gross & Levenson, 1993; Oschner, Bunge, Gross, & Gabrieli, 2002) and nonconsciously (Bargh & Williams, 2007; Koole & Rothermund, 2011; Mauss, Bunge, & Gross, 2007; Mauss, Cook, & Gross, 2007; Williams, Bargh, Nocera, & Gray, 2009), directly and indirectly (Halperin, 2014) by intrinsic processes (regulation of emotion by oneself) and extrinsic processes (regulation of emotions by others) (Gross et al., 2011; Thompson, 1994). Emotion regulation is also linked with biological and social adaptations which allow

individuals to give a rapid and reliable response to hostile and hospitable stimuli (Koole & Kuhl, 2007) and to achieve their various goals (Koole, 2009; Thompson, 1994). Furthermore, emotion regulation plays a substantial role in impression management, relationship management and satisfaction, self-preservation, and coping with social exclusion (Campos, Frankel, & Camras, 2004; DeWall, Twenge, Koole, Baumeister, Marquez, & Reid, 2011; Jostmann, Karremans, & Finkenaur, 2011; Manstead & Fischer, 2000; Richards, Butler, & Gross, 2003). In their comprehensive review, John and Gross (2004) claimed that healthy emotion regulation improves interpersonal behavior, authenticity, and well-being. Hence, emotion regulation has critical implications for mental and physical health (Aldao, Nolen-Hoeksema & Schweizer, 2010; Gross & Munoz, 1995; Hoop, Troy, & Mauss, 2011).

Researchers studying emotion regulation have proposed a number of strategies for the management of emotional arousal (see Koole, 2009; Larsen & Prizmic, 2004 for a review). Some of these strategies were distraction, suppression, cognitive reappraisal, downward social comparison, problem-directed action, seeking support, withdrawal, and self-isolation. Also, researchers grouped these strategies in a number of categories or dimensions. These categories were labeled as behavioral versus cognitive (Augustine & Hemenover, 2009; Larsen, 2000), engagement versus avoidance (Augustine & Hemenover, 2009), affect-directed versus situation-directed (Parkinson & Totterdal, 1999), and focus on the situation versus focus on the self (Larsen, 2000).

One of the most popular approaches to emotion regulation strategies was proposed by Gross (1998, 2002, 2014a). In his comprehensive model called “process model of emotion regulation”, the various strategies used for regulating emotional arousal were identified. These strategies were categorized as antecedent-focused strategies and response-focused strategies, with the former being used before the emotions have been generated, whereas the latter is employed for regulating emotions after they have been aroused. On the basis of this distinction, Gross pointed out five regulation strategies of emotion regulation, labeled as (1) situation selection, (2) situation modification, (3) attentional deployment, (4) cognitive change, and (5) response modulation. In his model, the first four strategies were categorized under

antecedent-focused regulation, while the response modulation strategy was categorized under response-focused regulation.

The current dissertation focuses on the two important emotion regulation strategies, which have direct implications for system level emotion regulations, namely, expressive suppression and cognitive reappraisal. I chose to focus on these two strategies among others due to two reasons. First, expressive suppression and cognitive reappraisal are two major emotion regulation strategies that have received most empirical attention in emotion regulation literature. Second, as Gross (1998b) pointed out in his process model of emotion regulation, and as described below, timing of a regulation strategy is of importance for its effectiveness and implications. Because suppression and cognitive reappraisal occur at different points of emotion-generative process, they have different impacts and consequences.

While cognitive reappraisal refers to changing the emotional experience by changing the ways of thinking, a suppression strategy is aimed at inhibiting emotionally expressive behaviors (Gross, 1998a,b). Past research has revealed that reappraisal and suppression exhibit different consequences for physiology, cognition, and subjective experience (Gross, 1998a,b). More specifically, on the one hand, reappraisal can be used before any emotion occurs (e.g., antecedent-focused regulation), on the other hand, suppression can be employed after emotion occurs (e.g., response-focused regulation). In other words, suppression is expected to modify the process before emotion responses have been completely generated whereas suppression affects the process after emotion responses have been fully generated.

Because of this difference, reappraisal is more healthy and effective strategy than suppression in making people feel less negative emotions (Garnefski & Kraaij, 2006; Gross, 2002; Gross & John, 2003; Troy, Wilhelm, Shallcross, & Mauss, 2010). Research has demonstrated that reappraisal is related to more positive and less negative emotion expression whereas suppression is associated with the reverse pattern (Gross & John, 2003). Following this evidence, it is plausible to propose that system emotions are affected by emotion regulation processes, specifically by suppression and cognitive reappraisal.

Importantly, individuals predominantly try to reduce negative emotions though they rarely regulate positive emotions (e.g., happiness). Hedonic concerns, including motivation for avoiding pain and seeking pleasure, are among the powerful motives underlying emotion regulation (Tice & Wallace, 2000). However, individuals do not always regulate their emotions due to hedonic reasons (Manstead & Fischer, 2000). They sometimes decrease positive emotions and increase negative emotions, which reflect the instrumental account of emotion regulation (Erber, Wegner, & Theriault, 1996; Gross & Thompson, 2007; Maus & Tamir, 2013; Tamir, 2009).

People use emotion regulation strategies and emotions to the extent that these emotions have instrumental benefits (Tamir, 2009). Especially, when unpleasant emotions lead individuals to attain their long-term goals, they choose to experience negative emotions, such as fear and anger (Tamir, 2009; Tamir & Ford, 2009; Tamir, Mitchell, & Gross, 2008). Because people want to maximize utility (e.g., long-term pleasure), they prefer to experience emotions that are congruent with and thus useful in the current context. For instance, when people expect to collaborate with another, they are motivated to increase their happiness, but when they expect to confront with another, they are motivated to increase their anger (e.g., Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tamir et al., 2008). Therefore, consistent with a goal framework, emotion regulation is closely affected by the motive people have in the current context. In other words, emotion regulation strategies are adopted to the extent that they help people attain their current emotion goals (Tamir, 2013). Consistent with this line of arguments, it is assumed that system justification goal may lead individuals to employ emotion regulation strategy to effectively attain the goals at the system level. In this regard, compared to the individual level of individual emotion regulation strategies, system emotion regulation strategies, emphasizing the routes of regulating emotions toward national system, may be strongly related to the system-level emotions as well as system justification. Although individual emotion regulation strategies reflect trait-based process, system emotion regulation strategies are context dependent and triggered by the motive embedded in the social context. Specifically, because emotion regulation is affected by the motive in the current context, compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system emotion regulation strategies will be

strongly related to system emotions, which are triggered by system justification motive.

In the recent years, research on emotion regulation has focused on understanding how regulation affects political attitudes. For instance, a study by Lee, Sohn, and Fowler (2013) demonstrated that trait reappraisal is associated with lower support for conservative policies. Other studies conducted in intergroup context has showed that training individuals in reappraisal strategy in the context of Israeli-Palestinian conflict reduced anger and increased support for conciliatory policies over aggressive policies. In addition, reappraisal seems to lead lower intolerance to outgroup members via increasing democratic values and decreasing negative emotions (Halperin et al., 2013). Because reappraisal, as mentioned before, includes changing a meaning attached to a situation and a stimulus in a way that alters their emotional impacts (Gross, 2002). These research findings can be considered as a direct (explicit) way of emotion regulation (see Halperin, 2014; Mauss, Bunge, & Gross, 2007). In a typical training of such direct emotion regulation, participants are trained or probed directly to regulate their emotions (Halperin, 2014). In these studies, the researchers have examined the role of emotion regulation strategies on subsequent emotional responses.

However, certain forms of emotion regulation may indirectly control emotions. In an indirect (implicit) emotion regulation, individuals are exposed to concentrate on messages aimed at changing specific cognitive appraisals which also alter the relevant emotions (Halperin, 2014). Indirect regulation strategies also alter cognitive reappraisals that are relevant to discrete emotions. For instance, Clanton (2006) demonstrated how envy is reduced by ideological rationalization of inequality, particularly luck, the will of God, and the Protestant work ethic in capitalist society, which in turn, results in the system stability. Similarly, findings within the SJT framework can also be reinterpreted from the perspective of indirect emotion regulation. System justification tools serve as effective emotion regulation strategies through the process of altering the meaning of events. For instance, previous findings from SJT literature have demonstrated that ideological rationalization (Kay, Jimenez, & Jost, 2002) or complementary stereotypes (Kay, Jost, & Young, 2005) allow individuals to change the ways they think and feel about

the status quo, which in turn affect system-related action tendencies and behaviors (e.g., Jost et al., 2012).

Suppression, however, is linked with power and social status. Some evidence suggests that, compared to members of majority groups, members of minority groups are more likely to engage in a suppression strategy (Gross & John, 2003). Evidence has indicated that using suppression chronically is associated with low well-being, low self-esteem, low inauthenticity, low environmental mastery, and low a sense of control (Gross & John, 2003), which represents powerless/submissive emotions, and it is positively associated with uncertainty avoidance and power distance at the cultural level (Matsumoto et al., 2008). Therefore, trait (or individual) suppression will be more likely to be related with negative affect and less likely to be associated with positive affect at the individual level.

Moreover, emotion suppression is linked with lower willingness to participate in collective action (Gill & Matheson, 2006). When individuals do not express their negative emotions (e.g., anger) toward some characteristics of the system, they will avoid directly confront with those who are responsible for the unequal distribution of the resources in society. This may reduce individuals' efficacy beliefs (see Gill & Matheson, 2006) that is closely associated with collective action (e.g., Cohen-Chen, Halperin, Saguy, & Van Zomeren, 2014; Van Zomeren et al., 2014). Therefore, suppressing negative affect toward the characteristics of the social system contributes to social stability over social change. In other words, suppressing negative feelings toward the status quo is a significant obstacle to attaining social change. Following this rationale, it can be argued that the more people are motivated to defend the existing system, the more they are reluctant to express their negative emotions towards the status quo. Hence, compared to individual emotion regulation strategies which are related to personal outcomes, emotion regulation strategies targeted at the system (the emotion regulation strategies that have implications for the society) would be more strongly related to system justification. Also, individual and system suppression strategies would have different effects on individual and system emotions. It could be drawn from the literature that trait (individual) suppression will be related to less positive and more negative individual emotions, whereas using the expressive suppression strategy is expected to be associated with reporting more

positive and less negative system emotions that contribute to bolstering the status quo.

Furthermore, it is assumed that if suppression towards the status quo is related to lower expression of negative system emotions, individuals with low system justification will express less negative system emotions when they are high in system suppression strategy. Specifically, because providing less support toward the status quo are related to more negative emotions (e.g, Wakslak et al., 2007), employing suppression strategy toward the status quo will moderate the effect of system justification on negative emotions.

1.6. Overview

The dissertation includes four studies. First, three studies were carried out in the real-world settings. Although these studies have cross-sectional designs, in Study 1 and Study 2, the hypotheses were tested in the US and Turkey, respectively. Study 3 was conducted during the 2013 Gezi Protests in Turkey, so that the hypotheses were tested considering the real-life action tendencies. In Study 4, hypotheses were tested with the experimental manipulation of system justification. Taken together, these four studies focus on the characteristics of system-level emotions. Specifically it was hypothesized that:

1. **System-Based Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order.** In particular, (H1a) individuals with high social status will report more positive and less negative system emotions as compared to individuals with low social status. (H1b) Due to palliative function of system justification motivation, system justification will moderate the relationship between system emotions and social status, in a way that system justification will serve as a buffer for detrimental effects of low social status on negative system emotions.

2. **System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order.** Specifically, system-based emotions will be dependent on the person's degree of system justification. System justification will be the strongest predictor of system emotions, even after controlling the effect of group justification.

3. System-Level Emotions Affect Action Tendencies and Behaviors. It was hypothesized that the system emotions will predict action tendencies and behaviors above and beyond the effects of individual and group emotions.

4. System emotions will also mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies/ behaviors, in a way that system justification both directly and indirectly- via system emotions- will undermine support for collective action.

5. System-level emotions are regulated by the system related emotion regulation strategies. It was hypothesized that (H5a) as compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, adopting emotion regulation strategies toward the status quo will be strongly related to system emotions. (H5b) Individual suppression and system suppression will have different effects on emotions, in a way that, whereas system suppression will be related to more positive and less negative system emotions derived from existing status quo, individual suppression will be related to less positive and more negative individual emotions. (H5c) As compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system emotion regulations would be strongly related to system justification. (H5d) System emotion regulation strategies will also moderate the link between system justification and system emotions, in a way that system-related emotion regulation strategies are expected to buffer the detrimental effects of low system justification on the negative system emotions.

As summarized above, these hypotheses will be tested in four studies. In Study 1, the characteristics of system emotions were examined by comparing the system emotions with the individual and group emotions reported by the same participants. The study hypotheses were tested in a cross-sectional design among university students in the USA. Study 2 aimed to replicate the findings of the first study among university students in Turkey having a relatively collectivist cultural context. Study 3 aimed to test the hypotheses using a real-life case, during the 2013 Gezi Protests. In Study 3, data were collected not only from students but also from the community samples. As opposed to the previous studies testing the hypotheses in a correlational framework, Study 4 examined the characteristics of system emotions using an experimental design.

In each study, the study hypotheses were tested employing the same data analysis strategy that allows us to compare the results across four studies. First, to determine the factor structure of positive and negative emotion measures at individual, group, and system level emotions, a series of principal component analyses were conducted. In order to have a comparable set of measures for the individual, group, and system emotions, factor solution of the individual emotions was used as the target reference point for the factor structure of emotion dimensions in each study.

Additionally, the study hypotheses were tested not only for the dimensions of positive and negative emotion but also for the discrete emotions, namely anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness. Although positive and negative emotion dimensions were created based on the findings of factor analyses, the discrete emotion measures were also constructed considering the conceptual similarity among emotions.

Study hypotheses were tested following the assessment of the factor structure in each measure. All of the analyses in this dissertation were conducted using IBM SPSS Statistics 20 for Windows except for the path analyses which were run with LISREL 8.5. To test Hypothesis 1a, both correlational analyses and analyses of variance (ANOVA) were utilized. While correlation analyses allow examining the strength and direction of a relationship between social status and emotions, ANOVA helped to compare emotions between high and low social status groups. Next, moderated regression analysis was conducted to test Hypothesis 1b to see how system justification would moderate the effect of social status on system emotions.

Hypothesis 2 was tested via both correlations and hierarchical linear regression analyses. First, system justification was allowed to correlate with system emotions to examine whether system emotions are dependent on the person's degree of system justification. Next, Hypothesis 2 was tested by controlling group justification using hierarchical linear regression. In a similar vein, Hypothesis 3 was tested using both correlations and hierarchical linear regression analysis. Emotions were allowed to correlate with action tendencies and behaviors, then collective action tendencies and behaviors were regressed on system emotions, adjusting for individual and group emotions. Hypothesis 4 was tested using path analysis to better

understand the pattern of relationships among system justification, system emotions, and action tendencies and behaviors. Finally, bivariate correlations were calculated to test Hypotheses 5a, 5b, and 5c. Moreover, Hypotheses 5a and 5d were tested via moderated regression analyses to see whether emotion regulation strategies would change the relationship between system emotions and system justification. These studies are described in detail below.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEM-LEVEL EMOTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The first study is a cross-sectional examination of the characteristic system-based emotions conducted in the US sample.

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants

Two-hundred-twelve students from New York University participated in Study 1. Because questions on political party group emotions were asked using wording for Democrats and Republicans (e.g., angry at Democrats, angry at Republicans), 48 participants who did not report political party preference were excluded from the analyses. In addition, those who did not complete at least one scale were removed from the analyses, thus the remaining sample was consistent of 164 participants. After controlling the accuracy of data and the assumptions of multivariate statistics (outliers, normality, linearity, and multicollinearity) 3 cases were identified as the univariate outliers, and so these participants were also excluded from the study and the final sample included 161 participants.

Participants were 124 female (77%) and 37 male (23%), ranging from 18 to 25 years of age ($M = 19.57$, $SD = 1.27$). Of the participants, 59 (36.6%) were White/European American, 54 (33.5%) were Asian or Asian American, 18 (8.3%) were Bi/Multi-racial, 15 (9.3%) were Latino(a)/Hispanic, 6 (3.7%) were Middle Eastern, 7 (4.3%) were African American, 1 (0.6 %) was Pacific Islander/Inuit, and 2 (1.2%) reported their ethnicity as “Other”. Of the participants, 61 (37.9%) were Christian, 18 (11.2%) were Jewish, 6 (3.7%) Muslim, 11 (6.8%) were Hindu, 10 were Buddhist (6.2%), 22 (13.7%) were Agnostic, 25 were Atheist (15.5%), and 8 (5) reported their religious affiliation as “Other”.

Regarding the perceived socioeconomic status, 46 (28.6%) participants were from low SES, 50 (31.1%) were from middle class, 64 (39.8%) were from upper class, and 1 student (0.6%) did not report his/her socioeconomic class. The reported family/household income was between the category “under \$30,000” and the category “over \$250,000”. The mean degree of participants’ political orientation (1 = *extremely liberal*, 11 = *extremely conservative*) was 4.19 ($SD = 1.92$) and the mean degree of their religiosity (1 = *not all religious*, 11 = *very religious*) was 3.94 ($SD = 2.99$). In terms of political party identification, 133 (82.6%) participants represented Democrats and 28 (17.4%) participants identified themselves as Republicans.

2.1.2. Procedure

Participants completed the questionnaire battery including the measures of emotions, group, and system justification tendencies, individual and system emotion regulation, system-related actions, and demographics. To investigate system-based emotions, Smith et al.’s (2007) procedure aiming at demonstrating how group-based emotions were different from individual emotions was adapted for this study with some revisions and extensions. Specifically, individual and group emotions (university group and political party) were adopted from Smith et al.’s study but two emotion dimensions, namely national system and capitalist economy emotions, that tap system-level emotions were added for the current study. The measures of group and system emotions were counterbalanced.

In line with Smith et al.’s (2007) procedure, first ingroup justification and then group-based emotions were measured. Similarly, for system-based emotions, first system justification measures were applied, and then, system emotions were assessed. Data were collected on a voluntary basis, and informed consent was obtained from each participant. Finally, participants were debriefed after completing the questionnaires and thanked for their participation.

The questionnaires used in the current study were first submitted to Human Participants Ethic Committee of New York University (IRB). After receiving IRB approval, the participants from the US were recruited via the subject pool. Data were

collected using an online survey (Qualtrics). Participants received a bonus point in exchange of their participation.

2.1.3. Measures

Before the main analyses the factor structure of all scales described below was examined separately through a series of exploratory factor (principal component) analyses. For the study variables, the final number of factors or factor structure was decided by considering eigenvalues, Catell's scree plot test, and the interpretability of the factor solution. In addition to these criteria, both consistency between parallel forms in the measures of emotions (individual, group, and system emotions) and consistency between the American sample and Turkish sample (used in the second study) were also taken into account. To do that, the results of factor analyses of the individual emotions were used as the target reference points in the final decision for the factor structure of the given measure in the American sample (for the Turkish sample, as well in Study 2). Moreover, to provide consistency between the studies of this research lines, the items removed from emotion scales in Turkey samples, also removed from the American sample. The measures of Study 1 was provided in Appendix A.

2.1.3.1. Justification and Emotion Measures

Items for positive and negative individual, group, and system emotion were selected in an iterative fashion using three criteria: if factor loadings were higher than .30, had higher inter-item correlations, or contributed significantly to the internal consistency of the scales. As stated above, in addition to these criteria, consistency between parallel forms of emotions (individual, group, and system) were also considered. Therefore, when there was an inconsistency between the factor solutions of the individual, group, and system emotions, the items that were omitted in the factor analysis of the individual emotions measures were also removed from the measures of system and group emotions. Furthermore, to ensure consistency between

the USA and Turkey's results, the items removed from the measures of Turkey's sample were also removed from the American sample.

2.1.3.1.1. Individual Emotions

To measure individual emotions, participants read the following instruction: "Now we would like you to focus only on YOURSELF. When you think of yourself as an unique INDIVIDUAL, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as an individual. Simply, how do you feel with yourself?" Participants were presented a list of total 27 emotions, including 9 positive (e.g., happy, satisfied, proud, grateful, hopeful, cheerful) and 19 negative (e.g., afraid, outrage, shame, sad, resentful) emotions derived from previous studies (e.g., Elliot & Devine, 1994, Smith et al., 2007) on a 7 point scales (1 = *Not at all*; 7 = *Very much*). The sample items are "As an individual, I feel happy", "As an individual, I feel outrage".

Exploratory factor analyses on 27 items of the Individual Emotions with varimax rotation revealed two interpretable factors, namely positive individual emotions and negative individual emotions. Although the initial analysis yielded nine factors explaining 68.23% of the total variance, examination of the scree plot, pattern of factor loadings and interpretability of factor dimensions suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 59.86% of the variance. The first factor captured the negative individual emotions consisting of 19 items and accounted for the 37.93% of the total variance. The second factor included the positive individual emotions with 9 items explaining 21.93% of the total variance.

Although all individual emotions have factor loadings higher than .30, the item "As an individual, I feel angry at others" (item 2) and the item "As an individual, I feel envious" (item 27) were removed from the measures of individual as well as group and system emotions, as described below. Because the item 2 failed to meet the predetermined criteria for item selection in capitalist economy emotions it was omitted from the negative emotions scales. Because the item 27 failed to meet the predetermined item selection criteria on individual emotions dimension in Study

2, it was also removed from the measures of negative individual emotions as well as negative group and system emotions in the USA sample. Therefore, two emotions were not included to the final version of negative individual, group, and system emotions measures. Cronbach's alpha values were .92 for the final version of positive individual emotions and .95 for negative individual emotions.

Furthermore, individual emotions were also combined into five composite scores based on the conceptual reasons, namely anger, fear/anxiety, guilt/shame, sadness, and happiness, to examine the hypotheses in detail. Anger scale consisted of the three related emotions, angry at myself, frustrated, and outrage (Cronbach's alpha = .77), fear/anxiety scale was formed from the three items afraid, uneasy, and anxious (Cronbach's alpha = .82). Sadness was measured with the three items, sad, disappointed, and resentful (Cronbach's alpha = .82). Guilt/shame scale consisted of the three items guilty, shame, and regretful (Cronbach's alpha = .81). Finally, three positive emotions, happy, satisfied, and cheerful-were combined to form a happiness scale (Cronbach's alpha = .89).

2.1.3.1.2. Group Justification and Group Emotions

Group justification and group-based emotions were measured for the two different groups. These were (1) political party group justification and political party group emotions and (2) university group justification and university group emotions.

2.1.3.1.2.1. Party Group Justification and Party Group Emotions

Following the procedure outlined by Smith et al's (2007), participants, first, were asked to specify the party which they identify with, and then, their political party justification was measured with 6 items. Of the party justification items, 4 were adopted from Smith et al's (2007) ingroup identification scale (see also Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995) (e.g., "I see myself as a typical supporter of my political party) and 2 were developed by the researchers in this study. They were "Supporters of my political party are superior to members in most other political parties" and "As a rule, members of my political party are justified in acting the way they do." The

responses were rated on a 7-point Likert scale with anchors from strong *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7).

Next, participants read the following instruction and then they were presented the same list of 27 emotions with appropriate rewording on a 7-point scale ranged from *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7). The instruction of party group emotions were as follows: “Now we would like you to focus only on YOUR POLITICAL PARTY GROUP or political party belongingness. When you think yourself as a supporter of YOUR POLITICAL PARTY, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a member of your party. Simply, how do you feel with being a supporter of YOUR POLITICAL PARTY?” Participants were asked to response to the same 27 emotions, such as “As a supporter of my political party, I feel happy”, “As a supporter of my political party, I feel outrage.” In other words, items were reworded considering party group emotions so that the words “as an individual” was replaced with the words “as a supporter of my political party”, except for anger items. That is to say, two anger items were as follows: “I feel angry at Democrats” and “I feel angry at Republicans”.

First, party group justification items were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. Although the initial analysis yielded two factors explaining 76.26% the total variance, the first factor was dominant, suggesting a one-factor solution that accounted for 56.62% of total variance. The internal consistency coefficient was .84.

Then, 27 items of party group emotion were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. The initial analysis yielded four factors explaining 69.79% of the total variance. However, examination of the scree plot, the pattern of factor loadings, and factor interpretability suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 59.53% of the variance. Negative party group emotions consisted of 19 items and accounted for the 35.50% of the total variance. Positive party group emotions were represented by the second factor including 9 items and explained 24.03% of the total variance. As mentioned above, because the item 2 (“Angry at the socialist system”) failed to meet the predetermined criteria in the measure of capitalist economy emotions, it was also removed from measure of the party group emotion, that is to say, feeling angry at

supporters of other parties was represented by “angry at Republicans” for Democrats (item 1) and “angry at Democrats” for Republicans (item 1). Therefore, a new party group emotion item tapping anger toward one’s political party supporters was created and included to the measure of negative party group emotion scale. Moreover, considering the factor solution on emotions in Turkey’s sample, one item (item, 27, “As supporter of my political party, I feel envious” removed from political party emotions. Cronbach’s alpha values were .94 and .95 for negative and positive party group emotions, respectively.

Additionally, similar to individual discrete emotion subscales, the same party group discrete emotions subscales, namely party group anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .47), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .70), sadness (Cronbach’s alpha = .82), guilt/shame (Cronbach’s alpha = .85), and happiness (Cronbach’s alpha = .86) were created.

2.1.3.1.2.2.University Group Justification and University Group Emotions

Participants were also asked to complete the same 6-item group justification scale with appropriate wording for New York University students (e.g., “I see myself a typical NYU student”) and then university group (NYU) emotions were measured with a 7-point scale ranged from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7).

Specifically, for university group emotions, participants were asked to read the following instruction: “Now we would like you to focus only on YOUR NYU GROUP or identity. When you think yourself as an NYU STUDENT, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as an NYU student. Simply, how do you feel with being an NYU STUDENT?” Participants were asked to respond to the same 27 emotions such as “As an NYU student, I feel happy”, “As an NYU student, I feel outrage.”

University group justification items were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. Although the initial analysis yielded two factors explaining 73.35% the total variance, a one-factor solution that accounted for 50.31% were accepted. The internal consistency value was .78.

Next, 27-item university group emotions were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. The initial analysis yielded three factors explaining 65.67% of the total variance, examination of the scree plot and the pattern of factor loadings suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 60.77% of the variance. These two factors accounted for 36.97% and 23.80% of the total variance for negative and positive university group emotions, respectively. Although the item “As an NYU student, I feel satisfied” (item 3) cross-loaded both on negative emotions (-.37) and positive emotions (.77), considering the factor solution for individual emotions as a reference point, this item was kept in its original place. Considering the consistency between emotion scales, two items (item 2 and item 27 “As an NYU student, I feel angry at non NYU students”, “As an NYU student, I feel envious”) were removed from the negative university group scale. Cronbach’s alpha values were .95 and .93 for negative and positive university party group emotions, respectively. Finally, university group discrete emotions subscales, namely university group anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .74), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .84), sadness (Cronbach’s alpha = .84), guilt/shame (Cronbach’s alpha = .78), and happiness (Cronbach’s alpha = .87) were created.

2.1.3.1.3. System Justification and System Emotions

System justification and system emotions were measured for two different systems. These are (1) general system justification and national system emotions, (2) economic system justification and capitalist system emotions.

2.1.3.1.3.1. General System Justification and National System Emotions

First, general system justification tendencies were assessed using the General System Justification Scale (GSJS) developed by Kay and Jost (2003). The GSJS was designed to measure ideological support for the societal status quo. Participants rated their agreement on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 9 (*Strongly agree*). The scale consists of 8-items, 2 of which are reverse coded. The sample item

was “Everyone in America has a fair shot at wealth and happiness”. In the present study, the alpha coefficient was .87.

Participants were then asked about their emotions derived from being a participant in the American system. They were asked to read the following instruction: “Now we would like you to focus only on the AMERICAN SYSTEM and AMERICAN “WAY OF LIFE”. When you think of yourself as a PARTICIPANT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions in general? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a participant in the American system. Simply, how do you feel about being a participant of the AMERICAN SYSTEM?”. Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording. Sample items were “As a participant in the American system, I feel happy”, “As a participant in the American system, I feel outrage.” Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*).

A principle component analysis with varimax rotation was run on the 27 items of national system emotions. Although the initial analysis yielded three factors that accounted for 65.07% of the total variance, the criterion eigenvalues, the scree plot, and the interpretability of the factor solution provided by the factor analyses suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 60.07% of the variance. The first factor tapped negative national system emotions and explained 38.55% of the total variance. The second factor tapped positive national system emotions and explained 21.52% of the total variance. Considering the consistency across emotions scales as well as cultures, two items (item 2 “I feel angry at other nations’ system”, item 27 “As a participant in the American system, I feel envious”) were removed from the final version of the negative national system emotions scale. Results also indicated that, the item 2 (“I feel angry at other nations’ system”) was cross-loaded both on positive (.32) and negative (.32) system emotions. Cronbach’s alpha values were .96 and .92 for negative and positive university party group emotions, respectively. Finally, discrete national system emotions, namely national system anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .83), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .83), sadness

(Cronbach's alpha = .86), guilt/shame (Cronbach's alpha = .83), and happiness (Cronbach's alpha = .86) were created.

2.1.3.1.3.2. Economic System Justification and Capitalist Economy Emotions

First participants were asked to complete the Economic System Justification Scale (Jost & Thompson, 2000), then they were asked about their emotions derived from being a member of the capitalist economy and complete the same 27 emotion items with appropriate rewordings for capitalist economy.

Economic system justification tendencies were measured with 17-item Economic System Justification Scale (ESJS). Participants indicated their level of agreement with each statement on a 9-point scale ranging from 1(*Strongly disagree*) to 9(*Strongly agree*). The ESJS was developed to assess the tendency of people to justify, defend, and support the existing economic system. The sample item is "Most people who don't get ahead in our society should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame". In the present study, the alpha coefficient was .83.

Next, participants were asked about their emotions derived from being a member of a capitalist economy. They were asked to read the following instruction: "Now we would like you to focus only on the CAPITALIST ECONOMY. When you think of yourself as a MEMBER OF A CAPITALIST ECONOMY to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions in general? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a member of a capitalist economy. Simply, how do you feel about being a member of a CAPITALIST ECONOMY?" Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording such as "As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel happy", "As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel outrage." Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*).

The initial exploratory factor analysis in the current study showed that scale had three dimensions accounted for 65.74% of the total variance. However, the criterion eigenvalues, the scree plot, and the interpretability of the factor solution provided by the factor analyses suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 61.49% of the variance. The dimension of negative capitalist economy emotions

explained 39.25% of the variance and the dimension of positive capitalist economy explained 22.23% of the variance. Results indicated that item 2 (“I feel angry at the socialist system”) was cross-loaded both on positive (.32) and negative (.25) system emotions. In order to ensure consistency between individual, group, and system emotions, as well as across cultures, again, two items (item 2 and item 27 “As a member of capitalist economy, I feel envious”) were removed from the final version of the negative national system emotions scale. Cronbach’s alpha values were .96 and .93 for negative and positive capitalist system emotions, respectively. Finally, capitalist economy discrete emotions subscales, namely national system anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .84), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .85), sadness (Cronbach’s alpha = .88), guilt/shame (Cronbach’s alpha = .86), and happiness (Cronbach’s alpha = .82) were created.

2.1.3.2. System-Related Tendencies and Action

System-related tendencies and actions were assessed separately.

2.1.3.2.1. System-Related Tendencies

System-related tendencies were measured with 8 items capturing individuals’ willingness to participate in collective actions, such as in favor of equal access to university education, protecting the rights of ethnic minorities, increasing freedom of speech, increasing financial assistance for homeless people, and protesting gender disparities in the workplace. These items were developed for the current study by researchers. The sample item was “I am willing to participate in actions in favor of equal access to university education for everyone”. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale ranged from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (7) *Strongly agree*. The explanatory factor analysis with varimax rotation yielded a single factor that accounted 60.51% of the results. Cronbach’s alpha value was .90.

2.1.3.2.2. System-Related Action

To measure system-related action, participants were asked to indicate how often they engaged in any collective action during the past year (e.g., “participated in a political demonstration”, “added your name to e-mail or a protest letter”, “help to organizing a demonstration or public campaign”). Five items were developed based on the relevant literature on collective actions (e.g., Kelly & Breinlinger, 1995) by the researchers. Responses ranged from 1 = *Never* to 7 = *More than 6 times*. Factor analysis on the items of the measure with varimax rotation indicated a single factor accounting for 57.98% of the variance. Cronbach’s alpha was .81.

2.1.3.3. Emotion Regulation Strategies

Emotion regulation tendencies were measured for both trait tendencies, namely individual-related emotion regulation and emotion regulation tendencies toward the American system, that is, system-related emotion regulation.

2.1.3.3.1. Individual-Related Emotion Regulation

At the individual-level, Gross and John’s (2003) 10-item Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ) was used to assess the individual differences in emotion-regulatory processes and strategies how emotions are regulated. The ERQ were designed to tap cognitive reappraisal and expressive suppression as personalized emotion regulation strategies, from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). The cognitive reappraisal dimension consists of 6 items and the suppression strategy includes 4 items. The sample items of cognitive reappraisal were “When I want to feel less negative emotions (such as sadness or anger), I change what I’m thinking about” and “When I want to feel more positive emotions (such as joy or amusement), I change what I’m thinking about.” Item example in the suppression scale is “When I am feeling negative emotion, I make sure not to express them.”

Explanatory factor analyses with varimax rotation yielded two factors that explained 60.41% of the total variance. The first factor captured cognitive reappraisal

dimension and accounted for 38.22% of the total variance. The second factor represented the suppression dimension and accounted for 22.19% of the total variance. Cronbach's alpha values were .84 and .80 for reappraisal and suppression subscales, respectively.

2.1.3.3.2. System-Related Emotion Regulation

In order to measure system-related emotion regulation, Gross and John's (2003) 10-item Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ) were reworded considering the American system. Specifically, 6-item reappraisal questionnaire (e.g., "When I want to feel less negative emotion about the American system, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation") and 4-item suppression (e.g., "When I am feeling negative emotions about the American system, I make sure not to express them") subscales were adapted for the national system context. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*).

Although the initial exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation yielded three dimensions accounted for 68.39% of the total variance, the criterion eigenvalues, the scree plot, and the interpretability of the factor solution suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 60.50% of the variance. Reappraisal dimension explained 32.69% of the variance and suppression dimension explained 24.72% of the variance. Cronbach's alpha values were .81 and .79 for reappraisal and suppression strategies, respectively.

2.1.3.4. Socio-Demographic Questionnaire

This section included socio-demographic questions such as gender, age, income, religion, religiosity, political orientation, and perceived socio-economic status. Participants were asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1(*Extremely liberal*) to 11(*Extremely conservative*) to assess their political orientation. Similarly religiosity was measured with a scale ranging from 1(*Not all religious*) to 11(*Very religious*). Participants were also asked to indicate their socioeconomic status on a scale ranging from 1(*Lower class*) to 5(*Upper class*)

2.2. Results

In this section, the results of the statistical analysis of Study 1 were presented. First, the results regarding data screening and cleaning were provided, and then, descriptive statistics for the major study variables were presented. Finally, the findings regarding the testing of hypotheses were presented.

2.2.1. Data Screening and Cleaning

Prior to analyses, analyses of the missing value revealed that only a few variables have missing values. Little's MCAR Test suggested that the missing values were random ($\chi^2(93) = 105.26, ns$) suggesting that participants with missing values were not different from the participants without missing values. If missing values are less than 5%, any procedure to handle missing values can be applied to the data set (Tabachnic & Fidell, 2001). In Study1, the highest percent for the missing values was 1.8% in the positive and negative party group emotions. Thus, missing values were replaced with the means for all cases.

Following mean replacement for missing values, the data were analyzed for univariate and multivariate outliers. Two cases were identified as univariate outliers having z –scores higher than ± 3.29 . There were not identified any multivariate outliers based on the Mahalanobis distance values $\chi^2(22) = 48.27$. Therefore, three univariate outliers were excluded from the data set, leaving 162 participants for the remaining analyses. The skewness and kurtosis for all variables were in the acceptable ranges, indicating the normality of the distributions.

2.2.2. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and ranges) for the major study variables were presented in Table 2.1. Mean scores of the scales were roughly compared with the given scale's absolute midpoint to see how common (or frequent) the observed emotions, emotion regulation, system, and group justification tendencies, and system-related tendencies and behaviors are experienced among the

US participants. The comparison of the means of emotions demonstrated that whereas the mean of positive individual emotions (4.75) and positive university group emotions (4.78) were higher than the scale midpoint (4), the mean scores for negative individual emotions (3.17), negative party group emotions (2.52), negative university group emotions, (2.54), negative national system emotions (3.26), positive (3.71), and negative (3.30) capitalist economy emotions were lower than the scale midpoint.

Regarding emotion regulation, the mean value of individual level cognitive reappraisal strategy (4.88) was higher than the scale midpoint (4), the system suppression (3.55) was lower than the midpoint value. With regard to system justification, the mean value of both economic (4.64) and general system justification (4.44) were lower than the midpoint of the scale (5). Finally, although system related tendencies (5.06) were higher than the midpoint of the scales (4), system actions (2.07) was lower than the midpoint value (4).

Table 2.2. *Descriptive Statistics on the Main Study Variables*

	USA Sample		
	Mean	SD	Range
Positive Individual Emotions	4.75	1.11	1-7
Negative Individual Emotions	3.17	1.28	1-7
Positive Political Party Emotions	4.08	1.14	1-7
Negative Political Party Emotions	2.52	1.01	1-7
Positive University Group Emotions	4.78	1.17	1-7
Negative University Group Emotions	2.54	1.20	1-7
Positive National System Emotions	4.09	0.99	1-7
Negative National System Emotions	3.26	1.28	1-7
Positive Capitalist Economy Emotions	3.71	1.00	1-7
Negative Capitalist Economy Emotions	3.30	1.22	1-7
System-Related Action Tendencies	5.06	1.13	1-7
System-Related Action Behavior	2.07	1.10	1-7
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	4.88	0.93	1-7
Individual Suppression	3.76	1.21	1-7
System Cognitive Reappraisal	3.88	0.88	1-7
System Suppression	3.55	0.99	1-7
Party Group Justification	4.15	1.01	1-7
University Group Justification	4.18	1.05	1-7
General System Justification	4.44	1.36	1-9
Economic System Justification	4.64	0.96	1-9

Before the main analyses, potential gender differences on the major variables were tested. Results demonstrated that gender did not have a significant effect on the emotion measures. There were gender differences only on university group justification ($t(159) = 2.39, p < .05$) and system-related tendencies ($t(55.43) = -2.25, p < .05$). Specifically, men reported higher levels of university group justification ($M_{\text{men}} = 4.53$ and $M_{\text{women}} = 4.07$), but lower system-related tendencies ($M_{\text{woman}} = 5.17$ and $M_{\text{men}} = 4.68$) than women. Considering that gender differences were minor across the variables, analyses were conducted on the whole sample ignoring the gender classification.

2.2.3. The Correlations Between Individual, Group, and System Emotions

Zero-order correlations were presented in Table 2.2. The correlations between different levels of ranged from $-.01$ to $.76$.

As shown in Table 2.2, the positive individual emotions are significantly correlated with the negative individual emotions ($r = -.50, p < .001$). Likewise, the relationship between positive and negative university group emotions were significant, ($r = -.47, p < .001$). Also, higher positive university emotions were associated with higher positive party emotions ($r = .41, p < .001$), as well as higher negative university emotions were related to higher negative party emotions ($r = .57, p < .001$), indicating strong relations among group emotions.

Examination of correlations within the system emotions indicated that the negative national system emotions were significantly correlated with the positive national system emotions ($r = -.22, p < .05$). However, the correlation between positive and negative capitalist emotions did not reach to the significant level ($r = -.12, ns$). As seen in Table 2.2, the highest correlation was observed between the negative capitalist system emotions and the negative national system emotions ($r = .76, p < .001$). The correlation between the positive national system and the positive capitalist economy emotions was also strong ($r = .55, p < .001$). Results indicated that correlations of the emotions with the same valence were higher than the correlations of the emotions with different valence.

Whereas the correlations between individual and system emotions ranged from -.06 to .40, the correlations between individual and group emotions ranged from -.09 to .66. These results suggested that both system emotions and group emotions are different from individual emotions, although they partially overlap with the individual emotions. Specifically, positive individual emotions were significantly and positively related to both positive national system emotions ($r = .40, p < .001$) and positive capitalist system emotions ($r = .24, p < .01$). Similarly, negative individual emotions were significantly correlated with negative national system ($r = .52, p < .001$) and negative capitalist economy ($r = .40, p < .001$) emotions.

In terms of relations of group emotions with individual emotions, positive individual emotions were positively associated with both university and party group emotions. That is, higher individual positive emotions are associated with higher positive university ($r = .61, p < .001$), positive party ($r = .43, p < .001$), and lower negative university ($r = -.34, p < .001$) group emotions. Individual negative emotions were significantly related to negative university ($r = .66, p < .001$) and negative party emotions ($r = .43, p < .001$).

Examination of the associations between group and system emotions yielded a number of significant correlations. In particular, positive party group emotions were significantly associated with positive national ($r = .39, p < .001$) and positive capitalist system ($r = .29, p < .001$) emotions. In addition, negative party emotions were related to negative national system ($r = .53, p < .001$) and negative capitalist economy ($r = .56, p < .001$) emotions.

Results showed that system-based emotions were relatively highly correlated with group emotions. Specifically, positive university group emotions were correlated with positive ($r = .51, p < .001$) and negative ($r = -.22, p < .001$) national system emotions, suggesting that those who have higher positive university emotions also reported higher positive and lower negative system emotions. Negative university group emotions were correlated with negative national emotions, and negative capitalist economy ($r = .61$ and $r = .56, p < .001$, respectively) emotions. These findings indicated that university group-based emotions are significantly associated with the system-based emotions in the USA. Also, the results showed

system emotions only partially overlap with the group emotions, suggesting their relative independence.

2.2.4. Testing Hypothesis 1: System-Based Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order

Hypothesis 1, stating that system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order, was tested for both subjective and objective status. A strong correlation was found between self-reported socioeconomic status and income ($r = .79, p < .001$), indicating that subjective rating indeed reflects objective SES. Hence, self-rated SES and family income were standardized and mean scores were used to create a composite measure of overall SES.

Next, correlations between overall SES and emotion items were computed. As expected, overall SES was significantly correlated with the system emotions but not with the dimensions of individual and group emotions. As shown in Table 2.2., higher SES was significantly associated with only higher positive capitalist economy emotions ($r = .17, p < .05$). This result indicated positive relationships between social status and the emotions regarding the status quo. However, there are no any significant relations between discrete emotions and SES.

Also, to test whether system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order, a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were conducted. Overall SES was coded into two categories based on its mean value ($M_{\text{overall SES}} = -.002$), namely Low SES = 1, High SES = 2. Results showed that although SES had marginally significant effect on the system emotions, it was not associated with individual and group emotions. As predicted by Hypothesis 1a, participants with low SES ($M = 3.55, SD = 1.01$) reported less positive capitalist economy emotions than participants with high SES ($M = 3.86, SD = .96$), ($F(1, 159) = 4.09, p = .05$). These results provide evidence that a person's SES position in a social structure affects emotional experience in a way that high SES individuals reported more positive system emotions.

Table 2.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Positive Individual Emotions	1															
2. Negative Individual Emotions	-.50***	1														
3. Positive Party Emotions	.43***	-.09	1													
4. Negative Party Emotions	-.11	.43***	-.06	1												
5. Positive University Emotions	.61***	-.31***	.41***	-.10	1											
6. Negative University Emotions	-.34***	.66***	-.03	.57***	-.47***	1										
7. Positive National System Emotions	.40***	-.13	.39***	.00	.51***	-.14	1									
8. Negative National System Emotions	-.09	.52***	.08	.53***	-.22**	.61***	-.35***	1								
9. Positive Capitalist Economy Emotions	.24**	-.12	.29***	.12	.18*	.15	.55***	.01	1							
10. Negative Capitalist Economy Emotions	-.06**	.40***	.12	.56***	-.05	.51***	-.21*	.76**	-.12	1						
11. General System Justification	.29***	-.30**	.12	-.06	.35***	-.24**	.61***	-.53***	.39***	-.40**	1					
12. Economic System Justification	-.01	-.01	-.10	-.01	-.01	.01	.17*	-.24**	.35***	-.36**	.52***	1				
13. Political Party Justification	.26**	-.05	.65***	-.06	.21***	.05	.25**	.10	.20*	.13	.14	-.05	1			
14. University Group Justification	.40***	-.34***	.20*	-.11	.63***	-.44***	.31***	-.25**	.13	-.12	.22**	.05	.15	1		
15. System Tendencies	.12	-.04	.20	-.06	.15*	-.08	-.04	.16*	-.22*	.22**	-.36***	-.56***	.05	.02	1	
16. System Behavior	.07	.06	.17	.19*	.03	.13	-.02	.26**	-.00	.29***	-.23**	-.31***	.18*	.09	.27**	1

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

Table 2.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Study Variables (Con't)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
17. Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	.35***	-.21	.19*	-.00	.27***	-.20***	.19*	-.02	.15	-.05	.16*	.17*	.23***	.23***	.02	-.12	1				
18. Individual Suppression	-.31***	.12	-.16*	.12	-.17*	.03	-.09	-.03	-.02	-.05	-.08	.10	-.06	-.12	-.10	-.21**	.20*	1			
19. System Cognitive Reappraisal	.02	.05	.20***	.12	.07	.05	.13	.02	.11	.04	.17*	.08	.14	-.03	.03	-.12	.31***	.12	1		
20. System Suppression	-.20*	.02	-.22***	.20*	-.06	.03	.00	-.07	-.06	-.07	.11	.22**	-.25***	.02	-.12	-.31**	-.04	.27***	.27***	1	
21. Overall SES	-.01	.07	-.10	.11	-.02	.06	.09	.03	.17*	-.01	.08	.00	.04	-.01	-.12	.06	-.05	-.05	.02	.02	1
22. Political ideology	.08	-.12	-.19*	.01	.02	-.08	.15	-.19*	.16	-.21*	.40***	.40***	-.31***	.05	-.38***	-.23***	-.00	-.02	-.07	.10	-.14

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

Next, whether system justification moderates the relationship between system emotions and social status was examined. Moderated regression analyses were run separately for negative and positive system emotions as well as for discrete system emotions. In these analyses, social status and system justification were centered, and then, interaction terms were created using the centered predictors (see Aiken & West, 1991). Overall status and system justification tendencies (general system justification for national system emotions and economic system justification for capitalist economy emotions) were entered in the first step, and the two-way interaction was entered in the second step.

As presented in Table 2.3., none of the interaction in predicting national system emotions were significant. However, as shown in Table 2.4, the interaction between economic system justification and overall status in predicting sadness and happiness derived from being a participant to the capitalist economy were marginally significant. Specifically, in both the capitalist economy-based sadness and happiness, the first regression equation was statistically significant, $F(2, 159) = 6.75, p < .01, R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .07$; $F(2, 159) = 11.27, p < .001, R^2 = .13$, Adjusted $R^2 = .11$, respectively. Higher SES marginally predicted only capitalist economy happiness ($\beta = .15, p = .05$) in the first step. However, economic system justification uniquely predicted both capitalist economy sadness ($\beta = -.28, p < .001$) and happiness in the first step ($\beta = .32, p < .001$).

Furthermore, the interaction between SES and economic system justification was marginally significant in the second step in both capitalist sadness ($\beta = .15, p = .06$) and happiness ($\beta = -.14, p = .07$); $F(3, 159) = 5.83, p < .01, R^2 = .10$, Adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F = 3.75, p = .06$; $F(3, 159) = 8.71, p < .001, R^2 = .14$, Adjusted $R^2 = .14$, $\Delta R^2 = .13$, $\Delta F = 3.27, p = .07$, respectively).

The simple slope at one standard deviation above and below the mean was calculated to plot the significant interaction. As shown in Figure 2.1., for those with low system justification tendencies, high status individuals were higher in capitalist economy happiness than individuals with low status ($t(156) = 2.69, p < .05$), whereas there was no significant difference between social statuses for those with high system justification tendencies ($t(156) = .19, ns$). However, as reported above, although the interaction between SES and economic system justification in predicting capitalist

sadness was marginally significant, for those with low and high system justification tendencies, there were not a significant difference between social status groups, $t(156) = -1.63, p = .11, t(156) = 1.08, ns$, respectively. Therefore, the graph for the capitalist sadness was not plotted.

To sum up, system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order suggesting that higher SES was associated with higher positive capitalist economy emotions. Moreover, system justification partially buffers the detrimental effects of low SES system happiness related to the economic social status quo.

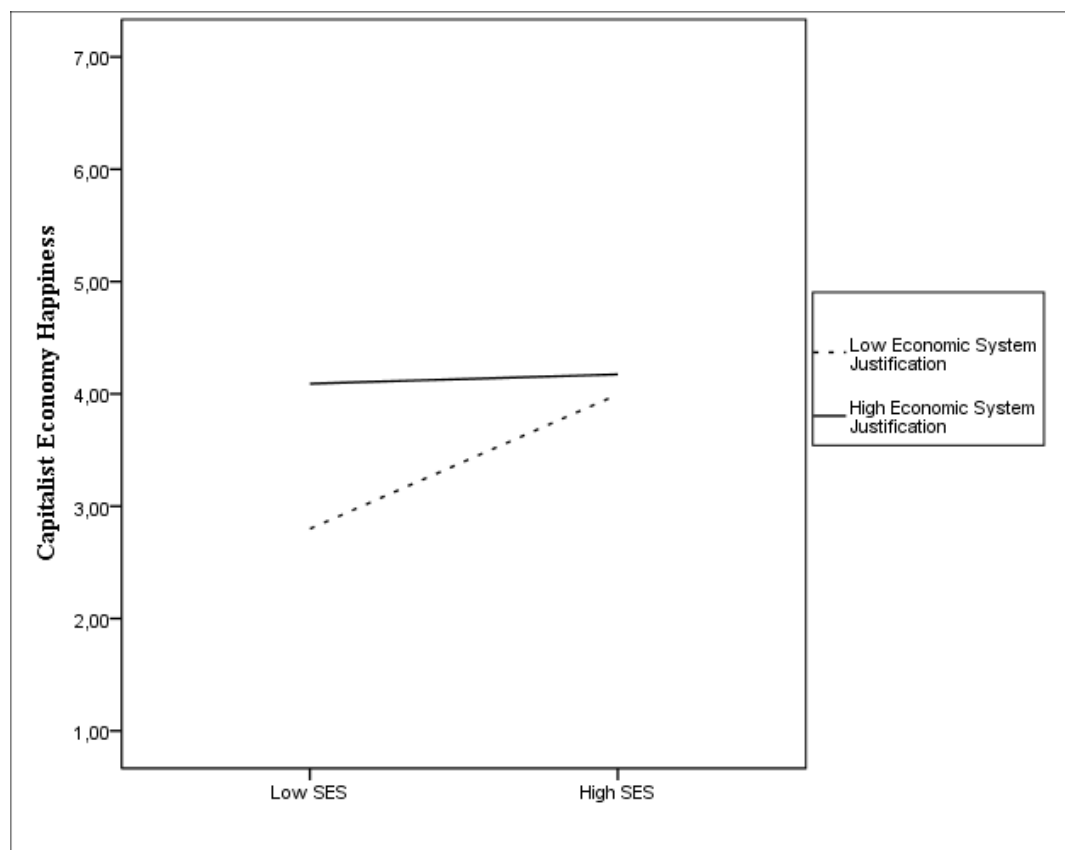


Figure 2.1. *The Interaction between Overall SES and Economic System Justification in Predicting Capitalist Economy Happiness*

Table 2.3. *Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of System Justification and SES on National System Emotions*

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R ² Δ	β	β	R ² Δ	B	R ² Δ	β	β	R ² Δ	β	β	R ² Δ	β	β	R ² Δ	β	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ
Step 1		.37*			.28*		.31*			.23*			.23*			.16*			.39*		
Overall Social Status	.05		.07			.01		.06		.05		.10		.05		.10		.001			
General System Justification	.60*		-.53*		.00	-.56*		-.48*		-.48*		-.40*		-.48*		-.40*		.62*		.004	
Step 2																					
Overall SES x General System Justification	-.08		.01			.02		-.02		.02		.03		.00		.03		-.07		.02	
* $p < .001$																					

* $p < .001$

Table 2.4. *Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of System Justification and SES on Capitalist Economy Emotions*

	Positive Capitalist Economy System Emotions			Negative Capitalist Economy System Emotions			Capitalist Economy Anger			Capitalist Economy Fear/Anxiety			Capitalist Economy Sadness			Capitalist Economy Guilt/Shame			Capitalist Economy Happiness		
	β	R ² Δ		β	R ² Δ		B	R ² Δ		β	R ² Δ		β	R ² Δ		β	R ² Δ		β	R ² Δ	
Step 1		.15***			.13***			.23*			.03			.08**			.11***			.13***	
Overall Social Status	.17*			-.01			-.07		.02			-.03			.11			.15*			
Economic System Justification	.35***			-			-.47***		-.16*			-.28***			-.32***			.32***			
				.36***																	
Step 2		.01			.01		.04	.001	.07	.004	.02	.15*	.01	.02	.00			.02*			
Overall SES x Economic System Justification	-.08		.09															-.14*			
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, $\times p \leq .07$																					

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, $\times p \leq .07$

2.2.5. Testing Hypothesis 2: System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

The second hypothesis states that system-based emotions will reflect the appraisals of the social order. As expected, system justification tendencies were strongly correlated with system emotions. Correlations between system emotions and system justification tendencies ranged between .17 and .61. Specifically, general system justification was associated with both positive ($r = .61, p < .001$) and negative ($r = -.53, p < .001$) national system emotions, as well as with positive ($r = .39, p < .001$) and negative capitalist economy emotions ($r = -.40, p < .001$). Likewise, economic system justification was associated with positive ($r = .35, p < .001$) and negative ($r = -.36, p < .001$) capitalist economy emotions, as well as with positive ($r = .17, p < .05$) and negative national system emotions ($r = -.24, p < .01$). Correlations between system justification tendencies and discrete capitalist economy emotions, namely anger, sadness, guilt/shame, anxiety/fear, and happiness, ranged from -.15 to .62. However, as predicted, system justification tendencies were weakly correlated with the individual and group emotions (ranging from -.01 to .35).

Second, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to examine whether the system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order, adjusting for group justification. Accordingly, four regressions were run in which political party justification and university group justification were entered in the first step, followed by the system justification tendencies, namely general system justification for national system emotions and economic system justification for the capitalist economy emotions in the second step. The model summaries of regression were presented in Table 2.5 and Table 2.6.

As shown in Table 2.5., the first regression equation in the positive national system emotions was statistically significant, ($F(2, 160) = 13.04, p < .001, R^2 = .14$, Adjusted $R^2 = .13$). University group justification ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) and political party justification significantly ($\beta = .28, p < .001$) predicted positive national system emotions in the first step. The entry of general system justification in the second step significantly contributed to the model ($F(3, 160) = 38.57, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .28, \Delta F =$

76.27, $p < .001$). General system justification had the stronger effect on positive national system emotions in the second step ($\beta = .55$, $p < .001$).

Similarly, in the negative national system emotions, the first regression equation was statistically significant ($F(2, 160) = 6.72$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .07$). Specifically, university group justification significantly predicted negative national system emotions in the first step ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .01$). Nevertheless, general system justification made the greatest contribution to the model ($\beta = -.52$, $p < .001$) in the second step ($F(3, 160) = 25.81$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .33$, $\Delta F = 59.04$, $p < .001$). These results imply that national system emotions are dependent on the person's degree of system justification.

As demonstrated in Table 2.6., in the positive capitalist economy emotions, political party group justification significantly predicted positive capitalist economy emotions in the first step ($\beta = .18$, $p < .05$), ($F(2, 160) = 4.03$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .05$, Adjusted $R^2 = .04$). Furthermore, economic system justification had the highest standardized weight in the model in the second step ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$), ($F(3, 160) = 11.15$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .13$, $\Delta F = 24.21$, $p < .001$), demonstrating higher economic system justification was associated with more positive capitalist economy emotions.

Finally, in the negative capitalist economy emotions, only the regression equation in the second step was statistically significant ($F(3, 160) = 9.59$, $p < .001$, $\Delta R^2 = .12$, $\Delta F = 22.08$, $p < .001$). Accordingly, negative capitalist system emotions were predicted by economic system justification ($\beta = -.35$, $p < .001$), indicating higher justification for the economic system was associated with less negative capitalist emotions. Capitalist economy emotions, thus, are related to person's level of system justification.

Moreover, the same regression model was tested for discrete national and capitalist system emotions. As presented in Table 2.5, general system justification was the most important predictor of national system anger ($\beta = -.55$, $p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.46$, $p < .001$), sadness ($\beta = -.46$, $p < .001$), guilt/shame ($\beta = -.39$, $p < .001$), and happiness ($\beta = .56$, $p < .001$) in the second step. Likewise, as presented in Table 2.6., economic system justification was the most important predictor of capitalist economy anger ($\beta = -.47$, $p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .05$), sadness ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .001$), guilt/shame ($\beta = -.31$, $p < .001$), and happiness ($\beta = .33$, $p < .001$).

In summary, the second hypothesis, stating that system emotions reflect appraisals of the social order, was supported.

2.2.6. Testing Hypothesis 3: System-Level Emotions Affect Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The third hypothesis of the study was that system-level emotions are related to action tendencies and behaviors. Significant relations were observed among system-emotions and action tendencies and behaviors. As shown in Table 2.1., the correlations ranged from -.00 and .29 for the relations of system emotions with action tendencies and behaviors. Higher action tendencies were associated with higher negative national system ($r = .16, p < .01$) and negative capitalist economy ($r = .22, p < .01$) emotions and lower positive capitalist economy emotions ($r = -.22, p < .05$). Action behavior was related to negative national ($r = .26, p < .01$) and negative capitalist economy ($r = .29, p < .001$) emotions, indicating the important role of negative emotions in collective action. These preliminary results indicate that system emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors.

Moreover, the significant relationships of action tendencies and behaviors with discrete system emotions ranged from -.06 to .37. The highest correlation was observed between system capital economy anger and system action behavior ($r = .37, p < .001$). The second highest correlation was between system capital anger and system action tendencies ($r = .31, p < .001$). Therefore, anger is the important emotion, that is related to collective action.

To test whether the system emotions predict collective action tendencies and behaviors after controlling individual and group emotions, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. In the analyses, individual emotions and group emotions were entered in the first step, and system emotions were entered in the second step. However, the capitalist emotions and national system emotions were included in the separate analyses because of the possible suppression effect between capitalist economy emotions and the national system emotions. The model summaries of regression were presented in Table 2.7 and Table 2.8.

Table 2.5. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Justification Tendencies on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1																					
Political Party Group Justification	.21**	.14***		.14	.08*		.10	.08**		.07	.06*		.19*	.09**		.12	.13		.19*	.15***	
University Group Justification	.28***			-.27**			-.27**			-.25**			-.26**			-.15			.31***		
Step 2																					
General System Justification	.55***	.28***		-.52***	.21***		-.55***	.28***		-.46***	.20***		-.47***	.21***		-.39***	.14***		.30***	.56***	

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

Table 2.6. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Justification Tendencies on Capitalist Economy Emotions

	Positive Capitalist Economy System Emotions			Negative Capitalist Economy System Emotions			Capitalist Economy Anger			Capitalist Economy Fear/Anxiety			Capitalist Economy Sadness			Capitalist Economy Guilt/Shame			Capitalist Economy Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1																					
Political Party Group Justification	.18*	.05*		.15	.04		.13	.04		.11	.03		.15	.04*		.14	.03		.16*	.05*	
University Group Justification	.10			-.14			-.15			-.14			-.16			-.10			.13		
Step 2																					
Economic System Justification	.36***	.13***		-.35***	.12***		-.46***	.21***		-.15	.02		-.27**	.07**		-.31***	.10		.33***	.11***	

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

As shown in Table 2.7, only the second step was significant ($F(8, 160) = 2.57, p < .05, R^2 = .12, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .07, \Delta R^2 = .07, \Delta F = 6.04, p < .01$), in a way that negative national system emotions were the significant predictors of the action tendencies ($\beta = .33, p < .001$). Also, the same model was tested for capitalist system emotions. As demonstrated in Table 2.8, only the second step of the model was significant, ($F(8, 160) = 4.17, p < .001, R^2 = .18, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .14, \Delta R^2 = .13, \Delta F = 12.13, p < .001$). Specifically, lower positive ($\beta = -.23, p < .05$) and higher negative ($\beta = .29, p < .05$) capitalist economy emotions predicted less willingness for action tendencies in the second step. As hypothesized, these results indicate that system emotions effect collective action tendencies, even after adjusting for individual and group emotions. In particular, negative system emotions are related to greater willingness to participate in collective actions.

Furthermore, as presented in Table 2.7., negative national system emotions were the only significant predictor in the second step ($\beta = .26, p < .05$), ($F(8, 160) = 2.18, p < .05, R^2 = .10, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .06, \Delta R^2 = .04, \Delta F = 2.97, p = .06$). Likewise, as presented in Table 2.8., only negative capitalist system emotions significantly and positively predicted action behavior in the second step ($\beta = .25, p < .05$), ($F(8, 160) = 2.29, p < .05, R^2 = .11, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .06, \Delta R^2 = .04, \Delta F = 3.38, p < .05$).

In summary, as hypothesized, negative system emotions predicted the active protest behaviors and willingness to participate in protests, even after controlling the individual and group emotions, suggesting that system emotions lead to active involvement in social protests.

Table 2.7. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of National System Emotions on System Related Action Tendencies and Behavior

	System Tendencies		System Behavior	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1		.05		.07
Positive Individual Emotions	.01		.05	
Negative Individual Emotions	.06		-.02	
Positive Political Party Group Emotions	.16		.17	
Negative Political Party Group Emotions	-.04		.19	
Positive University Group Emotions	.07		-.04	
Negative University Group Emotions	-.06		.03	
Step 2		.07**		.04
Positive National System Emotions	-.05		.003	
Negative National System Emotions	.33*		.26*	

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

Table 2.8. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Capitalist Economy Emotions on System Related Action Tendencies and Behavior

	System Tendencies		System Behavior	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1		.05		.07
Positive Individual Emotions	.01		.05	
Negative Individual Emotions	.06		-.02	
Positive Political Party Group Emotions	.16		.17	
Negative Political Party Group Emotions	-.04		.19	
Positive University Group Emotions	.07		-.04	
Negative University Group Emotions	-.06		.03	
Step 2		.13**		.04*
Positive Capitalist System Emotions	-.23*		-.02	
Negative Capitalist System Emotions	.29*		.25*	

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

2.2.7. Testing Hypothesis 4: System Emotions Mediate the Relation between System Justification and Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The mediating role of system emotions in the relationship between system justification and system related tendencies and behavior were tested by a series of path analysis using LISREL 8.51. The analyses for national system emotions and capitalist economy emotions were conducted in separate path analyses. First, the mediating effects of national system emotions in the link between general system justification and action tendencies and behaviors were tested. Next, the mediating role of capitalist economy emotions on the relationship between economic system justification and action tendencies and behaviors were examined.

In these analyses, system justification was used as the predictor variable, system emotions as the mediating variables, and system related tendencies and behavior were employed as the outcome variables. First a fully saturated model was examined, and then, nonsignificant paths were dropped from the model and the model with the significant paths only was tested. According to the conventional criteria (see Kline, 2005), a good fit can be claimed if the ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom is less than 3, root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) is around .08, the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI), Bentler-Bonett Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI) and the Comparative Fit Index are around .90.

Although mediating role of both negative and positive system emotions were initially tested, given that positive national system emotions were not significantly related with the system action tendencies and behaviors were removed from the model. Indeed, a model with positive national system emotions yields a suppressor effect, suggesting that, it should be excluded from the final model. The final model for national emotions was given in Figure 2.2. The goodness-of-fit statistics indicated a very good fit to data ($\chi^2 (2, N = 161) = 2.16, p = ns, GFI = .99, AGFI = .97, NNFI = .99, CFI = .1, RMSEA = .02$). Moreover, chi-square to degrees of freedom ration for the model was 1.08. As seen in Figure 2.2, general system justification predicted lower negative national system emotions ($\beta = -.53, p < .05$), as well as lower action

tendencies ($\beta = -.34, p < .05$) that individuals with higher general system justification tended to experience lower negative system emotions, as well as less intention to participate in collective actions. As expected, higher negative national system emotions predicted higher action behaviors ($\beta = .27, p < .05$). Specifically, negative system emotions fully mediated the link between general system justification and action behaviors (*indirect effect* = $-.14, t = -3.22, p < .05$). Overall, general system justification explained 28% of the total variance in negative system emotions. Full model explained 12% and 7% of the total variances in action tendencies and behavior, respectively.

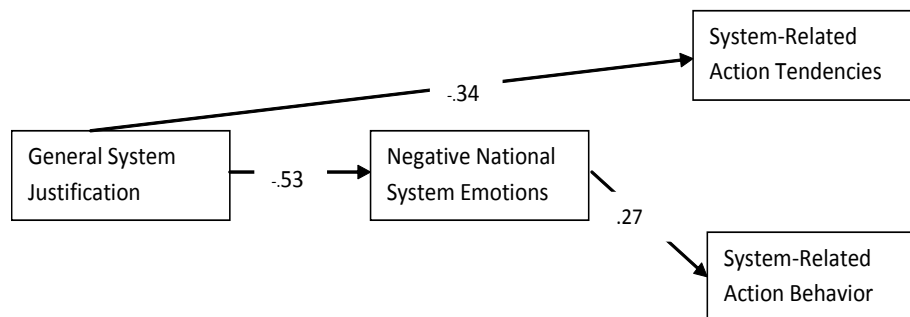


Figure 2.2. Path Model Using National System Emotions as a Mediator

As seen in Figure 2.3, the final model for capitalist economy emotions fit the data very well, ($\chi^2 (3, N = 161) = 2.72, p = ns$. $GFI = .99$, $AGFI = .97$, $NNFI = .1$, $CFI = .1$, $RMSEA = .00$). The ratio of chi-square to degrees of freedom ration for the model was also very low (0.91). Results revealed that economic system justification predicted higher positive ($\beta = .35, p < .05$) and lower negative ($\beta = -.36, p < .05$) capitalist economy emotions as well as lower actions tendencies ($\beta = -.56, p < .05$), and behaviors ($\beta = -.24, p < .05$), suggesting that individuals with higher economic system justification tended to experience higher positive and lower negative system emotions, as well as less willingness to participate in collective actions. As expected, negative capitalist economy emotions predicted action behavior positively ($\beta = .20, p < .05$). Also negative emotions partially mediated the relation between economic system justification and action behavior (*indirect effect* = $-.08, t = -2.24, p < .05$).

Overall, economic system justification explained 12% and 13%, of the total variance in positive and negative system emotions, respectively. Moreover, full model explained 31% and 13% of the total variances in action tendencies and behavior, respectively. These results suggest that system justification directly or indirectly via system emotions will undermine support for system tendencies and action.

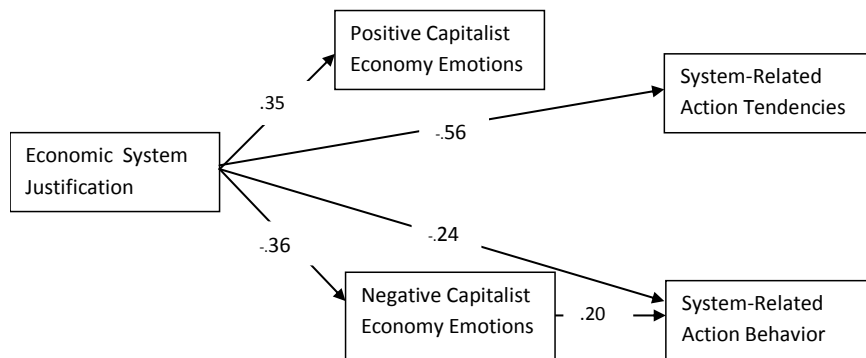


Figure 2.3. *Path Model Using Capitalist Economy Emotions as a Mediator*

2.2.8. Testing Hypothesis 5: System-Level Emotions Are Regulated By System-Related Emotion Regulation

The fifth hypothesis proposes that system-based emotions will be regulated by system-related emotion regulation. As presented in Table 2.2., individual cognitive reappraisal and system cognitive reappraisal were moderately correlated ($r = .20, p < .05$). Similarly, system related cognitive reappraisal and suppression was positively correlated ($r = .27, p < .01$). The correlations between individual and system related emotion regulation strategies were moderate. Specifically, the

correlation between individual and system suppression was .27 ($p < .01$), as well as between individual and system cognitive reappraisal was .31 ($p < .001$). It appears that those who frequently use individual suppression and reappraisal are no more likely to use system suppression and reappraisal, respectively.

Next, the correlations between emotion regulation strategies and system justification were examined. Results indicated that while higher general system justification was associated with higher system ($r = .17, p < .05$) and individual ($r = .16, p < .05$) reappraisal, higher economic system justification was related to higher system suppression ($r = .22, p < .01$) and higher individual cognitive reappraisal ($r = .17, p < .05$). These results mean that people who chronically high in system justification are more likely to use system reappraisal and system suppression to regulate their emotions toward the American system.

However, the hypothesis 5c is not supported. The correlation of system justification with system emotion regulation strategies was not stronger than the correlation of system justification tendencies with individual emotion regulation strategies (for the relationship of general system justification with individual reappraisal and system reappraisal: $z = -.01, ns$; for the relationship of economic system justification with system suppression and individual reappraisal: $z = .05, ns$).

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine whether system related emotion regulation affects system emotions. As presented in Table 2.2, system reappraisal was marginally significantly associated with higher level of national system happiness ($r = .15, p = .06$), whereas system suppression was marginally significantly associated with lower national system anger ($r = -.15, p = .06$). Also, individual reappraisal was related to positive national system emotions ($r = .19, p < .05$). However, the correlation of system emotion regulation strategies with system emotions was not stronger than the correlation of individual emotion regulation strategies with system emotions (system reappraisal: $z = .37, ns$; system suppression: $z = .37, ns$), indicating that Hypothesis 5a was not supported in Study 1.

Nevertheless, system and individual suppression tendencies seem to have differential effects on emotions. As Hypothesis 5b suggested, although the chronic use of individual suppression was related to lower levels of positive individual emotions ($r = -.31, p < .001$), the chronic use of system suppression was marginally

significantly related to lower level of national system anger ($r = -.15, p = .06$), suggesting that emotion regulation at the individual-and system-level have different impacts on emotions.

Next, the relations between system emotions (positive and negative emotions and discrete emotions) and emotion regulation strategies were investigated via a series of moderated regression analyses. In these analyses, individual and system emotion regulation strategies were entered in the first step, system justification tendencies (general system justification for national system emotions) were entered in the second step, and their two-way interactions were added to the third step. Hypothesis 5d was only tested for national system emotions because system emotion regulation strategies were aimed at measuring individuals' emotion regulation tendencies toward national system (e.g., American system). The same model was also tested for discrete national system emotions.

As shown in Table 2.9. national system anger was marginally significantly predicted by system suppression showing that higher suppression was associated with lower system anger in the first step ($\beta = -.17, p = .05$). Furthermore, the main effect of individual cognitive reappraisal on positive national system emotions was significant ($\beta = .19, p < .05$). The main effects of individual reappraisal ($\beta = .17, p = .05$) and individual suppression ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$) predicted national system happiness in the first step. As presented in Table 2.9, in negative system emotions, no emotion regulation strategy reached the significant level in the first step and higher system justification predicted lower negative emotions in the second step ($\beta = -.56, p < .001$). Only the interaction between general system justification and system suppression marginally significantly predicted negative national system emotions in the third step ($\beta = .14, p = .09$), ($F(9, 160) = 8.43, p < .001, R^2 = .33$, Adjusted $R^2 = .30$, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, $\Delta F = 2.04, p = .09$). To examine the unique effect of interaction, then, an additional regression analysis was conducted. In this regression analysis, general system justification and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Results demonstrated that general system justification predicted negative national system emotions ($\beta = -.52, p < .001$) in the first step ($F(2, 160) = 30.26, p < .001, R^2 = .28$, Adjusted $R^2 = .27$, $\Delta R^2 = .28$, $\Delta F = 30.26, p < .001$) and the interaction between system suppression and system

justification was significant ($\beta = .14, p < .05$) in the second step, ($F(3, 160) = 17.68, p < .001, R^2 = .25, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .24, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 4.19, p < .05$). Then, the simple slope at one standard deviation above and below the mean was calculated to plot this unique significant interaction. As shown in Figure 2.4. at both low and high levels of system suppression, individuals with low system justification reported more negative national system emotions than individuals with high system justification. However, taking consideration of the magnitude of t-test value, it appears that the magnitude of differences were smaller at high level of system suppression ($t(157) = -3.98, p < .001$) compared to low level of system suppression ($t(157) = -6.80, p < .001$), indicating system suppression serve as a buffer in the relationship between system justification and negative system emotions

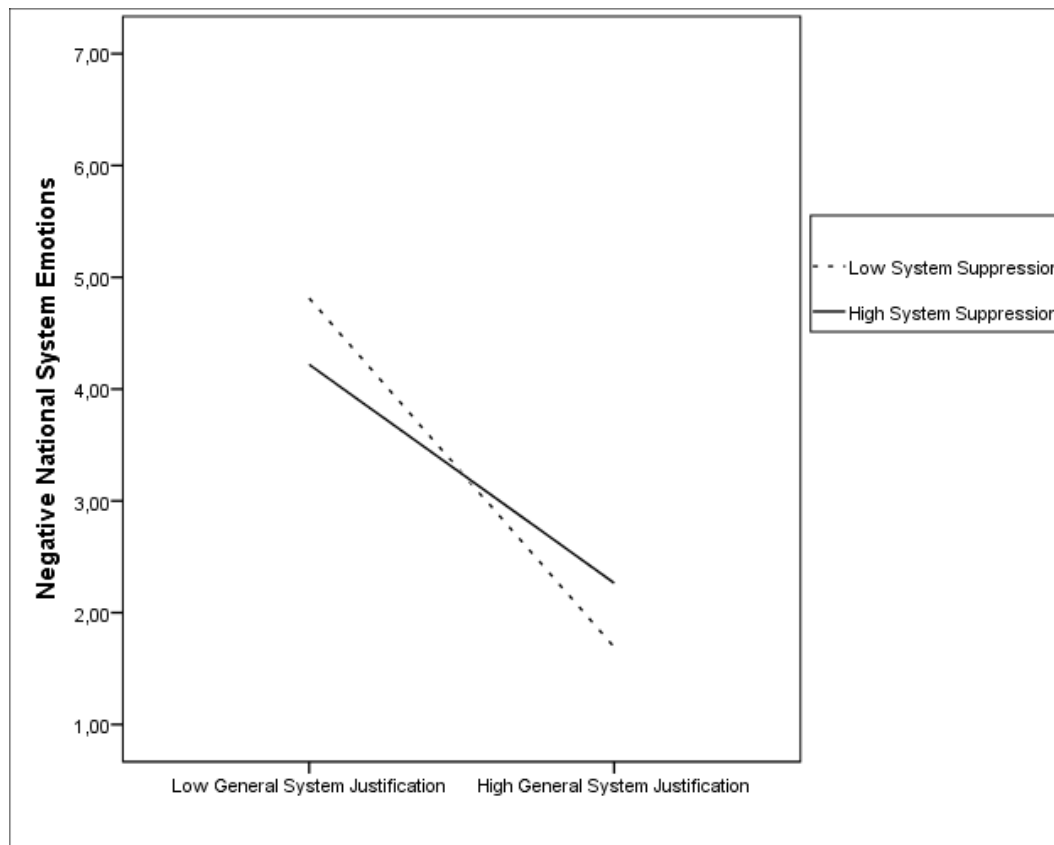


Figure 2.4. *The Interaction between System Suppression and System Justification in Predicting Negative National System Emotions*

Table 2.9. Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Emotion Regulation and System Justification on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	B	R ² Δ	B	R ² Δ	B	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	β	R ² Δ	
Step 1																					
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	.19*	.06*	-.04	.01	-.05	.03	-.09	.01	-.04	-.00	.05	.01	.17*	.01	.17*	.01	.17*	.01	.17*	.01	
Individual Suppression	-.15*		-.01		.03		-.01		.01		-.06		-.18*		-.06		-.18*		-.18*		
System Cognitive Reappraisal	.09		.05		.04		.08		.04		.03		.10		.03		.10		.10		
System Suppression	.03		-.09		-.17		-.01		-.14		.02		.08		.02		.08		.08		
Step 2																					
GSJ	.59***	.32***	-.56***	.29***	.58***	.31***	-.51***	.24***	-.50***	.32**	-.43***	.17**	.60***	.33	-.43***	.17**	.60***	.33	.60***	.33	
Step 3																					
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	.04	.01	-.06	.04 x	.06	.02	.01	.02	.12	.30**	-.10	.03	.02	.01	-.10	.03	.02	.01	.02	.01	
Individual Suppression x GSJ	-.01		-.18		.04		.08		.08		-.14*		-.08		-.14*		-.08		-.08		
System Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	-.03		-.07		-.12		-.07		-.08		-.03		-.02		-.03		-.02		-.02		
System Suppression x GSJ	-.05		.14 x		.12		.10		.17*		.02		-.04		.02		-.04		-.04		

GSJ = General System Justification * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, x $p < .10$

In national system sadness, as presented in Table 2.9, none of the emotion regulation strategies were significant in the first step, whereas higher system justification predicted lower system sadness in the second step ($\beta = -.50, p < .001$). Only the interaction between general system justification and system suppression in predicting national system sadness was significant in the third step ($\beta = .17, p < .05$), ($F(9, 160) = 6.82, p < .001, R^2 = .29, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .25, \Delta R^2 = .04, \Delta F = 2.32, p = .07$). To examine the unique effect of interaction, then, an additional regression analysis was conducted. Results demonstrated that general system justification and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Findings showed that general system justification predicted national system sadness ($\beta = -.47, p < .001$) in the first step ($F(2, 160) = 23.94, p < .001, R^2 = .25, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .24, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 4.19, p < .05$) and the interaction between system suppression and system justification was significant ($\beta = .15, p < .05$) in the second step, ($F(3, 160) = 17.68, p < .001, R^2 = .25, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .24, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 4.19, p < .05$). The simple slope at one standard deviation above and below the mean was calculated to plot the significant interaction. As shown in Figure 2.5., at low and high levels of system suppression, individuals with low system justification reported higher negative national system sadness than individuals with high system justification. However, the magnitude of differences were smaller at high level of system suppression ($t(157) = -3.26, p < .01$) as compared to low level of system suppression ($t(157) = -6.80, p < .001$), indicating system suppression serve as a buffer for a relationship between system justification and expressing system sadness. The highest level of national sadness was observed at the combination of the lowest degrees of system justification and system suppression. However, suppressing emotions result in reporting less sadness derived from being a participant of the American system.

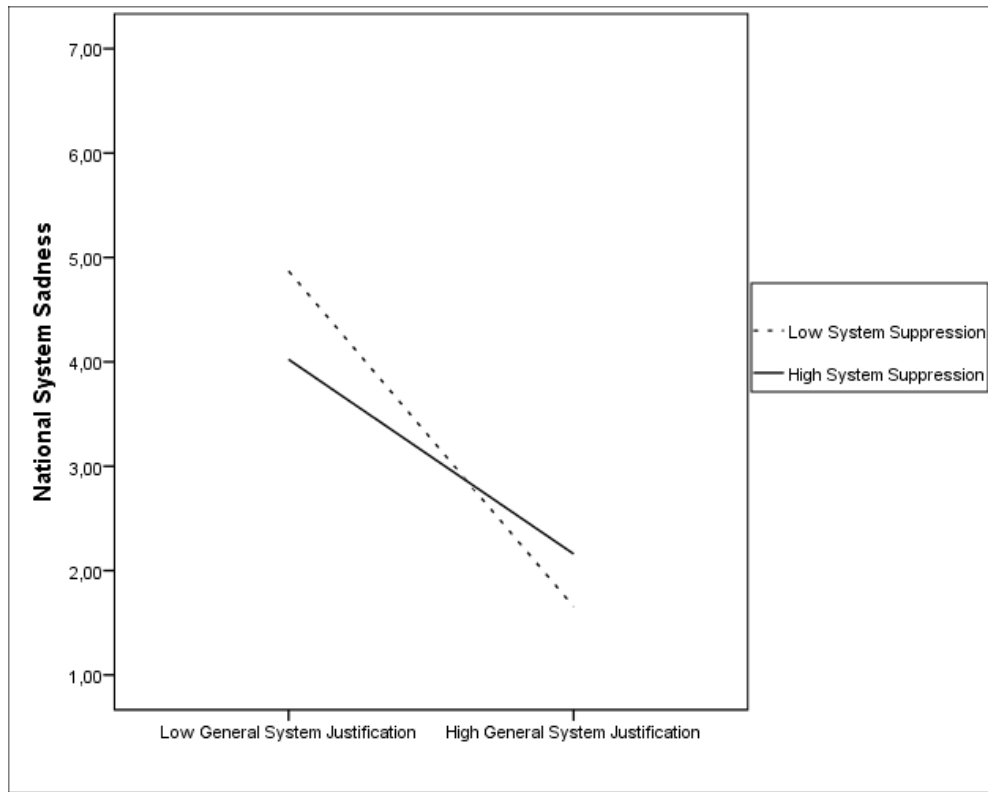


Figure 2.5. *The Interaction between System Suppression and System Justification in Predicting Negative National System Sadness*

Moreover, in national system guilt/shame, no emotion regulation strategy reached the significant level in the first step but higher system justification predicted lower system guilt in the second step ($\beta = -.43, p < .001$). Only the interaction between general system justification and individual suppression in predicting national system guilt/shame was marginally significant in the third step ($\beta = .14, p = .09$), ($F(9, 160) = 4.47, p < .001, R^2 = .21$, Adjusted $R^2 = .16, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 1.47, ns$). Again, to examine the unique effect of the interaction, an additional regression analysis was conducted in which general system justification and individual suppression were entered in the first step, and their interaction was entered in the second step. Results demonstrated that general system justification predicted national system guilt/shame ($\beta = -.39, p < .001$) in the first step but the interaction between individual suppression and system justification was not significant in the second step ($\beta = .12, ns$). Therefore, the graph of the interaction was not plotted.

Overall, as predicted, the results indicated that emotion regulation strategies buffer against the negative effect of low system justification on system sadness.

2.3. Discussion

The first study provided evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions. Specifically, system emotions seem to reflect standing in the social order, they reflect appraisals of the social order, and they predict action tendencies and behavior. In particular, the results demonstrated that system emotions are different from individual and group emotions, although they overlap to individual emotions to certain degrees.

Overall the results of Study 1 supported the hypotheses. The findings provide evidence that a person's SES position in a social structure effects emotional experience, in a way that high SES individuals reported more positive and less negative system emotions. Therefore, as consistent with Hypothesis 1a, social class shapes system emotions, experienced as a direct or indirect consequence of system-level characteristics (see also Kraus & Spethens, 2012). Moreover, the current findings point out to the important role of system justification in relationship between system emotions and social status. Consistent with the palliative function of system justification (e.g., Jost & Hunyady, 2005), endorsing system justification serves as a buffer against the detrimental effect of low social status on system emotions. These findings are in line with Hypothesis 1b.

Supporting Hypothesis 2, the results provided insight into the important role of system justification tendencies in experiencing system emotions. To the extent that individuals endorse system, they experience more positive and less negative system emotions. As compared to group justification, system justification is the stronger predictor of system emotions. Because system emotions are related to person's level of system justification, they reflect appraisals of the social order. These results showed that system justification motive is one of the conditions that enable the experience of system emotions.

Additionally, in line with Hypothesis 3, the findings underline that system emotions predict collective action tendencies, even after adjusting for individual and

group emotions. In particular, negative system emotions are important predictors of collective actions. To the extent that individuals experience negative system emotions, they exhibit increased support for collective action.

With regard to relation among system justification, system emotions, and action tendencies and behavior, it appears that system emotions mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies and behavior. Specifically, as predicted in Hypothesis 4, to the extent that individuals endorse system justification, they reported decreased level of negative system emotions, which in turn predicts action tendencies and behaviors. These findings are consistent with the previous research results on mediating role of emotions in the relationship between system justification and collective action (e.g., Jost et al., 2012).

Finally, contrary to Hypothesis 5a, system emotions are related to both individual and system emotion regulation strategies. However, findings suggest that while the chronic use of system suppression was related to lower system-anger, the chronic use of individual suppression was associated with lower positive emotions. In other words, individuals who typically suppress their emotions toward the American system report less negative system emotions but individuals who typically suppress at the individual level reported less positive emotions. Consistent with Hypothesis 5b, this suggests that adopting suppression strategy is not always related to lower positive emotions. Importantly, supporting Hypothesis 5d that suppression plays a moderating role in the relationship between system justification and system emotions via buffering the detrimental effect of system justification on system emotions. System-related emotion regulation, therefore, operates in a service of system justification which affects emotional experience related to the status quo. Specifically, it appears that suppression is one of system justifying means to maintain the status quo

Additionally, although system justification was related to system emotion regulation strategies, contrary to Hypothesis 5c, these correlations did not significantly differ from the correlations of system justification with individual emotion regulation strategies.

Taken together, Study 1 provided evidence for the general characteristics of system emotions. The findings will be discussed in detail in the general discussion.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEM-LEVEL EMOTIONS IN TURKEY

Study 1 provided evidence for the study hypotheses in the US cultural context. The aim of the second study was to replicate these findings in the Turkish cultural context which has different social, political, cultural, and economic conditions than the US.

Complex meaning of practices, social norms, and the institutions around emotions were created by cultures (Lutz, 1988). Research on emotions implies that emotions influence the practices of cultures in which they occur (Mesquita, 2001). Cultures differ in their conception of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In individualistic cultural context, people tend to develop independent self-construals in which self is viewed as an autonomous, a distinctive, and a stable entity but in collectivistic cultural context people tend to have more interdependent self-construals, whereby self is defined in relation and connection to others (but see Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996 for autonomous-relational self).

Culture as a social context may affect emotional experience and expression. For instance, Eid and Diener (2001) found that because of the different norms for the experience and expression of emotions between cultures, individuals in collectivistic cultures gave more importance to pride as compared to individuals in individualistic cultures. Also, culture has a different implications for emotion regulation (see also Mesquita, Leersnyder, & Boiger, 2014). A study by Butler, Lee, and Gross (2007) showed that although higher levels of habitual suppression was problematic for women holding European values but reverse was observed for women with more Asian values. Because suppression was normative in the Asian culture and Asians put emphasized on adjusting others, deleterious effects of suppression was lower among women with Asian values than women European values. Hence, emotion regulation occurs within cultural context and have different implications for individuals from different cultures.

With regard to Turkey, it was demonstrated that interdependence, especially in the family context, is more important (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). Imamoğlu and Imamoğlu (2006) also suggested that Turkish culture has higher integrative context emphasized on the connection to others. In this case, testing the study hypotheses will allow us to examine whether system emotions are different from group emotions in the relatively collectivist context where group interests are more emphasized than individual interests.

Moreover, in terms of political system, Turkey is a parliamentary representative democracy and has a strong tradition of secularism though there has been a hot debate in this aspect (e.g., Taydas, Akbaba, & Morrison, 2012). With regard to economic conditions, as compared to the USA, Turkey has lower gross domestic product, higher poverty rate, higher unemployment rate, and higher income inequality (see OECD Factbook, 2010). Moreover, power distance, reflecting society's level of inequality endorsed by individuals, is higher in Turkey as compared to the USA (Hofstede, 2015).

Considering both cultural and socio-political characteristics of Turkey, the second study was conducted to examine the system emotions among respondents in Turkey to see whether the same system justifying mechanisms found in the US context work also for Turkish context. The same measures and method used in Study 1 were applied in Study 2.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

Initially, 136 students from Middle East Technical University students in Turkey participated in Study 2. After controlling the accuracy of data (outliers, normality, linearity, and multicollinearity), nine cases were identified as outliers and these participants were excluded from the study, leaving 129 for the further analyses.

Participants were 88 female (68.2%), 39 male (30.2%) and 2 students (1.6 %) did not report their gender and the age of the participants ranged from 19 to 30 ($M = 21.53$, $SD = 1.85$). Of the participants, 110 (85.3%) described their ethnicity as Turk,

6 (4.7%) Kurd, 11 as “Other” (8.7%), and 2 (1.6%) did not report their ethnicity. Of the participants, 93 (73.2%) were Muslim, 1 (0.8%) was Christian, 10 were Atheist (7.8%), and 13 (10.1%) were Deist, 10 reported their religious affiliation as “Other” (7.8%) and 2 (1.6 %) did not report their religion. With regard to the participants’ perceived socioeconomic class, 29 (18.1%) participants reported low SES class, 73 (56.6%) reported middle class, and 25 (19.4 %) reported upper class, and 2 students (1.6%) did not report socioeconomic class. The reported family/household income was between the category “under 500 TL” and the category “over 10.001 TL”.

The mean degree of participants’ political orientation (1 = *Extremely leftist*, 11 = *Extremely rightist*) was 4.87 ($SD = 1.98$) and the mean degree of their religiosity (1 = *Not all religious*, 11 = *Very religious*) was 4.87 ($SD = 2.68$). In terms of political party identification, 66 (51.2%) participants represented Republican People's Political Party (CHP) (left-wing center), 13 (10.1%) supported Justice and Development Party (AKP) (right-wing conservative), 11 (8.5%) represented Nationalist Party Movement (MHP) (right-wing nationalist, conservative), 37 (28.9%) supported “Other” parties and 2 (1.6%) did not report their party identification.

3.1.2. Procedure

The same procedure used in Study 1 was followed in Study 2. Participants filled out the same questionnaires used in Study 1 with appropriate rewording. The measures, first, were adapted to Turkish. These scales were translated into Turkish by the three researchers and the spelling and compatibility of translation were checked. Data were collected on a voluntary basis, and informed consent was obtained from each participant. The questionnaires used in the current study were first submitted for Human Participants Ethic Committee of Middle East Technical University (IRB). After receiving IRB approval, the participants from Turkey were recruited by sending survey link via e-mail to them. Study 2 was conducted as an online survey via Qualtrics. Participants received bonus point in exchange of their current study participation.

3.1.3. Materials

In the current study, as in Study 1, before the main inferential analyses, the factor structure of all scales was examined separately through a series of exploratory factor (principal) analyses. For the study variables, the final number of factors or factor structure was decided by considering eigenvalues, Catell's scree plot test, and the interpretability of the factor solution. Also, in addition to these criteria, in terms of emotion measures, consistency between parallel forms (individual, group, and system emotions) was also taken into account. To this end, the results of factor analyses of the individual emotions were used as the target reference point in the final decision for the factor structure to provide consistent measures of individual, group, and system emotions. In all cases, composite scores were calculated based on the mean of multiple items, following reverse coding of items as necessary.

3.1.3.1. Justification and Emotion Measures

As explained in study 1, items for individual, group, and system emotions were selected in an iterative fashion using three criteria: if factor loadings were higher than .30, had higher inter-item correlations, or contributed significantly to the internal consistency of the scales. Moreover, consistency between parallel forms of emotions (individual, group, and system) was also taken into account. Therefore, when there was an inconsistency between the factor solutions of the individual, group, and system emotions, the items that were omitted from the factor analysis of the individual emotions measures, were also removed from the measures of system and group emotions. Moreover, similar to Study 1, in addition to positive and negative emotions, discrete emotions scales, namely anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness were created to examine the study hypothesis in more detail.

3.1.3. 1.1. Individual Emotions

To measure individual emotions, participants read the following instructions used in Study 1 and then they reported the same 27 emotions (please see the method section of Study 1 for details)

Factor analyses on 27 items of the Individual Emotions with varimax rotation revealed three factors explaining 67.38% of the total variance, examination of the scree plot, pattern of factor loadings and interpretability of factor dimensions suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 55.14% of the variance. However, considering the parallel forms of individual, group, and system emotions, two items which did not meet the predetermined criteria in negative capitalist economy emotions scale was also excluded from negative individuals emotions scale. These items were item 2 (“As an individual, I feel angry at others”) and item 27 (“As an individual, I feel envious”). Cronbach’s alpha values were .91 for positive individual emotions and .95 for negative individual emotions.

In addition to negative and positive emotions, similar to Study 1, individual emotions were also combined into five composites, namely anger, fear/anxiety, guilt/shame, sadness, and happiness. Anger scale consisted of the three related emotions, angry at myself, frustrated, and outrage (Cronbach’s alpha = .64), fear/anxiety scale was formed from the three items afraid, uneasy, and anxious (Cronbach’s alpha = .81). Sadness was measured with the three items, sad, disappointed, and resentful (Cronbach’s alpha = .88). Guilt/shame scale consisted of the three items guilty, shame, and regretful (Cronbach’s alpha = .80). Finally, three positive emotions happy, satisfied, and cheerful were combined to form a happiness scale (Cronbach’s alpha = .83).

3.1.3.1.2. Group Justification and Group Emotions

Group justification and group emotions were measured for the two different groups (political party identification and political party group emotions; university identification and university group emotions).

3.1.3.1.2.1. Party Group Justification and Party Group Emotions

Following the procedure used in Study 1, participants, first, were asked to specify the party which they identify with, then their political party justification were measured with the same 6 items used in Study 1. The responses were give on a 7-point Likert scale with anchors from strong *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7). Next, participants read the same instruction and then they were presented the list of 27 emotions as in Study 1.

First, party group justification items were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. The results revealed one factor explaining 65.82% the total variance. The internal consistency value was .89. Then, 27 of party group emotions were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. The initial results yielded four factors explaining 70.03% of the total variance. However, examination of the scree plot, the pattern of factor loadings, and factor interpretability suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 58.78% of the variance. The first factor was dominant consisting of 19 items and accounted for 33.47% of the total variance. The second factor included positive party group emotions with 9 items explaining 25.31% of the total variance. Considering the consistency between parallel forms of emotions, two items (item 27 “As a supporter of my political party, I feel envious”; item 2 “I feel angry at supporters of other parties”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha values were .95 for positive party group emotions and .94 for negative party group emotions. Additionally, the same party group discrete emotions, namely party group anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .66), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .84), sadness (Cronbach’s alpha = .82), guilt/shame (Cronbach’s alpha = .86), and happiness (Cronbach’s alpha = .91) were created.

3.1.3.1.2.2. University Group Justification and University Group Emotions

Participants were asked to complete the same university group justification used in Study 1 with appropriate wording for METU student, and then positive and negative university (METU) group emotions were measured. Participants’ university group justification was measured with the same 6 items as in Study 1. The sample

item of university group justification was “I see myself as a typical METU student”. Next, participants read the following instruction in Study 1 and then they were presented the same list of 27 emotions. Sample items of university group emotions were as follow: “As a METU student, I feel happy”, “As a METU student, I feel outrage” The responses were give on a 7-point Likert scale with anchors from strong *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7).

First, university group justification items were factor analyzed using varimax rotation. Results yielded one factor explaining 59.28% the total variance. The internal consistency was .85. Next, 27 items of university group emotions were also factor analyzed using varimax rotation. The initial results yielded five factors explaining 69.64% of the total variance. However, again, examination of the scree plot, the pattern of factor loadings, and factor interpretability suggested a two-factor solution that accounted for 55.88% of the variance. Negative party group emotions consisted of 19 items and accounted for the 30.70% of the total variance. Positive party group emotions were represented by second the factor that included 9 items explaining 25.18% of the total variance. Considering the predetermined criteria about consistency between parallel forms, two items (item 27 “As a METU student, I feel envious”; item 2 “As a METU student, I feel angry at students from other universities”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha value was .93 for positive party group emotions and .93 for negative individual emotions.

Additionally, the same university group discrete emotions subscales, namely university group anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .50), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .82), sadness (Cronbach Alpha = .86), guilt/shame (Cronbach’s alpha = .73), and happiness (Cronbach’s alpha = .89) were created.

3.1.3.1.3. System Justification and System Emotions

As in Study 1, system justification and emotions were measured for the two different systems, namely (1) general system justification and national system emotions; and (2) economic system justification and capitalist economy emotions.

3.1.3.1.3.1. General System Justification and National System Emotions

First, national system justification tendencies were assessed using the General System Justification Scale (GSJ), used in Study 1 (Wakslak et al., 2011). (e.g., “Everyone in Turkey has a fair shot at wealth and happiness”). The GSJ was adapted to Turkish by Göregenli (2004) in a previous study and it was found that the scale had high internal consistency. Participants indicated their level of agreement with each statement on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 9 (*Strongly agree*). In the present study, the Alpha’s coefficient was .86.

Participants were asked about their emotions about being a participant in the Turkey’s system. They were asked to read the instruction used in the Study 1, with the wording “When you think of yourself as a PARTICIPANT IN THE TURKEY’S SYSTEM and ORDER to what do you feel each of the following emotions in general?” Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording. Sample items were “As a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, I feel happy”, “As a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, I feel moral outrage.” Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*).

A principle component analysis with varimax rotation was run on 27 items of national system emotions. Although the initial results yielded five factors that accounted for 64.54% of the total variance, after forcing for two-factors, the final solution accounted for 54.09% of the variance. The first factor tapped negative national system emotions and explained the 30.20% of the total variance. The second factor tapped positive national system emotions and explained the 23.89% of the total variance. Again, considering the predetermined criteria about the consistency between parallel forms, two items (item 27 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I feel envious”; item 2 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I feel angry at students from other universities”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha values were .91 and .94 for positive and negative national system emotions, respectively. Additionally, similar to individual discrete emotion subscales, the same discrete national system emotions subscales, namely national system anger (Cronbach’s alpha = .81), fear/anxiety (Cronbach’s alpha = .81),

sadness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$), guilt/shame (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$), and happiness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$) were computed.

3.1.3.1.3.2. Economic System Justification and Capitalist Economy Emotions

As in Study 1, participants were asked to complete Economic System Justification Scale (ESJS; Jost & Thompson, 2000) and then were asked about their emotions derived from being a member of the capitalist economy, and complete the same emotion items with appropriate rewordings. The ESJS was adapted to Turkish by Göregenli and Teközel (2006) and it was found that the scale had high internal consistency.

Participants, then, read the same instruction used in Study 1 and they were asked about their emotions derived from being a member of a capitalist economy. They were asked to read the instruction used in the Study 1, with the wording such as “When you think of yourself as a MEMBER OF A CAPITALIST ECONOMY to what do you feel each of the following emotions in general?” Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). In the present study, the alpha coefficient was .83.

The principle component analysis with varimax rotation on 27 items of capitalist economy emotions yielded four factors that accounted for 73.32% of the total variance. After forcing for two-factors, the final solution accounted for 65.24% of the variance. The first factor represented negative capitalist economy emotions and explained the 38.98% of the total variance. The second factor was positive capitalist economy emotions and explained the 26.25% of the total variance. Since item 27 (“As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel envious”) had lower factor loading than .30 on negative capitalist economy emotions and item 2 (“I feel angry at the socialist system”) loaded higher on positive emotions (.50) than negative emotions (.04) were excluded from the further analyses. To ensure consistency between parallel forms of emotions, these two items were also removed from negative individual, group, and system emotions. Cronbach's alpha values were .95 and .96 for positive and negative capitalist economy emotions, respectively. Again,

the same discrete emotions subscales were computed, representing capitalist economy anger (Cronbach's alpha = .85), fear/anxiety (Cronbach's alpha = .85), sadness (Cronbach's alpha = .87), guilt/shame (Cronbach's alpha = .87), and happiness (Cronbach's alpha = .90).

3.1.3.2. System-Related Tendencies and Actions

The same scales for system-related tendencies and actions used in Study 1 were used in Study 2. Detailed information about the scales was provided in Study 1.

3.1.3.2.1. System-Related Tendencies

For an 8-item system-related tendencies scale, responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale ranged from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (7) *Strongly agree*. The explanatory factor analysis on the items with varimax rotation indicated a single factor that accounting for 70.12% of the variance. Cronbach's alpha value was .94.

3.1.3.2.2. System-Related Actions

In order to measure, system-related actions, participants were asked to respond the same 5-item scale used in Study 1. Responses ranged from 1 = *Never* to 7 = *More than 6 times*. The explanatory factor analysis with varimax rotation results yielded a single factor that accounting for 60.40% of the results. Cronbach's alpha value was .82.

3.1.3.3. Emotion Regulation Strategies

Similar to Study 1, emotion regulation tendencies were measured for both trait emotion regulation and emotion regulation tendencies toward Turkey's system and order. While the trait emotion regulation represents individual related emotion regulation, emotion regulation toward Turkey's system and order represents system-related emotion regulation.

3.1.3.3.1. Individual-Related Emotion Regulation

As in Study 1, Gross and John's (2003) a 10-item Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ) assessing reappraisal and suppression dimensions was used for emotion regulation. The ERQ was adapted to Turkish by Özgüle (2011) and she reported the scale had high internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .78 and .64 for reappraisal and suppression, respectively). The detailed information about the scale was provided in Study 1.

Although the initial exploratory factor analysis revealed three dimensions accounted 64.72% of the total variance, the criterion eigenvalues, the scree plot, and the interpretability of the factor solution provided by the factor analyses suggested two orthogonal dimensions of reappraisal and suppression that accounting for 50.69% of the variance. The reappraisal dimension had six items and explained 33.64% of the total variance. While reappraisal dimension explained 28.07% of the variance, suppression dimension explained 22.62% of the variance (Cronbach's Alpha = .75 and .74, respectively).

3.1.3.3.2. System-Related Emotion Regulation

As in Study 1, system-related emotion regulation was measured with a 6-item reappraisal questionnaire (e.g., "When I want to feel less negative emotion about the Turkey's system and order, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation") and a 4-item suppression subscale (e.g., "When I am feeling negative emotions about the Turkey's system and order, I make sure not to express them") were adapted for the Turkey's system context. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). Detailed information about the scale was provided in Study 1.

The initial exploratory factor analysis with ten items yielded two dimensions accounting for 64.77% of the total variance. Reappraisal dimension explained 37.78% and suppression dimension explained 26.99% of the variance. Cronbach's alpha values were .74 and .81 for reappraisal and suppression strategies, respectively.

3.1.3.4. Socio-Demographic Questionnaire

The section included socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, income, religion, religiosity, political orientation, and perceived socio-economic status. In order to measure political orientation participants were asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (*Left*) to 11 (*Right*). Religiosity and perceived SES were measured using single item scales as in Study 1.

3.2. Results

First, the results regarding data screening and cleaning were provided and then descriptive statistics for the major study variables were presented. Finally, the findings regarding the testing of specific hypotheses were given.

3.2.1. Data Screening and Cleaning

The missing value analysis revealed that only a few variables have missing values. The results of Little's MCAR Test revealed that the missing values were random ($\chi^2_{103} = 85.48, ns$). As mentioned before, if missing values are less than 5%, any procedure to handle missing values can be applied to the data set (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). In the present study, the highest percent for the missing values among study variables was 4.4% in the negative party group emotions. Thus, missing values were replaced with the means for all cases.

Data were also analyzed for univariate and multivariate outliers. Seven cases were identified as univariate outliers having high z-scores higher than ± 3.30 . There was no multivariate outliers. Univariate outliers were excluded from the data set, leaving 129 participants data analyses. The skewness and kurtosis levels for the all variables were in the acceptable ranges indicating the normality of the distributions.

3.2.2. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and ranges) for the major study variables were presented in Table 3.1.

As in Study 1, mean scores of the subscales were roughly compared with the given scale's absolute midpoint to see how common (or frequent) the study variables are experienced among the participants of the current study. The comparison of the means of emotions demonstrated that while the mean positive individual emotions (4.81), positive university group emotions (5.34), negative national system emotions (4.41) were higher than midpoint, the mean scores for positive party group emotions (3.37), negative party group emotions (2.67), negative university group emotions, (2.17), positive national system emotions (2.85), and positive capitalist economy emotions (2.75) were lower than the scale midpoint (4), the one with the lowest mean score was negative university group emotions. Interestingly, it appears that although the mean values of individual and group emotions in Study 1 and the mean values of individual and group emotions in Study 2 were similar to each other, positive system emotions were lower and negative system emotions were higher in Turkey as compared to the USA.

Regarding emotion regulation, whereas the mean value of individual level cognitive reappraisal strategy (4.45) was higher than the scale midpoint, system-level cognitive reappraisal (3.47), individual suppression (3.65) system suppression (3.19) were lower than the midpoint value (4). With regard to system justification, the mean value of both economic system justification (3.71) and general system justification (2.51) were lower than the midpoint of the scale (5).

Also, while university group justification (4.80) was higher than midpoint (4), party group justification was lower than the midpoint (2.96). Finally, although the system related tendencies (4.80) were higher than the midpoint of the scales, the system actions (2.18) was lower than the midpoint value (4).

Before the main analyses, potential gender differences on the major variables were tested. Gender related significantly with positive individual emotions ($t(125) = -2.20, p < .05$) and positive university group emotions in a way that women reported more positive individual ($M = 4.94$) and university group ($M = 5.60$) emotions than

men ($M = 4.49$ and $M = 4.76$, respectively). These results imply that gender cannot account for any effects involving the emotions, so all analyses collapse across gender. Also, gender was significantly associated with individual suppression, specifically men ($M = 4.12$) reported higher level of individual suppression than women ($M = 3.45$).

Table 3. 1. *Descriptive Statistics on the Main Study Variables*

	TURKEY Sample		
	Mean	SD	Range
Positive Individual Emotions	4.81	1.06	1-7
Negative Individual Emotions	3.39	1.14	1-7
Positive Political Party Emotions	3.37	1.29	1-7
Negative Political Party Emotions	2.67	1.06	1-7
Positive University Group Emotions	5.34	1.10	1-7
Negative University Group Emotions	2.17	0.95	1-7
Positive National System Emotions	2.85	1.06	1-7
Negative National System Emotions	4.41	1.23	1-7
Positive Capitalist Economy Emotions	2.75	1.08	1-7
Negative Capitalist Economy Emotions	4.14	1.48	1-7
System-Related Action Tendencies	4.80	1.13	1-7
System-Related Action Behavior	2.18	1.14	1-7
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	4.45	0.97	1-7
Individual Suppression	3.65	1.25	1-7
System Cognitive Reappraisal	3.47	1.09	1-7
System Suppression	3.19	1.23	1-7
Party Group Justification	2.96	1.32	1-7
University Group Justification	4.80	1.24	1-7
General System Justification	2.51	1.28	1-9
Economic System Justification	3.72	1.16	1-9

3.2.3. The Correlations Between Individual, Group, and System Emotions

Zero-order correlations were shown in Table 3.2. The average correlation of different levels of emotions ranged from .01 to -.62.

Positive individual emotions were significantly correlated with negative individual emotions ($r = -.47, p < .001$). The relationship between positive and negative university group emotions and the relationship between positive and negative party emotions were significant ($r = .21, p < .05$; $r = -.49, p < .001$, respectively). Also, positive university emotions were associated with positive party emotions ($r = .25, p < .01$), and negative university emotions were related to negative party emotions ($r = .35, p < .001$). These results indicated that the relationships within group emotions were at the moderate level.

Examination of correlations within the system emotions indicated that the valence and size of correlations between the system emotions were all in the expected directions. The highest correlation was observed between negative and positive national system emotions ($r = -.62, p < .001$). Also, the correlation between positive and negative capitalist emotions was significant ($r = -.37, p < .001$). Negative capitalist system emotions and negative national system emotions was positively correlated ($r = .48, p < .001$). The correlation between positive national system and positive capitalist economy emotions was $.46 (p < .001)$.

The correlations between individual and system emotions ranged from $.01$ to $.19$ and the correlations between individual and group emotions ranged from $.01$ to $.59$. Therefore, both system emotions and group emotions are different from individual emotions, although they overlap with individual emotions to some degree. Specifically, positive individual emotions were significantly and positively related to only positive national system emotions ($r = .19, p < .001$), whereas negative individual emotions were correlated with negative national system ($r = .21, p < .05$) and positive capitalist economy ($r = .19, p < .05$) emotions.

Examinations of correlations between the group and individual emotions demonstrated that positive individual emotions were positively associated with both university and party group emotions. That is, higher individual positive emotions were associated with higher positive university ($r = .59, p < .001$) and higher positive party ($r = .28, p < .01$) but lower negative university ($r = -.37, p < .001$) group emotions. Also, individual negative emotions were significantly related to negative ($r = .55, p < .001$) and positive ($r = -.25, p < .01$) university group as well as negative party emotions ($r = .30, p < .01$).

With regard to relations between group and system emotions, the significant relations between system emotions and group emotions (party group emotions and university group emotions) ranged between .01 and .31. Only the negative party emotions were related to the negative national system ($r = .31, p < .001$) and the negative capitalist economy ($r = .27, p < .01$) emotions. Also, among the university group emotions, only the negative university group emotions were correlated with the negative national system emotions ($r = .18, p < .05$). These findings mean that the system emotions are different from the group emotions, although they overlap to some degree.

In terms of discrete emotions, namely, anger, sadness, fear/anxiety, guilt/shame, and happiness, the correlations of system emotions with the individual emotions ranged from .01 to .25 and with the group emotions ranged from .01 to .36. However, the correlations between discrete individual and discrete group emotions were ranged from .01 to .52.

3.2.4. Testing Hypothesis 1: System-Based Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order

Following the same data analysis strategies in Study 1, Hypothesis 1a was tested for the combination of subjective status and objective status. Strong correlation was found between self-reported socioeconomic status and income ($r = .50, p < .001$), indicating a strong link between subjective and objective SES. Then, self-rated SES and family income were standardized and mean scores were used to create a composite measure of overall SES.

The correlation between overall SES and emotion items were computed. As predicted, higher overall SES was related to lower negative capitalist economy emotions ($r = -.18, p < .05$) and lower capitalist fear/anxiety ($r = -.18, p < .05$). The correlations between SES and the system emotions were in the expected directions. However, overall SES was associated with the positive individual emotions ($r = .29, p < .01$) and the individual happiness ($r = .28, p < .01$). The correlation between overall SES and group emotions did not reach to the significant level.

Table 3.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1. Positive Individual Emotions	1															
2. Negative Individual Emotions	-.47***	1														
3. Positive Party Group Emotions	.28**	-.13	1													
4. Negative Party Group Emotions	-.13	.30**	.21*	1												
5. Positive University Group Emotions	.59***	-.25**	.25**	.01	1											
6. Negative University Group Emotions	-.37**	.55***	-.08	.35***	-.49***	1										
7. Positive National System Emotions	.19*	.01	.04	-.05	.10	.03	1									
8. Negative National System Emotions	-.06	.21*	.06	.31***	.12	.18*	-.62***	1								
9. Positive Capitalist Economy Emotions	.15	.01	.06	.03	.01	.05	.46***	-.29**	1							
10. Negative Capitalist Economy Emotions	.03	.19*	.17	.27**	.09	.15	-.22*	.48***	-.37***	1						
11. Economic System Justification	-.01	.03	-.09	-.12	-.08	.02	.23**	-.26**	.46***	-.50***	1					
12. General System Justification	-.06	.06	-.09	-.06	-.12	.09	.64***	-.63***	.45***	-.34***	.40***	1				
13. Party Group Justification	.28**	-.17	.67***	.19*	.19*	-.14	-.04	.03	.05	.04	-.01	-.12	1			
14. University Group Justification	.44***	-.28*	.12	.15	.65***	-.39***	.07	.06	.08	-.07	.12	-.03	.20*	1		
15. System-Related Action Tendencies	.06	.02	.08	.18*	.13	-.09	-.09	.19*	-.13	.41***	-.25**	-.22*	-.04	.08	1	
16. System-Related Action Behavior	-.11	.02	.25**	.23*	.11	.01	-.27**	.28**	-.21*	.28**	-.28**	-.25**	.18*	-.00	.33***	1

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

Table 3.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Study Variables (Con't)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
17. Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	.27**	-.06	.13	.04	.21*	-.03	.07	.03	.01	.09	-.03	.01	.10	.25**	.11	-.11	1				
18. Individual Suppression	-.30***	.24**	-.13	.03	-.31***	.29**	.04	-.07	.11	.14	.01	.13	-.07	-.20*	-.11	-.11	.12	1			
19. System Cognitive Reappraisal	-.28**	-.22*	.12	-.08	.33***	-.26**	.22*	-.11	.28**	-.06	.18*	.10	.11	.30**	-.08	-.34***	.42***	-.05	1		
20. System Suppression	-.08	.15	-.12	.04	-.06	-.03	.18*	-.15	.28**	-.21*	.37***	.15	-.03	.14	-.15	.31***	-.01	.10	.38***	1	
21. Overall SES	.29**	-.17	.02	-.08	.10	-.13	.11	-.05	.09	-.18*	.11	-.00	.04	.08	-.10	-.15	-.02	-.21*	-.18*	.03	1
22. Political Orientation	.04	.02	-.002	-.26**	-.06	.10	.29**	-.36***	.19*	-.23*	.31**	.41***	-.02	-.16	-.36***	-.12	-.03	.10	-.02	.09	.05

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

The first hypothesis (H1a) of the study was also tested using a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs). As in Study 1, overall SES was coded into two categories based on its mean value ($M_{\text{overall SES}} = 0$): Low SES = 1, High SES = 2. In line with findings from the correlational analyses, participants with high SES reported slightly (marginally) less negative capitalist economy emotions ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.27$) than participants with low SES ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.40$), ($F(1, 126) = 3.44$, $p = .07$).

SES had effects on the individual and the group emotions. Participants with high SES reported more positive ($M = 5.08$, $SD = .96$) and less negative ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.13$) individual emotions than participants with low overall SES ($M = 4.51$, $SD = 1.10$; $M_{\text{SES}} = 3.66$, $SD = 1.11$, respectively), ($F(1, 126) = 9.69$, $p < .01$, $F(1, 126) = 7.14$, $p < .05$, respectively). Likewise, higher overall SES participants ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .87$) expressed less negative university group emotions as compared to lower SES participants ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.01$), ($F(1, 126) = 4.82$, $p < .05$).

Next, the palliative function of system justification was examined using moderated regression analyses. The regression analyses were run separately for negative, positive, and discrete system emotions using the same procedure in Study 1. As seen in Table 3.3. and Table 3.4., the findings showed that the interaction between economic system justification and overall status in the last step was marginally significant in predicting only capitalist economy sadness. None of the remaining interactions were significant in predicting national system emotions.

As demonstrated in Table 3.4., the interaction between economic system justification and overall social status in predicting capitalist economy sadness was marginally significant. Results yielded that the first regression equation was statistically significant $F(2, 125) = 19.19$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .24$, Adjusted $R^2 = .23$. In the first step, endorsing economic system justification ($\beta = -.45$, $p < .001$) was related to lower negative capitalist economy emotions and SES was marginally predicted capitalist economy sadness ($\beta = -.15$, $p = .06$). In the second step, the interaction between economic system justification and SES was marginally significant ($\beta = .14$, $p = .08$), $F(3, 125) = 14.04$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .26$, Adjusted $R^2 = .24$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F = 3.08$, $p = .08$). As shown in Figure 3.1, low SES individuals reported more capitalist economy sadness than high SES individuals ($t(122) = -2.61$, $p < .05$), when they have low system justification tendencies. However, there was no significant difference between status group with high system justification tendencies ($t(122) = -.06$, ns).

These results were consistent with the results of the Study 1. In line with Hypothesis 1b, system justification (slightly) buffers the detrimental effects of social status on system sadness. The moderating effect of system justification on the relationship between social status and sadness shows the same pattern of results both in Turkey and USA.

Table 3.3. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of System Justification and SES on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions		Negative National System Emotions		National System Anger		National System Fear/Anxiety		National System Sadness		National System Guilt/Shame		National System Happiness	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	B	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1														
Overall Social Status	.12	.42**	-.05	.39*	-.08	.41**	.01	.37**	-.04	.28**	.02	.10*	.11	.39**
General System Justification	.64**		-.62**		-.64**		-.61**		-.53**		-.31**		.61**	
Step 2														
Overall SES x General System Justification	.06	.00	.05	.00	.09	.01	-.03	.00	.01	.00	.01	.01	.01	.00

** $p < .001$, * $p < .01$

Table 3.4. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of System Justification and SES on Capitalist Economy Emotions

	Positive Capitalist Economy System Emotions		Negative Capitalist Economy System Emotions		Capitalist Economy Anger		Capitalist Economy Fear/Anxiety		Capitalist Economy Sadness		Capitalist Economy Guilt/Shame		Capitalist Economy Happiness	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	B	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1														
Overall Social Status	.05	.21*	-.13 \times	.26*	-.09	.31*	-.13 \times	.23*	-.15 \times	.24*	-.06	.12*	.07	.18*
Economic System Justification	.45*		-.48*		-.54*		-.45*		-.45*		-.33*		.41*	
Step 2														
Overall SES x Economic System Justification	.02	.001	.13	.02 \times	.09	.01	.10	.01	.14 \times	.02	.12	.01	.02	.00

* $p < .001$; $\times p < .10$

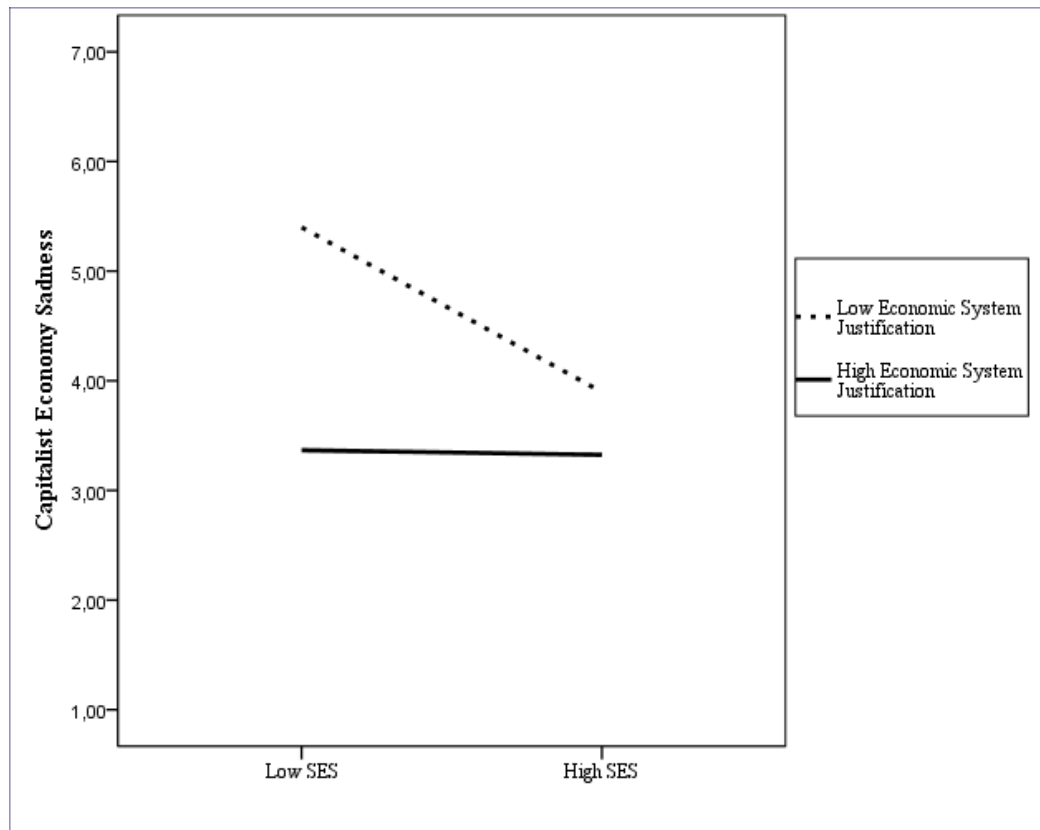


Figure 3.1. *The Interaction Between System Justification and SES in Predicting Capitalist Economy Sadness*

In sum, system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order in a way that higher SES was associated with lower negative capitalist economy emotions. Moreover, system justification (slightly) moderates the relationship between capitalist sadness regarding the economic social status quo.

3.2.5. Testing Hypothesis 2: System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

The second hypothesis states that system-based emotions will reflect appraisals of the social order. First, positive and negative individual, group, and system emotions were allowed to correlate with group justification and system justification tendencies. Similar to Study 1, the results revealed that system

justification tendencies were consistently correlated with system emotions ranging from .24 to .64.

As shown in Table 3.2, general system justification was associated with the positive ($r = .64, p < .001$) and the negative ($r = -.63, p < .001$) national system emotions as well as with the positive ($r = .46, p < .001$) and the negative capitalist economy ($r = -.50, p < .001$) emotions. Likewise, economic system justification was associated with positive ($r = .46, p < .001$) and negative ($r = -.50, p < .001$) capitalist economy emotions, as well as with positive ($r = -.24, p < .05$) and negative national system emotions ($r = -.26, p < .01$). However, system justification tendencies were not related to the individual and the group emotions.

Second, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to examine whether the system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. Again, four regressions were run in which political party justification and university group justification were entered in the first step, followed by system justification tendencies, namely general system justification for the national system emotions and economic system justification for the capitalist economy emotions in the second step.

As illustrated in Table 3.5., the first regression equation on the positive national system emotion was not statistically significant $F(2, 128) = .46, ns, R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$. The standardized beta weights showed that neither university group justification ($\beta = -.05, ns$) nor political party justification ($\beta = .08, ns$) significantly predicted positive national system emotions in the first step. The entry of general system justification in the second step made significant contribution to the model ($F(3, 128) = 30.18, p < .001, R^2 = .42, \Delta R^2 = .41, \Delta F = 88.97, p < .001$). As expected, general system justification had the strongest effect in the model ($\beta = .65, p < .001$). Similarly, the first regression equation in the negative national system emotions was not statistically significant ($F(2, 128) = .26, ns, R^2 = .004$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$). The entry of system justification tendency in the second step made significant contribution to the model ($F(3, 128) = 27.62, p < .001, R^2 = .40, \Delta R^2 = .39, \Delta F = 82, p < .001$). In other words, general system justification made the strongest effect in the model ($\beta = -.63, p < .001$). These findings imply that people who endorse system justification tendencies have more positive and less negative system

emotions derived from being a participant in the Turkey's system. In other words, system-based emotions reflect appraisals of social order.

Likewise, as presented in Table 3.6., the first step in positive capitalist economy emotions was not significant, $F(2, 128) = .53$, ns , $R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.001$. Including economic system justification to the second step made the significant contribution to the model ($F(3, 128) = 11.67$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .22$, $\Delta R^2 = .21$, $\Delta F = 33.68$, $p < .001$). Therefore, economic system justification had the highest standardized weight in the model ($\beta = .46$, $p < .001$), demonstrating higher system justification was associated with higher positive capitalist economy emotions. Finally, in the negative capitalist emotions, the first step was statistically nonsignificant, $F(2, 128) = .43$, ns , $R^2 = .01$, Adjusted $R^2 = -.01$ whereas, the second step reached the statistically significant level ($F(3, 216) = 14.16$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .25$, $\Delta R^2 = .25$, $\Delta F = 41.34$, $p < .001$). Specifically, negative capitalist system emotions were predicted by economic system justification ($\beta = -.50$, $p < .001$). These findings mean that higher justification for the economic system was associated with lower negative capitalist emotions, demonstrating system emotions were related to person's level of system justification. Overall, there was evidence for Hypothesis 2 that study-system emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. Additionally, Hypothesis 2 was tested for discrete system emotions using correlational analyses. Again, system justification tendencies were highly related to discrete system emotions but not with discrete individual or group emotions.

Moreover, the same regression model was tested for discrete national and capitalist system emotions. Similar to Study 1, results yielded that general system justification was the most important predictor of national system anger ($\beta = -.65$, $p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.61$, $p < .001$), sadness ($\beta = -.54$, $p < .001$), guilt/shame ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .001$), and happiness ($\beta = .61$, $p < .001$). Likewise, economic system justification was the most important predictor of capital economy anger ($\beta = -.56$, $p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.48$, $p < .001$), sadness ($\beta = -.47$, $p < .001$), guilt/shame ($\beta = -.33$, $p < .001$), and happiness ($\beta = .42$, $p < .001$). Again, these results indicated that system emotions are dependent to person's system justification.

3.2.6. Testing Hypothesis 3: System-Level Emotions Affect System Related Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The third hypothesis of the study states that system-level emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors. Significant relations were observed among system-emotions and system related action tendencies and behavior. As shown in Table 3.2., the correlations ranged from -.09 and .41 for the relationships of system emotions with action tendencies and behaviors. These correlations were in the expected direction. System justification tendencies were positively correlated with negative national system emotions ($r = .19, p < .05$) and negative capitalist economy emotions ($r = .41, p < .001$). In a similar vein, system related behaviors were negatively related to positive national system ($r = -.27, p < .01$) and capitalist economy ($r = -.21, p < .05$) emotions as well as with more negative national system ($r = .28, p < .01$) and capitalist economy ($r = .28, p < .01$) emotions.

However, individual emotions were not significantly correlated with system tendencies and behaviors. With regard to group-based emotions, action tendencies were marginally associated with negative party group emotions ($r = .18, p = .05$). Also, action behaviors were related to positive party group emotions ($r = .25, p < .01$) and negative party group emotions ($r = .23, p < .05$). Then, hierarchal regression analyses were conducted to test whether the system emotions predict collective action tendencies and behaviors. As in Study 1, individual emotions and group emotions were entered in the first step, and system emotions were entered in the second step. As in Study 1, national and capitalist system economy emotions were included to the separate analyses.

As illustrated in Table 3.7, individual emotions did not predict significantly action tendencies but significantly predicted negative party group emotions ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) in the first step, although the regression equation was nonsignificant, ($F(6, 128) = 1.36, ns, R^2 = .06, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .02, ns$). However, the second step failed to reach the significant level in predicting action tendencies, ($F(8, 128) = 1.38, ns, R^2 = .08, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .02, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 1.42, ns$). Also, the same model was tested for capitalist system emotions. As presented in Table 3.8., only negative party group

Table 3.5. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Justification Tendencies on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.01			.004			.01			.02			.004			.001			.00	
Political Party Group Justification	-.05			.02			.01			.05			.004			-.002			-.13		
University Group Justification	.08			.06**			.10			.14			.02			.01			.07		
Step 2		.41***			.39***			.42***			.37***			.28***			.10***			.37***	
General System Justification	.65***			-.63***			-.65***			-.61***			-.54***			-.32***			.61***		

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

Table 3.6. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Justification Tendencies on Capitalist Economy Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			Capitalist Economy Anger			Capitalist Economy Fear/Anxiety			Capitalist Economy Sadness			Capitalist Economy Guilt/Shame			Capitalist Economy Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.01			.01			.002			.03			.02			.02			.01	
Political Party Group Justification	.04			.05			-.04			-.02			.12			.04			.01		
University Group Justification	.08			-.08			-.04			-.03			-.07			-.13			.09		
Step 2		.21*			.25*			.31			.23*			.22*			.11*			.18*	
Economic System Justification	.46*			-.50*			-.56*			-.48*			-.47*			-.33*			.42*		

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

emotions ($\beta = .22, p = .04$) significantly predicted action tendencies, although the equation was statistically insignificant in the first step ($F(6, 128) = 1.36, ns, R^2 = .06$, Adjusted $R^2 = .02, ns$). However, negative capitalist economy emotions ($\beta = .43, p < .001$) was stronger predictor of action tendencies as compared to negative party group emotions in the second step, $F(8, 128) = 3.99, p < .001, R^2 = .21$, Adjusted $R^2 = .16, \Delta R^2 = .15, \Delta F = 11.19, p < .001$). Also negative university group emotions made marginally significant contribution to the second step ($\beta = -.21, p = .06$). Results indicated that people with more negative capitalist economy system emotions were more likely to have collective action tendencies, even after controlling their individual and group emotions.

In the collective behaviors, as shown Table 3.7., when national system emotions were included in the analyses, results yielded that lower positive individual emotions ($\beta = -.32, p < .05$) and higher positive party group emotions ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) predicted action behavior in the first step, ($F(6, 128) = 3.59, p < .01, R^2 = .15$, Adjusted $R^2 = .11$). However, in the second step, only positive individual ($\beta = -.27, p < .05$) and positive party group ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) emotions predicted system actions, $F(8, 128) = 4.00, p < .001, R^2 = .21$, Adjusted $R^2 = .16, \Delta R^2 = .06, \Delta F = 4.64, p < .05$. Also, in the capitalist economy emotions, as presented in Table 3.8., lower positive individual emotions ($\beta = -.32, p < .05$) and higher positive party group ($\beta = .24, p < .05$) emotions predicted collective actions in the first step, ($F(6, 128) = 3.59, p < .01, R^2 = .15$, Adjusted $R^2 = .11$). In the second step, not only positive individual emotions ($\beta = -.30, p < .05$) and positive party group emotions ($\beta = .22, p < .05$), but also negative capitalist system emotions predicted system action behavior but the contribution of the capitalist emotions was at the marginal level ($\beta = .18, p = .06$), $F(8, 128) = 3.92, p < .001, R^2 = .22$, Adjusted $R^2 = .21, \Delta R^2 = .15, \Delta F = 4.33, p < .05$.

In terms of relationships of discrete emotions (anger, guilt/shame, sadness, fear/anxiety, happiness) with action tendencies and behaviors, the relationship of action tendencies with discrete national system emotions ranged from .05 to .23 and with capitalist economy emotions ranged from .19 to .41. Specifically, while action tendencies were significantly correlated with only national sadness ($r = .23, p < .05$) and national guilt/shame ($r = .22, p = .01$), they were significantly correlated with

capitalist economy anger ($r = .41, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = .39, p < .001$), sadness ($r = .30, p < .001$), guilt/shame ($r = .32, p < .001$), and happiness ($r = -.19, p < .05$). However, no discrete individual emotions were significantly correlated with action tendencies. In terms of group emotions, only party sadness ($r = .21, p < .05$) and party anger ($r = .20, p < .05$) were positively and significantly associated with action tendencies.

With regard to collect behavior, the correlations between same discrete emotions and national system emotions ranged from .18 to .32. Also, the relation between discrete emotions and capitalist economy emotions were between .19 and .32. Specifically, higher support for action behavior was associated with higher national anger ($r = .32, p < .001$), national sadness ($r = .25, p < .05$), national fear/anxiety ($r = .18, p < .05$), national guilt/shame ($r = .18, p < .05$), and capitalist anger ($r = .32, p < .001$), capitalist sadness ($r = .27, p < .01$), capitalist fear/anxiety ($r = .22, p < .05$), and capitalist guilt/shame ($r = .19, p < .05$) but lower national ($r = -.29, p < .01$) and capitalist economy ($r = -.25, p < .01$) happiness. Although no specific individual emotions were significantly correlated with action tendencies, party group-based anger ($r = .23, p < .05$), sadness ($r = .20, p < .05$), and happiness ($r = .20, p < .05$) were positively associated with system actions. Again, these results indicate that emotions related system characteristics are closely associated with action tendencies and behavior. Emotions derived from capitalist economy are more related to action tendencies and behaviors as compared to national system emotions.

3.2.7. Testing Hypothesis 4: Mediating Role of System Emotions Between System Justification and System Related Tendencies and Behavior

Following the data analysis strategy used in Study 1, the mediating effects of system emotions in the relationship between system justification and system related tendencies and behavior were tested by a series of path analysis using LISREL 8.51. First, the mediating effects of national system emotions in the links between general system justification and action tendencies and behaviors were tested. Next, the mediating role of capitalist economy emotions on the relation between economic

Table 3.7. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of National System Emotions on System Related Action Tendencies and Behavior

	System Tendencies			System Behavior		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.06				.15**
Positive Individual Emotions	.04			-.32*		
Negative Individual Emotions	.08			-.10		
Positive Political Party Group Emotions	.01			.24*		
Negative Political Party Group Emotions	.22*			.16		
Positive University Group Emotions	.04			.22		
Negative University Group Emotions	-.17			.02		
Step 2		.02				.06*
Positive National System Emotions	.02			-.19		
Negative National System Emotions	.17			.08		

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

Table 3.8. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Capitalist Economy Emotions on System Related Action Tendencies and Behavior

	System Tendencies			System Behavior		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.06				.15**
Positive Individual Emotions	.04			-.32*		
Negative Individual Emotions	.08			-.10		
Positive Political Party Group Emotions	.01			.24*		
Negative Political Party Group Emotions	.22*			.16		
Positive University Group Emotions	.04			.22		
Negative University Group Emotions	-.17			.02		
Step 2		.15***				.06*
Positive Capitalist Economy System Emotions	.04			-.11		
Negative Capitalist Economy System Emotions	.43***			.18		

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

system justification and action tendencies and behaviors were examined. As in Study 1, system justification was used as the predictor variable, the positive and system emotions as mediating variables, and system related tendencies and behavior were employed as the outcome variables. Research findings provide support for Hypothesis 4 that system emotions mediate the relation between system justification and system-related tendencies and behaviors.

The final model for national emotions was given in Figure 3.2. The goodness-of-fit statistics indicated a very good fit to the data, ($\chi^2 (4, N = 129) = 3.95, p = ns. GFI = .99, AGFI = .95, NNFI = 1, CFI = .1, RMSEA = .00$). Moreover, the chi-square to degrees of freedom ration for the model was 0.78. General system justification predicted positive ($\beta = .64, p < .05$) and lower negative ($\beta = -.63, p < .05$) national system emotions as well as willingness to participate in collective action ($\beta = -.19, p < .05$). Also, positive national system emotions predicted action behaviors negatively ($\beta = -.28, p < .05$), suggesting system positive emotions fully mediated the relation between general system justification and action behaviors (*indirect effect* = $-.18, t = -3.17, p < .05$). Overall, general system justification explained 41% and 39% of the total variance in positive and negative system emotions. Full model explained 8% and 4% of the total variance in collective behavior and willingness to participate in collective action, respectively.

As seen in Figure 3.3., the final model for capitalist economy emotions fit the data very well, ($\chi^2 (4, N = 129) = 4.87, p = ns. GFI = .99, AGFI = .94, NNFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04$). The chi-square to degrees of freedom ration for the model was 1.22. As seen in Figure x, economic system justification predicted higher positive ($\beta = .46, p < .05$) and lower negative ($\beta = -.50, p < .05$) capitalist economy emotions, negative capitalist economy system emotions positively predicted action tendencies ($\beta = .41, p < .05$) and behavior ($\beta = .28, p < .05$). Also, negative capitalist system emotions fully mediated the relationship between economic system justification and action tendencies (*indirect effect* = $-.21, t = -4.02, p < .05$) and behaviors (*indirect effect* = $-.14, t = -2.95, p < .05$). Overall, economic system justification explained 22% and 25%, of the total variance in positive and negative capitalist economy emotions, respectively. The full model explained 17% and .08% of the total variances in action tendencies and behaviors, respectively.

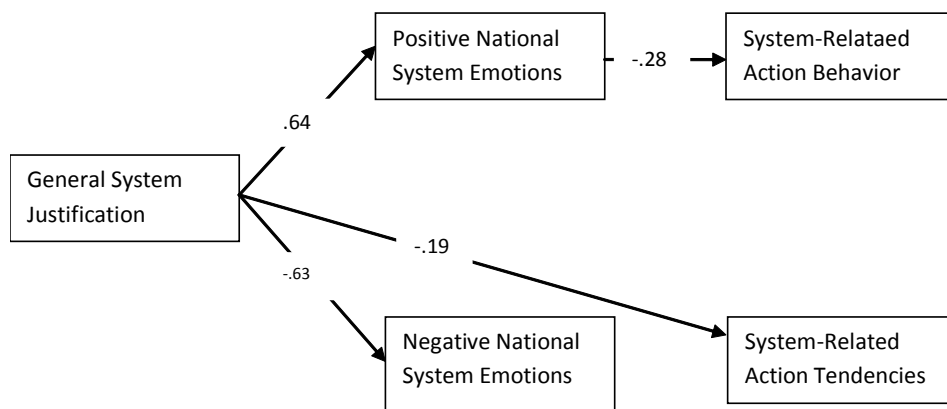


Figure 3.2. *Path Model Using National System Emotions as a Mediator*

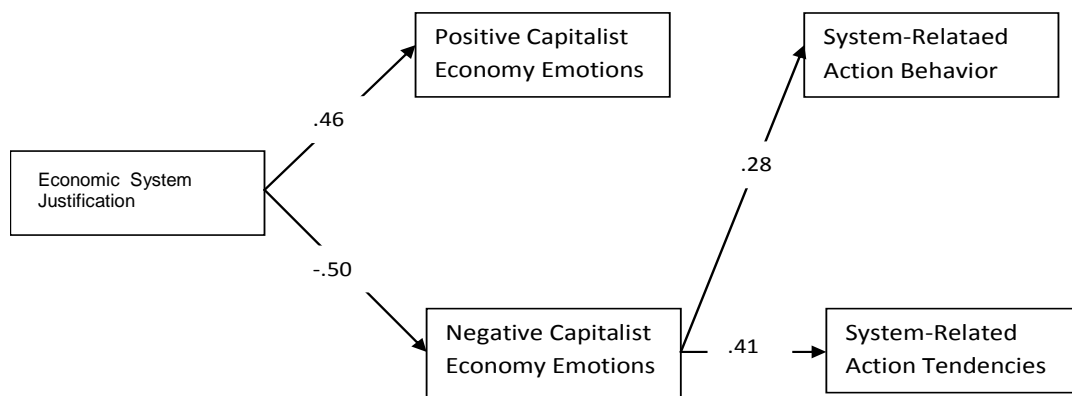


Figure 3.3. *Path Model Using Capitalist Economy Emotions as a Mediator*

3.2.8. Testing Hypothesis 5: System-Level Emotions Are Regulated By System

Related Emotion Regulation

The fifth hypothesis of this study proposes that system-based emotions will be regulated by system related emotion regulation. As shown in Table 3.2., individual cognitive reappraisal and system cognitive reappraisal were moderately correlated ($r = .42, p < .001$). Although there was no relationship between individual reappraisal and individual suppression, system reappraisal and system suppression were related to each other ($r = .38, p < .001$). As expected, individual and system suppression was not associated suggesting that they are separate strategies

Next, the relationships between emotion regulation and system emotions were examined. Results showed that system reappraisal was consistently associated with not only positive system emotions but also with positive individual and group emotions. Specifically, system reappraisal was associated with higher positive national system ($r = .18, p < .05$) and capitalist economy ($r = .28, p < .01$) as well as with higher positive individual ($r = .28, p < .01$) and positive university group ($r = .33, p < .001$) emotions but lower negative individual ($r = -.22, p < .05$) and negative university group ($r = -.26, p < .01$) emotions. However, system suppression was related to higher positive national emotions ($r = -.21, p < .05$) and capitalist economy emotions ($r = -.21, p < .05$) but negative lower capitalist economy emotions ($r = -.21, p < .05$). Individual emotion regulation strategies were not significantly associated with system emotions. Confirming Hypothesis 5a the system-related emotion regulation strategies were related to system emotions stronger than the individual emotion regulation strategies.

Higher individual suppression was associated with lower positive ($r = -.30, p < .001$) and higher negative ($r = .24, p < .05$) individual emotions as well as lower positive ($r = -.31, p < .001$) and higher negative ($r = .29, p < .01$) university group emotions. The results demonstrated that system suppression was related to more positive and less negative system emotions whereas individual suppression was associated with less positive and more negative individual and group emotions.

Therefore, consistent with Hypothesis 5b, individual suppression and system suppression reveal different relation pattern with emotion.

Also, in terms of discrete emotions, national system ($r = .18, p < .05$) and capitalist economy happiness ($r = .29, p < .01$) were related to system cognitive reappraisal strategy. Higher system suppression was associated with lower national system sadness ($r = -.22, p < .05$), capitalist economy anger ($r = -.32, p < .001$), guilt/anxiety ($r = -.22, p < .05$), and sadness ($r = -.20, p < .05$). Also, system suppression was correlated with higher capitalist economy happiness ($r = .27, p < .01$) and marginally related to higher national system happiness ($r = .18, p = .05$). All these correlations were in the expected direction.

With regard discrete emotions, the correlations among study variables are in the expected direction. While individual reappraisal was related to higher individual happiness ($r = .22, p < .05$), system reappraisal was correlated with lower individual anger ($r = -.21, p < .05$), fear/anxiety ($r = -.19, p < .05$), guilt/shame ($r = -.22, p < .05$), and higher individual happiness ($r = .25, p < .01$). Nevertheless, individual suppression was associated with lower individual happiness ($r = -.34, p < .001$) but higher individual sadness ($r = .18, p < .05$) and guilt/shame ($r = .26, p < .01$).

Next, the correlations between emotion regulation strategies and system justification tendencies were also examined. Results demonstrated that endorsing economic system justification was associated with higher system suppression ($r = .37, p < .001$) and marginally associated with system reappraisal ($r = .18, p = .05$). System justification was not associated with individual emotion regulation strategies. These results indicate that that people who chronically high in system justification are more likely to use reappraisal and suppression to regulate their emotions toward the status quo. Supporting, Hypothesis 5c, the correlation of system justification with system emotion regulation strategies was stronger than the correlation of system justification tendencies with individual emotion regulation strategies. Then, the moderated effect of emotion regulation strategies between system justification and system emotions was investigated. The same data analysis strategy applied in Study1 was adopted in Study 2. The results were given in Table 3.9.

Results yielded no significant main effect of emotion regulation strategies in the first step. However, the interaction between general system justification and

system suppression was significant in predicting negative national system emotions, as well discrete national system emotions such as national anger, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness in the third step. The interaction was marginally significant in predicting positive national system emotions. The pattern of interaction was consistent across national system emotions. These results demonstrated that system suppression is the critical emotion regulation strategies for regulating system emotions suggesting that system suppression buffers negative emotional effects of low system justification.

Specifically, as presented in Table 3.9, in positive national system emotions, general system justification ($\beta = .63, p < .001$) predicted positive national system emotions in the second step. The interaction between general system justification and system suppression was marginally significant in the third step, ($\beta = -.16, p = .05$), ($F(9, 128) = 11.38, p < .001, R^2 = .46$, Adjusted $R^2 = .42, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 1.40, ns$). An additional regression analysis was conducted to examine the unique effect of interaction. In this additional regression analysis, general system justification and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Results demonstrated that general system justification predicted positive national system emotions ($\beta = .63, p < .001$) in the first step ($F(2, 128) = 45.47, p < .001, R^2 = .42$, Adjusted $R^2 = .41, \Delta R^2 = .42, \Delta F = 45.47, p < .001$) and the interaction between system suppression and system justification was marginally significant in the second step ($\beta = -.13, p = .06$), ($F(3, 128) = 32.13, p < .001, R^2 = .44$, Adjusted $R^2 = .42, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 3.58, p = .06$). As shown in Figure 3.4, at both low and high level of system suppression tendencies, individuals with high system justification reported more positive national system emotions than individuals with low system justification, $t(125) = 7.48, p < .001$; $t(125) = 5.61, p < .001$.

However, the statistical difference between high and low system justification individuals were larger at the low suppression level as compared to the statistical difference at high suppression level, indicating system suppression serve as a buffer for a relationship between system justification and emotions.

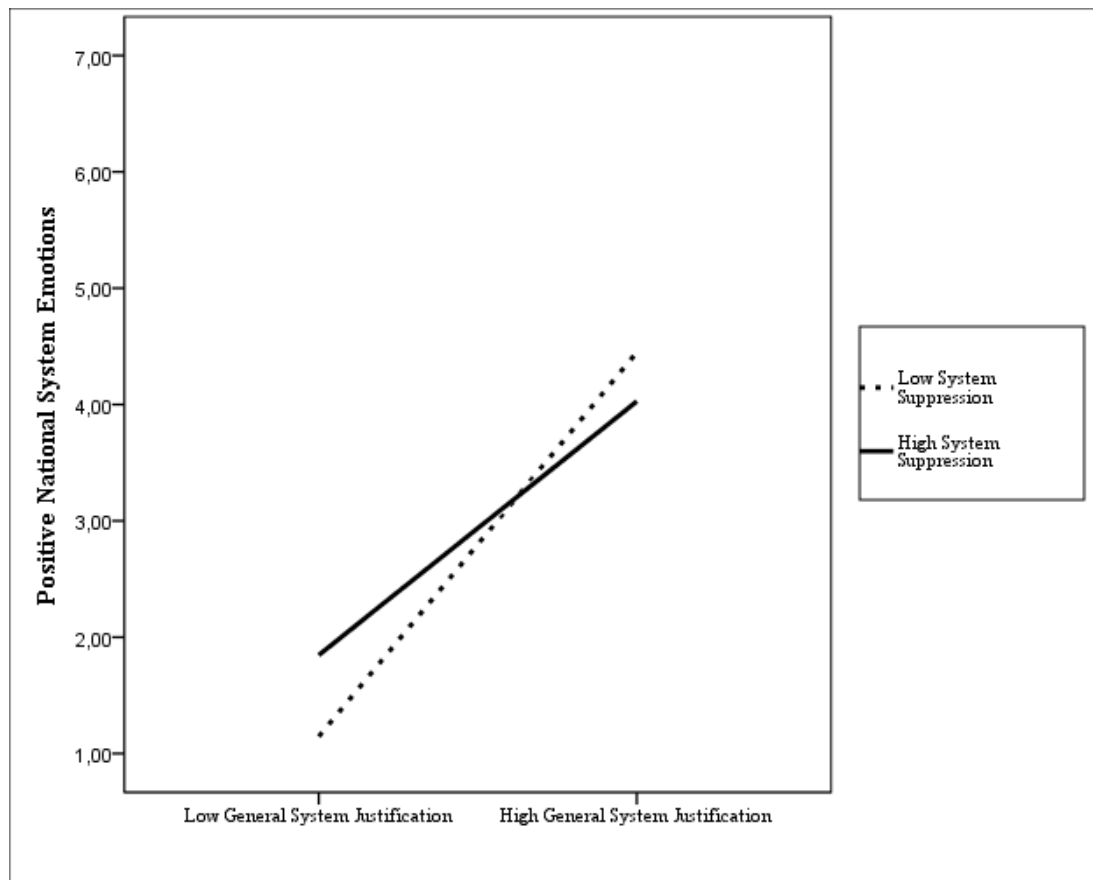


Figure 3.4. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting Positive National System Emotions*

Table 3.9. *Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Emotion Regulation and System Justification on National System Emotions*

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.06			.03			.03			.01			.07			.01				.05
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	-.01			.08			.06			.04			.13			.04			-.04		
Individual Suppression	.04			.07			-.11			-.05			-.10			.04			.03		
System Cognitive Reappraisal	.18 \times			-.11			-.13			.01			-.13			-.03			.15		
System Suppression	.11			-.10			-.11			-.04			-.15			-.06			.11		
Step 2		.38***			.37***			.37***			.38***			.24***			.10***				.35***
GSJ	.63***			-.62***			-.63***			-.63***			-.50***			-.32			.60***		
Step 3		.03			.10***			.04 \times			.03			.10**			.13**				.03
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	-.07			.03			.02			-.02			.01			.10			-.05		
Individual Suppression x GSJ	-.07			.10			.10			.11			.08			-.01			-.02		
System Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	.06			.01			-.004			.10			.001			-.08			.04		
System Suppression x GSJ	-.16 \times			.31***			.24**			.08			.33***			.41***			-.17*		

GSJ = General System Justification * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$, $\times p < .10$

In negative national system emotions, as demonstrated in Table 3.9, general system justification predicted negatively national system emotions in the second step ($\beta = -.62, p < .001$). A general system justification by system suppression interaction was statistically significant in the third step, ($\beta = .31, p < .001$), ($F(9, 128) = 13.07, p < .001, R^2 = .50$, Adjusted $R^2 = .46, \Delta R^2 = .10, \Delta F = 5.83, p < .001$). To examine the unique effect of interaction, again, an additional regression analysis was conducted. In this additional regression analysis, general system justification and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Results showed that general system justification predicted negative national system emotions ($\beta = -.62, p < .001$) in the first step ($F(2, 128) = 41.21, p < .001, R^2 = .48$, Adjusted $R^2 = .47, \Delta R^2 = .09, \Delta F = 21.41, p < .001$) and the interaction between system suppression and system justification was significant ($\beta = .31, p < .001$) in the second step, ($F(3, 128) = 39.06, p < .001, R^2 = .48$, Adjusted $R^2 = .47, \Delta R^2 = .09, \Delta F = 21.41, p < .001$). As shown in Figure 3.5, at both the low and high levels of system suppression tendencies, individuals with low system justification were higher in negative national system emotions than individuals with high system justification tendencies, ($t(125) = -9.73, p < .001$; $t(125) = -3.99, p < .001$, respectively). However, the statistical difference between high and low system justification individuals were larger at the low suppression level as compared to high system suppression level, indicating system suppression serve as a buffer for a relationship between system justification and negative emotions.

With regard to national system anger, as presented in Table 3.9., the interaction between general system justification and system suppression reached to the significant level in the third step, ($\beta = .24, p < .01$), ($F(9, 128) = 12.39, p < .001, R^2 = .48$, Adjusted $R^2 = .45, \Delta R^2 = .06, \Delta F = 3.49, p < .001$). To investigate the unique effect of interaction, again, an additional regression analysis was conducted. Results showed that general system justification predicted national system anger ($\beta = -.63, p < .001$) in the first step ($F(2, 128) = 45.51, p < .001, R^2 = .42$, Adjusted $R^2 = .41, \Delta R^2 = .42, \Delta F = 12.46, p < .001$) and the interaction between system suppression and system justification was significant ($\beta = .24, p < .01$) in the second step, ($F(3, 128) = 37.25, p < .001, R^2 = .47$, Adjusted $R^2 = .46, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 12.46, p < .001$).

.001). As shown in Figure 3.7., for both the low and high level of system suppression tendencies, individuals with low system justification were higher in negative national system emotions than individuals with high system justification, ($t(125) = -8.97, p < .001$; $t(125) = -4.80, p < .001$, respectively). However, the statistical difference between high and low system justification individuals was larger at the low system suppression level as compared to high system justification level.

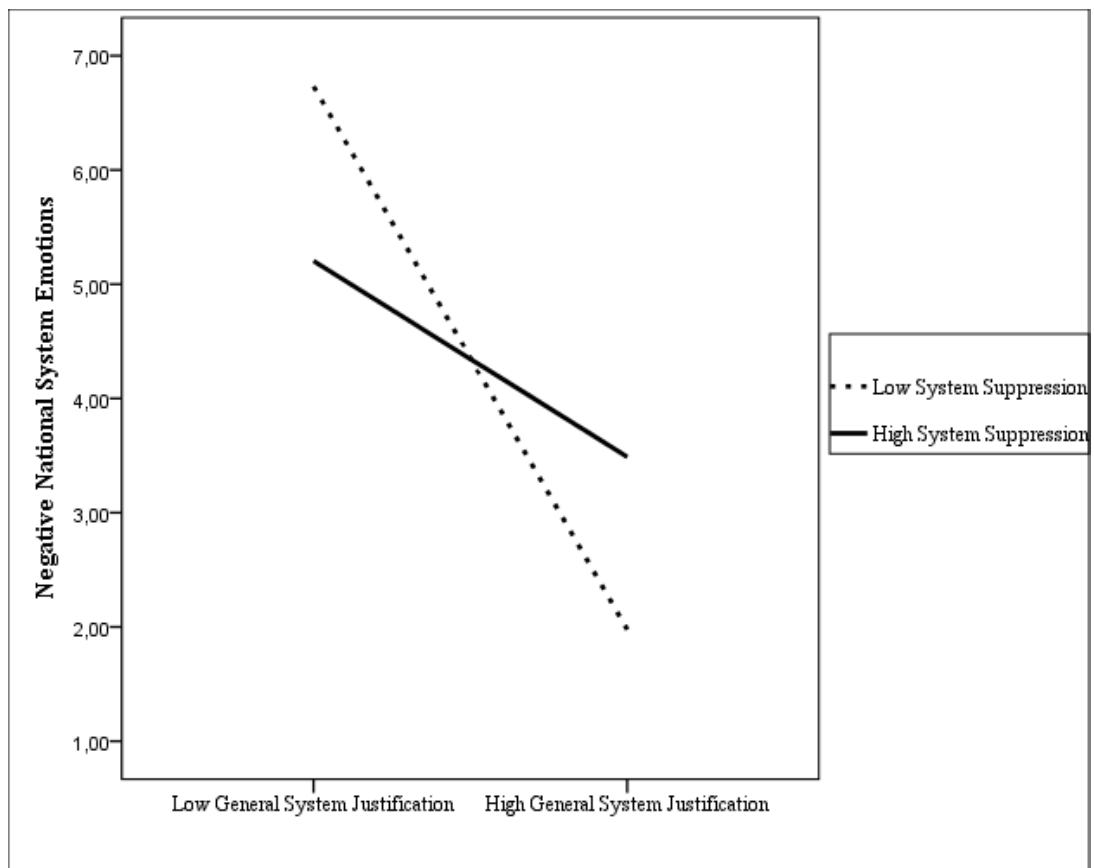


Figure 3.5. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting Negative System Emotions*

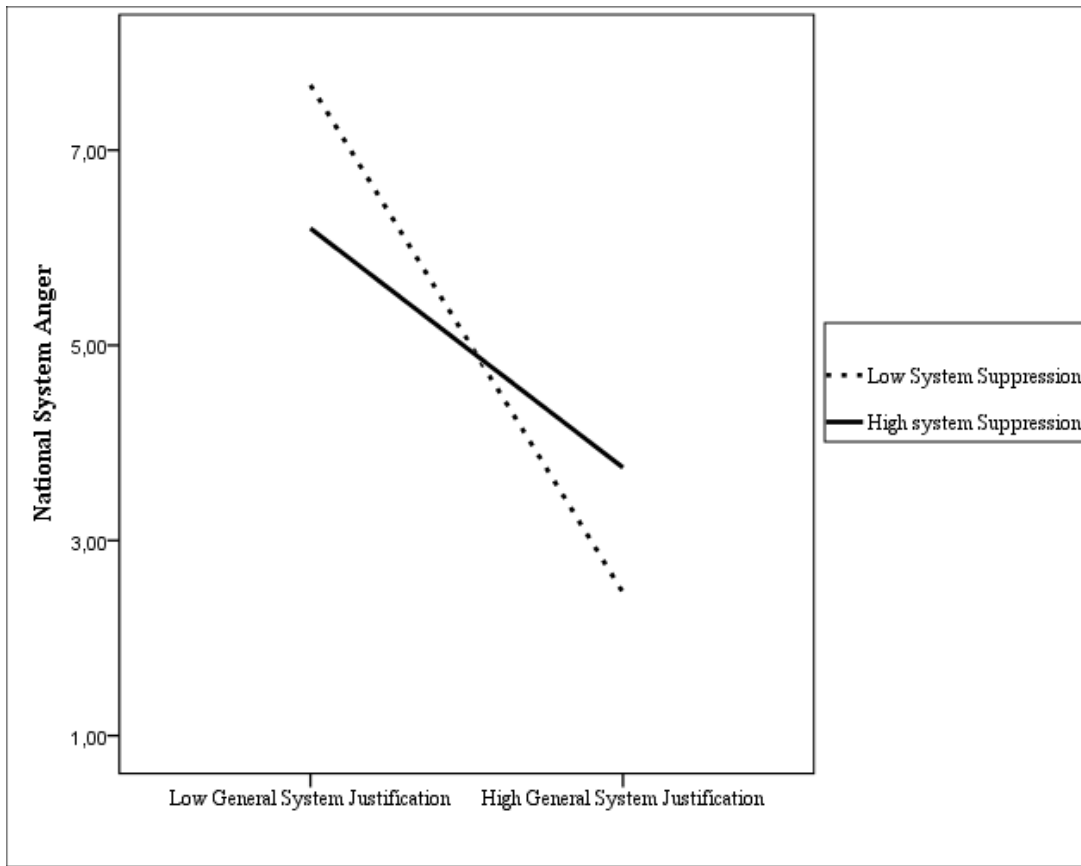


Figure 3.6. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting System Anger*

As demonstrated in Table 3.9, in the national system sadness, general system justification predicted system sadness in the second step, ($\beta = -.50, p < .001$). The interaction between general system justification and system suppression was significant in the third step, ($\beta = .33, p < .001$), ($F(9, 128) = 9.12, p < .001, R^2 = .41$, Adjusted $R^2 = .36, \Delta R^2 = .10, \Delta F = 5.10, p < .01$). Again, based on an additional regression analysis that conducted to examine the unique effect of the interaction, system justification negatively predicted national sadness ($\beta = -.51, p < .001$), whereas system suppression was marginally related to national sadness ($\beta = -.14, p = .07$) in the first step ($F(2, 128) = 26.52, p < .001, R^2 = .30$, Adjusted $R^2 = .29, \Delta R^2 = .30, \Delta F = 26.52, p < .001$). The unique interaction between system suppression and general system justification was .34 ($p < .001$) in the second step, ($F(3, 128) = 27.70, p < .001, R^2 = .40$, Adjusted $R^2 = .39, \Delta R^2 = .10, \Delta F = 21.46, p < .001$). As shown in Figure 3.8, for both the low and high level of system suppression tendencies,

individuals with low system justification were higher in national sadness than individuals with high system justification, ($t(125) = -8.23, p < .001$; $t(125) = -2.27, p < .05$, respectively). Again, the statistical difference between high and low system justification individuals was larger at the low system suppression level as compared to high system justification level. This pattern of results was the same with the results of Study 1.

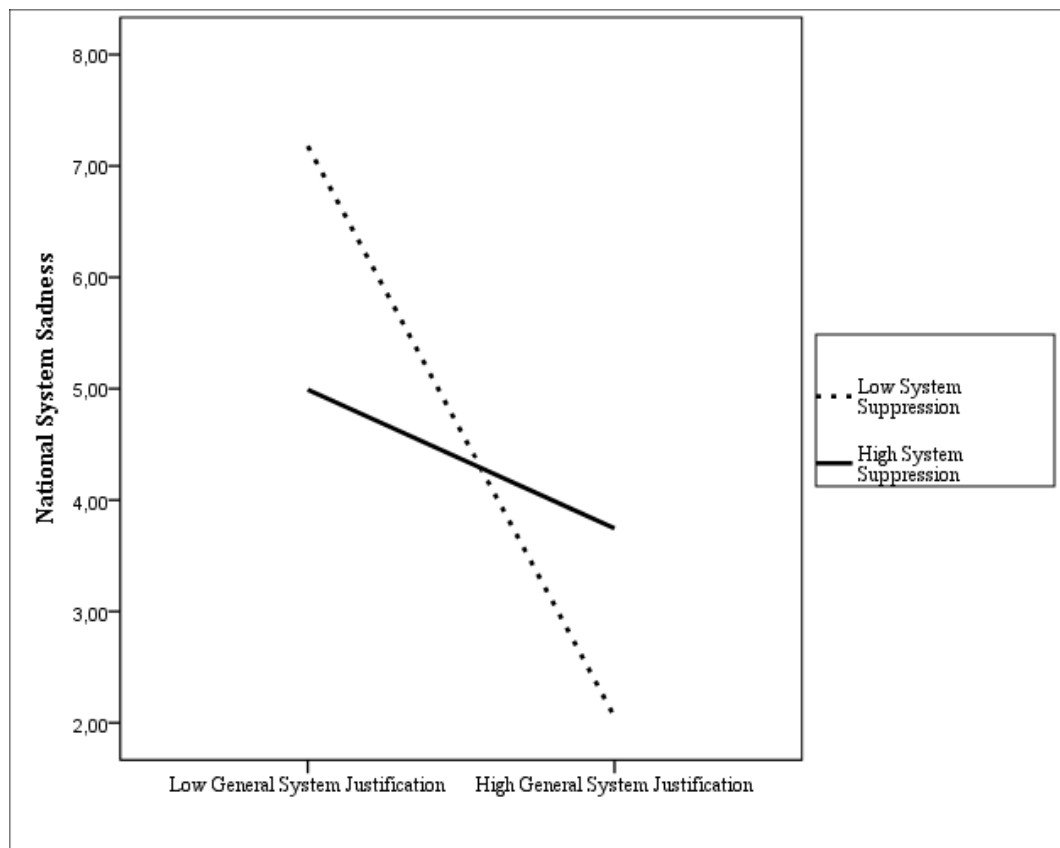


Figure 3.7. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting System Sadness*

In national system guilt/shame, general system justification predicted national system guilt/shame in the second step ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$). The interaction between general system justification and system suppression was significant in the third step ($\beta = .41, p < .001$), ($F(9, 128) = 4.17, p < .001, R^2 = .24, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .18, \Delta R^2 = .13, \Delta F = 5.11, p < .01$). Again, in order to examine the unique interaction effect an additional regression was conducted in which general system justification and system

suppression was entered to the first step, and their interaction was included to the second step. Results showed that system justification negatively predicted national sadness national guilt/shame in the first step ($\beta = -.31, p < .001$) ($F(2, 128) = 7.08, p < .01, R^2 = .10$, Adjusted $R^2 = .09, \Delta R^2 = .10, \Delta F = 7.08, p < .01$). The unique interaction between system suppression and general system justification was significant in the second step ($\beta = .37, p < .001$), ($F(3, 128) = 11.80, p < .001, R^2 = .22$, Adjusted $R^2 = .20, \Delta R^2 = .12, \Delta F = 19.19, p < .001$).

As shown in Figure 3.8, although at low level of system suppression, individuals with low system justification were high in national guilt/shame than individuals with high system justification, $t(125) = -5.88, p < .001$ at high level of system suppression, there is no significant difference between individual with high and low system justification $t(125) = .01, ns$. The highest level of guilt/shame derived from being a participant of Turkey's system was observed among individuals who both have low system justification and low system suppression.

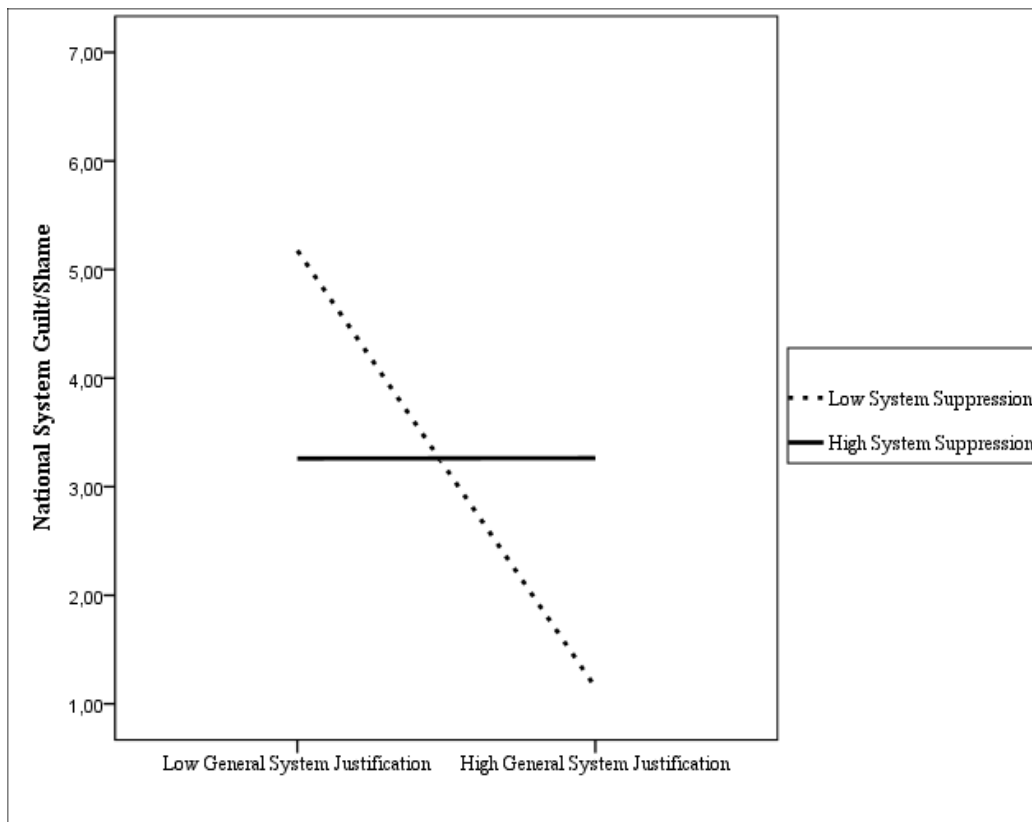


Figure 3.8. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting System Guilt/Shame*

Finally, in national system happiness, general system justification predicted national system happiness in the second step, ($\beta = .60, p < .001$). The interaction between general system justification and system suppression was significant in predicting system happiness in the third step ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$), ($F(9, 128) = 9.59, p < .001, R^2 = .42$, Adjusted $R^2 = .38, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 1.27, ns$). Again, in order to examine the unique effect of interaction, an additional regression analysis was conducted. Results indicated that general system justification positively predicted national happiness ($\beta = .60, p < .001$) in the first step, ($F(2, 128) = 39.31, p < .001, R^2 = .38$, Adjusted $R^2 = .37, \Delta R^2 = .38, \Delta F = 39.31, p < .001$). The interaction between system justification and system suppression was significant in the second step ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$), ($F(3, 128) = 28.51, p < .001, R^2 = .41$, Adjusted $R^2 = .39, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 4.65, p < .05$). As shown in Figure 3.10, at both low and high level of system suppression tendencies, individuals with high system justification were higher in national happiness than individuals with low system justification, ($t(125) = 7.28, p < .001$; $t(125) = 4.98, p < .05$, respectively). However, the statistical difference between high and low system justification individuals was larger at low system suppression level as compared to high system justification level.

Overall, as predicted, employing suppression toward the status quo buffers the negative effects of system justification on system emotions. Importantly, moderating effect of system suppression show the same pattern in Study 1 and Study 2.

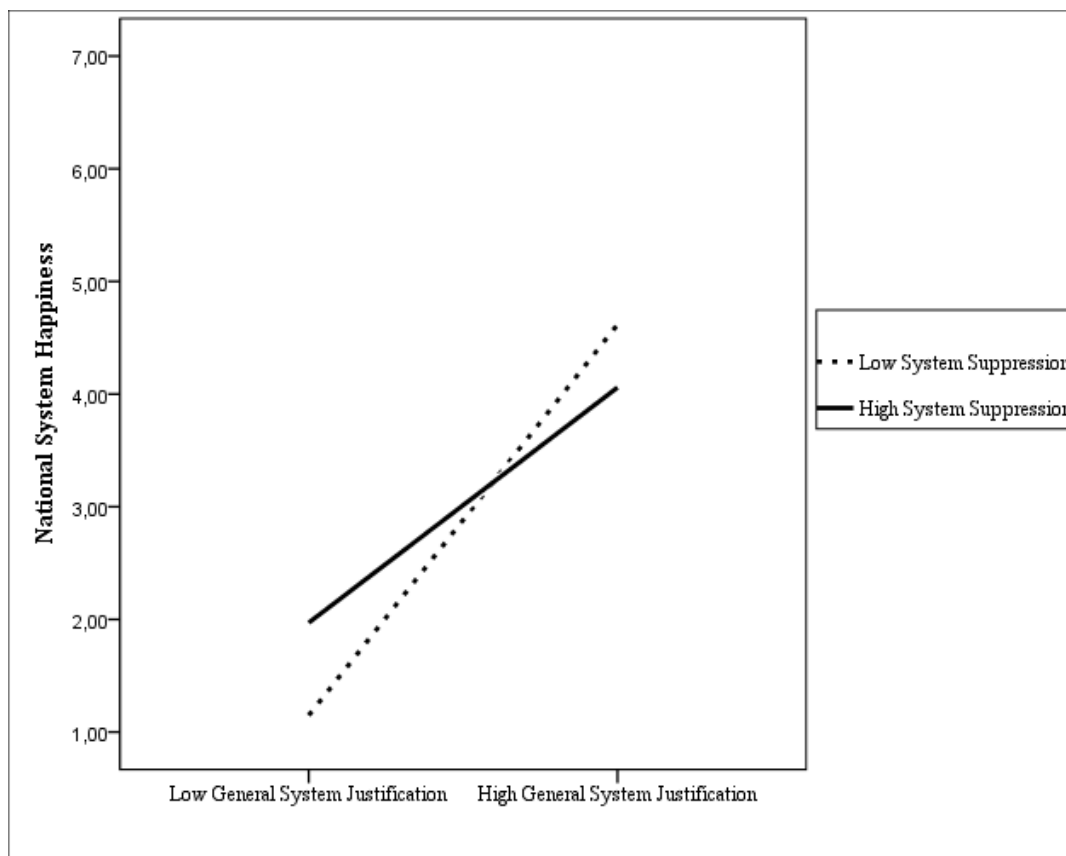


Figure 3.9. *The Interaction Between System Justification and System Suppression in Predicting System Happiness*

3.3. Discussion

The second study provides further evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions and demonstrates the generalizability of these characteristics to the different cultural and social-political contexts. The study offers evidence that the characteristics of system-level emotions function similarly in both the US and Turkey.

The findings of Study 2 revealed support for the study hypothesis. As predicted, in Hypothesis 1a, higher overall SES was related to lower negative capitalist economy emotions. Again, the findings provide evidence that social class differences promote divergent emotional experiences related to the status quo, as well as with self and ingroup (see also Kraus & Stephens, 2012). In line with

Hypothesis 1b, the current findings underline, yet again, the importance of the palliative function of system justification (see Jost & Hunyady, 2002). Importantly, moderating effect of system justification shows consistent patterns in system sadness across Study 1 and Study 2. Overall, endorsing system justification buffers against the detrimental effect of low social status on system sadness.

Furthermore, the results of Study 2 provide evidence that system justification tendencies give rise to more positive and less negative system emotions, even after controlling for group justification. Therefore, as predicted in Hypothesis 2, system emotions are related to person's level of system justification. These results are also consistent with the results of Study 1. In line with the palliative function of system justification, justifying the status quo leads individuals to avoid negative feelings and to report positive feelings regarding to the status quo.

Moreover, system emotions affect willingness to participate in social protests and protests participation. As in Study 1, in the current study, confirming Hypothesis 3, people with more negative capitalist economy system emotions are more likely to have collective action tendencies, even after controlling their individual and group emotions. Also, negative emotions derived from the being a participant in the capitalist economy was related to higher action behaviors. Again, this means that system emotions give rise to tendencies and behaviors regarding the social change vs. stability.

Also, in line with Hypothesis 4, the system emotions mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors. In particular, to the extent that individuals endorse system justification, they reported decreased level of negative and increased level of positive system emotions, which in turn predict action tendencies and behaviors. These results are also consistent with the results of Study 1.

Finally, results supported Hypothesis 5a, in a way that system emotions are related system emotion regulation strategies. In line with Hypothesis 5b, individual suppression and system suppression reveal different relation pattern with emotion. In other words, while the chronic use of system suppression was related to more positive and less negative system emotions, the chronic use of individual suppression was associated with less positive and more negative individual and group emotions.

Finally, as similar to Study 1, as predicted in Hypothesis 5c, the results demonstrated that system suppression is a critical emotion regulation strategy for regulating system emotions showing the buffering effect of system suppression on negative emotional effects of low system justification. Therefore, similar to Study1, system-related suppression operates as the function of supporting social order and the social status quo.

Overall, Study 2 provided evidence for the study hypothesis in Turkey, where cultural and socio-political characteristics are different from the USA. The findings will be discussed in detail in the general discussion. However, having student samples in both studies restricts to generalize the findings. Therefore, to explore the generalizability of these findings, the third study was conducted with a “real-world” sample. Moreover, Study 3 was based on a naturally occurring system emotions derived from the collective protests.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 3: THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEM-LEVEL EMOTIONS IN THE 2013 GEZI PROTESTS IN TURKEY

The first two studies largely supported the proposed hypotheses both in the USA and Turkey. These studies have revealed that system-based emotions (I) reflect standing in the social order, (II) reflect appraisals of the social order, (III) affect action tendencies and behaviors. Moreover, it was shown that system emotions mediate the relationship between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors. Furthermore, system-based emotions seemed to be regulated by system-level emotion regulation tendencies. These findings have critical implications for emotion as well as emotion regulation literature within the context of SJT.

However, considering the link between emotions, motivations, and collective action at the individual and group levels (Van Zomeren et al., 2004, Van Zomeren et al., 2008), there is a need to test if system emotions derived from system justification predict collective actions in the “real world” settings. Therefore, the purpose of Study 3 was to explore the characteristics of system emotions in the 2013 Gezi protests in Turkey. Study 3 relied upon naturally occurring system emotions, during the active protest period, to test the study hypotheses. Protests are highly emotional and heated processes. Emotions are the central component of collective action (see Goodwin & Jasper, 2007). Despair, hopelessness, and anger are some of the important emotions that mobilized the Gezi Park protestors to participate in collective action (Ete, 2013). Thus, collecting data during the 2013 Gezi protests provided an opportunity to examine the system-based emotions in a natural setting.

Additionally, although the first two studies provided evidence for the associations between system justification, system emotions, and action tendencies, the samples were drawn from undergraduate university students and there is a need to test the generalizability of the study findings using community samples. Therefore, Study 3 allowed replicating, strengthening, and extending previous findings in a real life setting.

The 2013 Gezi protests in Turkey started on 28 May 2013 to prevent Gezi Park's demolition with the signed development plan in Istanbul (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2013_protests_in_Turkey). The protests started as a reaction to police violence against those who resist to the destruction of Gezi Park in Istanbul. Because of the police's brutal eviction of a sit-in at the park and government's arrogance, the demonstrations sparked outrage and anger across Turkey. Although the initial protests stemmed from an environmental concern, later protests were expanded including a wide range of political and human rights concerns, such as freedom of press and the government's encroachment on Turkey's secularism. Protests did not have a centralized leadership, have been linked to the Occupy movements, and social media played a central role. It was estimated that at least 3.5 million people (from a population of 80 million) participated across five thousand demonstrations across Turkey. Seven people lost their lives and more than 8000 were injured seriously during the protests (see de Bellaigue, 2013).

4. 1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

Similar to the previous studies, the data was collected using an online survey. Initially, 996 participants visited the webpage but 728 participants did not complete the survey and they did not sign in the debriefing form. Therefore, 246 participants who signed the debriefing form and completed the majority of the scales were included. However, after controlling the accuracy of data data (outliers, normality, linearity, and multicollinearity), 22 participants were excluded from the data set, leaving 224 participants for data analyses. Participants were 155 female (69.2%), 67 male (29.9%) and 2 participants (0.9%) did not indicate their gender, ranging from 16 to 56 years of age ($M = 28.59$, $SD = 7.18$). With regard to ethnicity, 177 (79%) were Turk, 9 (4%) were Kurd, 5 (2.2%) were Arab, 33 were others (14.9%).

Of the participants, 81 (36.2%) were Muslim, 2 (0.9%) were Jewish, 45 (20.1%) were Atheist (7.8%), 70 (31.3%) were Deist, 26 (11.6%) reported their religious affiliation as "Other". With regard to the participants' perceived socioeconomic

class, 68 (19.7%) participants reported low SES class, 76 (33.9%) reported middle class, and 79 (35.3%) of them reported upper class. The mean degree of self-rate social economic status (1 = *Low SES*, 7 = *High SES*) was 4 ($SD = 1.17$).

Participants were 152 nonstudents (68.5%), 72 students (31.1%), (24.9%) and 1 participant (0.4%) who did not indicate occupation. The mean degree of participants' political orientation (1 = *Left*, 9 = *Right*) was 2.50 ($SD = 1.23$) and the mean degree of their religiosity (1 = *Not all religious*, 9 = *Very religious*) was 2.75 ($SD = 2.14$). In terms of political party identification, 67 (29.9%) participants represented Republican People's Party (CHP), 10 (4.5%) supported Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), 8 (3.6%) identified with Communist Party of Turkey (TKP), 3 (1.3%) represented Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), 1 (0.4%) identified with Worker's Party (İşçi Partisi), 15 (6.7%) reported "Other parties" and 119 (53.1%) did not identified with any party.

4.1.2. Procedure

Participants filled out the same questionnaires used in the Study 1 and Study 2 with appropriate rewording. The questionnaires used in the current study were first submitted for Human Participants Ethic Committee of Middle East Technical University (IRB). After receiving IRB approval, the participants from Turkey were recruited via sharing the study link on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media channels. Data were collected on a voluntary basis, and informed consent was obtained from each participant. Participants received no compensation for their participation. The data was collected between June 19 and July 17 2013 during the 2013 protests in Turkey.

4.1.3. Materials

The same procedure used in the previous two studies was followed in Study 3. Participants filled out questionnaires batteries including emotions, group, and system justification tendencies, emotion regulation, system-related actions, and demographics.

4.1.3.1. Justification and Emotion Measures

The factor structure of emotions in the second study was adopted in the third study. Because two items (item 27 “envious” and item 2 “angry at others/supporters of other political parties/ socialism”) were not included in the negative emotion dimension in Study 2, they were removed from the final version of negative emotions scales in Study 3. Similar to previous studies, in addition to positive and negative emotions, discrete emotions scales, namely anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness were created based on the conceptual reasons to examine the study hypotheses in more detail.

4.1.3.1.1. Individual Emotions

To measure individual emotions, participants completed the same measures used in Study 2. Detailed information regarding this scale was provided in the method section of the Study 1 and Study 2. Cronbach’s alpha values were .86 for positive individual emotions, and .92 for negative individual emotions in this study. The Cronbach’s alpha values for individual emotions were .61 for anger, .77 for fear/anxiety, .79 for guilt/shame, .84 for sadness, and .80 for happiness.

4.1.3.1.2. Group Justification and Group Emotions

Group justification and group emotions were measured for only political party group emotions. Following the procedure used in the previous studies, first, participants were asked to specify the party they identify with, and then, their political party justification were measured with 6 items used in previous studies. However, considering non-political party supporters, the items also tap political opinion justification, representing politicized collective identity (see Simon & Klandermans, 2001). The sample item was “I see myself as a typical supporter of my political party/political opinion”. The responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale with anchors from strong (1) *Strongly disagree* to *Strongly agree* (7). The internal consistency value for group justification scale was .90.

Next, participants were asked about their emotions when they think themselves as a supporter of their political party/political opinion. They read the same instruction and then they were presented a list of 27 emotions as in previous two studies and rate the emotions on a 7 point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). The sample item was “As a supporter of my political party/political opinion, I feel sad”. Considering the factor solution for the items of Study 2 as a reference point, two items, that is item 2 “I feel angry at the supporters of other political parties/political opinions” and item 27 “As a supporter of my political party/political opinion, I feel envious” were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s Alpha values were .93 for positive and .93 for negative group emotions. The Cronbach’s alpha values for group discrete emotions were .62 for anger, .81 for fear/anxiety, .78 for guilt/shame, .88 for sadness , and .88 for happiness.

4.1.3.1.3. System Justification and System Emotions

In the current study, system justification and emotions were measured for only general system justification and national system emotions. Similar to the previous studies, participants were asked about their emotions about being a participant in the Turkey’s system. Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording (e.g., “As a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, I feel happy”). Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). Considering the factor structure of emotions in the second study as a reference point, (item 27 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I feel envious” and item 2 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I feel angry at students from other universities”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha values were .94 and .96 for positive and negative national system emotions, respectively. Again, discrete emotion subscales were created. The Cronbach’s alpha values for discrete system emotions were .79 for anger, .85 for fear/anxiety, .66 for guilt/shame, .88 for sadness and .78 for happiness.

4.1.3.2. System-Related Action Tendencies

System-related tendencies were measured with two items developed for the current study : (1) “I want to participate in Gezi Park protests” and (2) “I support those who participate in Gezi Park protests”. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale ranged from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (7) *Strongly agree*. The correlation between these two items was .89.

4.1.3.3. System-Related Action

Participants also completed 6 items gauging self-reported behavior with respect to the 2013 Gezi protests. The sample items were “Participating in meetings or discussion groups aiming at solving the problems related to the Gezi Protests”, “Participating in protests”, “Giving indirect support for the protest at home, work or place where have you been (e.g., turning on/off the lights, making noise with pots and pans, for the purpose of protesting, not to watch some media channels and not to read some newspapers). Participants were asked to indicate how often they participate in the Gezi protests. They answer to 6 items ranged from 1 = *Never* to 7 = *More than 6 times*. Initial explanatory factor analysis with varimax rotation yielded two factors that accounted 71% of the results, the scree plot, and the interpretability of the r solution provided by the factor analyses suggested a one factor solution that accounted for 54.27% of the variance. Cronbach’s Alpha value was .83.

4.1.3.4. Emotion Regulation Strategies

In line with the previous studies, emotion regulation tendencies were measured for both individual emotion regulation and emotion regulation tendencies toward the Turkey’s system. Study 1 and Study 2 provided detailed information about emotion regulation measures used in the current study. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*).

4.1.3.4.1. Individual-Level Emotion Regulation

Gross and John's (2003) 10-item Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ), including reappraisal and suppression dimensions, was used to assess the individual differences in emotion regulation. Cronbach's alpha values were .85 and .83 for reappraisal and suppression strategies at the individual level, respectively.

4.1.3.4.2. System-Related Emotion Regulation

Similar to the first two studies, the ERQ was adapted to the system level to assess emotion regulation strategies toward the Turkey's system and order. Cronbach's Alpha values were .86 and .84 for reappraisal and suppression strategies at the system-level, respectively.

4.1.3.5. Socio-Demographic Questionnaire

Socio-demographic variables were gender, age, income, religion, religiosity, political orientation, and perceived socio-economic status. In order to measure political orientation participants were asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (*Left*) to 9 (*Right*). Similarly religiosity was measured with a scale ranging from 1 (*Not all religious*) to 9 (*Very religious*). To measure socio-economic status, participants were asked to place themselves on a continuum, ranging from 1 (*Lower class*) to 7 (*Upper class*).

4.2. Results

In this section, first, the results regarding data screening and cleaning were provided, then descriptive statistics on the major study variables were presented. Third, the findings regarding the testing the study hypotheses were presented.

4. 2.1. Data Screening and Cleaning

Prior to analyses, major variables were examined for the missing values. The missing value analysis revealed that only a few variables have missing values. According to the Little's MCAR Test, the missing values are random, $\chi^2 (85) = 82.32$, *ns*. As mentioned before, if missing values are less than 5%, any procedure to handle missing values can be applied to the data set (Tabachnic & Fidell, 2001). In the present study, the highest percent for the missing values was 2.2% in the negative group emotions. Thus, missing values were replaced with the mean for all cases.

Following mean replacement for missing values, the data were analyzed for univariate and multivariate outliers. According to the results, 16 cases were identified as univariate outliers due to high ± 3.30 or beyond values of standard z- scores. There were 6 multivariate outliers based on Mahalanobis distance values, $\chi^2 (14) = 36.12$. Therefore, 22 participants were excluded from the data set, leaving 224 participants for the analyses. The skewness and kurtosis for all variables were in the acceptable ranges, indicating the normality of the distributions.

4.2.2. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and ranges) for the major study variables were presented in Table 4.1. As in previous studies, mean scores of the subscales were roughly compared with the given scale's absolute midpoint to see how common (or frequent) the observed emotions, emotion regulation, system and group justification tendencies are experienced among the participants of Study 3.

The comparison of the means of emotions demonstrated that while the mean positive individual emotions (4.56) and negative national system emotions (5.45) were higher than midpoint, the mean scores for negative individual emotions (3.78), negative party group emotions (3.32), and positive national system emotions (2.35) were significantly lower than the midpoint (4).

Regarding emotion regulation, while the mean value of individual-level cognitive reappraisal strategy (4.23) was higher than the scale midpoint whereas system level cognitive reappraisal (3.04), individual suppression (3.39) and system suppression (2.45) were lower than the midpoint value (4).

In terms justification tendencies, the mean value of general system justification (1.93) was lower group than the midpoint of the scale (5). Also, party group justification was lower than midpoint (3.84). Finally, both system-related tendencies (6.80) and system actions (4.71) were higher than the midpoint value (4).

Table 4.1. *Descriptive Statistics on the Main Study Variables*

	Mean	SD	Range
Positive Individual Emotions	4.56	1.02	1-7
Negative Individual Emotions	3.78	1.13	1-7
Positive Political Party Emotions	4.10	1.48	1-7
Negative Political Party Emotions	3.32	1.29	1-7
Positive National System Emotions	2.35	0.84	1-7
Negative National System Emotions	5.45	0.92	1-7
System-Related Action Tendencies	6.80	0.51	1-7
System-Related Action Behavior	4.71	1.52	1-7
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	4.23	1.30	1-7
Individual Suppression	3.39	1.53	1-7
System Cognitive Reappraisal	3.04	1.26	1-7
System Suppression	2.45	1.31	1-7
Political Party Group Justification	3.84	1.55	1-7
General System Justification	1.93	0.86	1-9

Before the main analyses, potential gender differences on the major variables were tested. Gender did not have significant effects on emotion measures. Gender was significantly related with negative national emotions only, showing that women ($M = 5.56$) reported more negative system emotions than men ($M = 5.14$). In terms of emotion regulation, gender was significantly associated with individual cognitive reappraisal, specifically women ($M = 4.39$) reported more individual cognitive reappraisal than men ($M = 3.90$). Finally, men reported significantly more individual suppression ($M = 3.25$) than women ($M = 3.74$). Additionally, identification with a specific party was significantly related with individual negative emotions in a way that party supporters ($M = 3.56$) reported less negative individual emotions than non

supporters ($M = 3.97$). Considering that gender differences were minor across the variables, analyses were conducted on the whole sample ignoring the gender classification.

4.2.3. The Correlations Between Individual, Group, and System Emotions

To explore the relationships between study variables, two-tailed Pearson product-moment correlations were computed. Zero-order correlations were shown in Table 4.2. The correlations between different levels of emotions (individual, group, and system emotions) were ranging from .01 to .41 among emotions.

Results demonstrated that positive individual emotions were significantly correlated with negative individual emotions ($r = -.35, p < .001$). This correlation was $-.45 (p < .001)$ in political party supporters sample and $-.27 (p < .01)$ in non-supporters sample. The relationships between positive and negative group emotions were significant in the total sample ($r = -.19, p < .05$).

In terms system emotions, negative national system emotions were significantly correlated with positive national system emotions ($r = -.35, p < .001$). The correlation between positive and negative system emotion was $-.44 (p < .001)$ and $-.30 (p < .01)$ for political party supporters and non-supporters, respectively.

While the correlation between individual and system emotions ranged from $-.08$ to $.41$, the correlation between individual and group emotions ranged from $.01$ to $.30$ in the whole sample. The correlations of individual emotions with group emotions ranged from $-.06$ to $.38$ in party supporters sample and from $.05$ to $.23$ in non-supporters sample. Therefore, both system emotions and group emotions are different from individual emotions, although they overlap to individual emotions to some degree.

Results indicated that positive individual emotions were significantly related to both positive group ($r = .24, p < .001$) and positive system ($r = .34, p < .001$) emotions in the whole sample. Likewise, negative individual emotions were associated with both negative group ($r = .30, p < .001$) and system ($r = .41, p < .001$) emotions in the whole sample. The relation of positive individual emotions with positive group and positive system emotions were $.31 (p < .01)$ and $.33 (p < .01)$ for

party group supporters, respectively. These correlations were .19 ($p < .05$) and .36 ($p < .001$) for non-supporters, respectively. Similarly, the relationship of negative individual emotions with negative group and system emotions was .38 ($p < .001$) and .31 ($p < .01$) in party group supporters sample, whereas this relationship was .23 ($p < .05$) and .47 ($p < .001$) in non-supporters sample. Also, negative individual emotions were not related to negative group and system emotions in whole sample as well as in party supporters, and non-supporters, whereas positive individual emotions were not associated with negative system and group emotions for these three samples.

The correlations between system emotions and group emotions ranged from .07 to .31. Results demonstrated that, in the whole sample, higher positive group emotions were related to higher positive system emotions but this relationship is marginally significant ($r = .12, p = .08$). Also, higher negative group emotions were associated with higher negative system emotions ($r = .31, p < .001$). Although the relation of positive group emotions with positive system emotions was marginally significant ($r = .19, p = .05$) for party group supporters, it was nonsignificant for non-supporters. However, the relations of negative group emotions with negative system emotions were significant and positive for both party group supporters ($r = .33, p < .01$) and non-supporters ($r = .28, p < .01$). These results indicate that system emotions are different from group emotions, although they overlap to some degree.

Furthermore, the correlations of system emotions with individual emotions ranged from -.01 to .41 in the whole sample. The correlation of system emotions with group emotions ranged from .05 to .36 in the whole sample. The correlations between individual and group emotions were ranged from .00 to .27 in the whole sample.

Table 4.2. Bivariate Correlations Between Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Positive Individual Emotions	1														
2. Negative Individual Emotions	-.35**	1													
3. Positive Group Emotions	.24***	.01	1												
4. Negative Group Emotions	-.12	.30**	-.19**	1											
5. Positive System Emotions	.34***	-.08	.11	.07	1										
6. Negative System Emotions	-.10	.41**	.12	.31***	-.35**	1									
7. General System Justification	.16*	-.11	.04	-.06	.42***	-.37***	1								
8. Group Justification	.00	-.00	.64***	-.05	-.11	.15*	-.10	1							
9. System-Related Action Tendencies	-.03	.05	.07	.07	.27***	.33***	-.38**	.13	1						
10. System-Related Behavior	-.06	.19**	.10	.02	-.21**	.28***	-.26***	.12	.43***	1					
11. Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	-.01	.07	.04	.04	.06	-.02	.08	.06	-.02	-.06	1				
12. Individual Suppression	-.18**	.15	.02	.06	.04	.02	.03	.04	-.12	-.04	.17**	1			
13. System Cognitive Reappraisal	.12	-.03	.06	.02	.21**	-.16*	.23***	-.00	-.15*	-.14*	.39***	.15*	1		
14. System Suppression	-.02	.06	.07	.14*	.12	-.06	.27***	.11	-.22**	-.24***	.20**	.42***	.40***	1	
15. Overall SES	.17*	-.13	.00	.12	.14	-.02	-.01	.09	-.01	.07	.07	-.07	.04	-.03	1
16. Political ideology	-.01	.07	-.04	.03	.04	-.04	.07	-.11	-.08	-.12	.11	.01	.15*	-.02	.02

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

4.2.4. Testing Hypothesis I: System-Based Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order

Similar to the previous studies, Hypothesis 1 was tested for the combination of subjective and objective status. A strong correlation was found between self-reported socioeconomic status and income ($r = .53, p < .001$), indicating strong relation between subjective and objective SES. This correlation represent the similar relationship found in Study 2 ($r = .50, p < .001$). Hence, self-rated SES and family income were standardized and mean scores were used to create a composite measure of overall SES. Finally, the correlation between overall SES and emotion items were computed. As presented in Table 4.2., overall SES was positively and significantly correlated with positive system emotions ($r = .14, p < .05$) and positive individual emotions ($r = .17, p < .05$), but not with discrete system emotions. However, overall SES was associated with only individual happiness ($r = .20, p < .01$) among individual discrete emotions. Although the relationship of overall SES with positive and negative group emotions did not reach significance, overall SES was positively related with group sadness ($r = .17, p < .05$) and group guilt/shame ($r = .14, p < .05$) in the whole sample.

Next, whether system-based emotions reflect standing in the social order was examined through series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs). Similar to the first two studies, overall SES was coded into two categories based on its mean value ($M_{\text{overall SES}} = 0$): Low SES = 1, High SES = 2. Consistent with correlational analyses, SES had effects on individual and system emotions. As predicted by Hypothesis 1a, participants with high SES ($M = 2.46, SD = .79$) reported marginally more positive system emotions than participants with low SES ($M = 2.26, SD = .87$), ($F(1, 222) = 3.21, p = .08$). Participants with high SES ($M = 3.84, SD = 1.11$) reported marginally less individual negative emotions than participants with low SES ($M = 3.89, SD = 1.14$), ($F(1, 222) = 2.89, p = .09$). With regard to discrete emotions, there is no any significant difference between overall SES groups at the system and group levels. Only high SES ($M = 4.77, SD = 1.20$) participants

reported marginally significantly more individual happiness than low SES participants ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.28$), ($F(1, 222) = 6.44$, $p < .05$).

Finally, whether system justification moderates the relation between overall SES and system emotions was investigated. Similar to previous studies, moderated regression analyses were run separately for negative and positive system emotions and discrete system emotions. Results were provided in Table 4.3. Findings demonstrated that only the interaction between general system justification and overall SES in predicting negative national system emotions was significant. Specifically, the first regression equation was statistically significant $F(2, 222) = 17.41$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .19$, Adjusted $R^2 = .19$. Higher general system justification ($\beta = -.37$, $p < .001$) predicted lower negative national emotions in the first step, and the interaction between SES and general system justification was significant in the second step ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$), $F(3, 222) = 13.98$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .16$, Adjusted $R^2 = .15$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F = 6.28$, $p < .05$).

Figure 4.1. demonstrated the interaction pattern between system justification and socioeconomic status. As expected in Hypothesis 1b, low SES individuals reported more negative national system emotions than high SES individuals, when they have low level of system justification tendencies ($t(219) = -2.07$, $p < .05$). However, no significant difference was observed between SES groups for those with high system justification ($t(219) = -1.70$, *ns*). As in previous studies, reflecting the palliative function of system justification, system justification serves as a buffer against the detrimental effect of low social status on emotions.

Table 4.3. Model Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of System Justification and SES on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1																					
Overall Social Status	.14*	.19***		-.03	.14***		-.05	.21*		.04	.14**		.03	.08***		-.06	.02		.11×	.14***	
General System Justification	.42***			-.37***			-.46***			-.37*			-.27*			-.12×			.36***		
Step 2																					
Overall SES x General System Justification		.01			.02*			.00			.02×			.05**			.01				.01
Overall SES x General System Justification	-.10			.16*			.06			.12×			.22**			.07			-.10		

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .001$ * $p < .05$, × $p \leq .08$

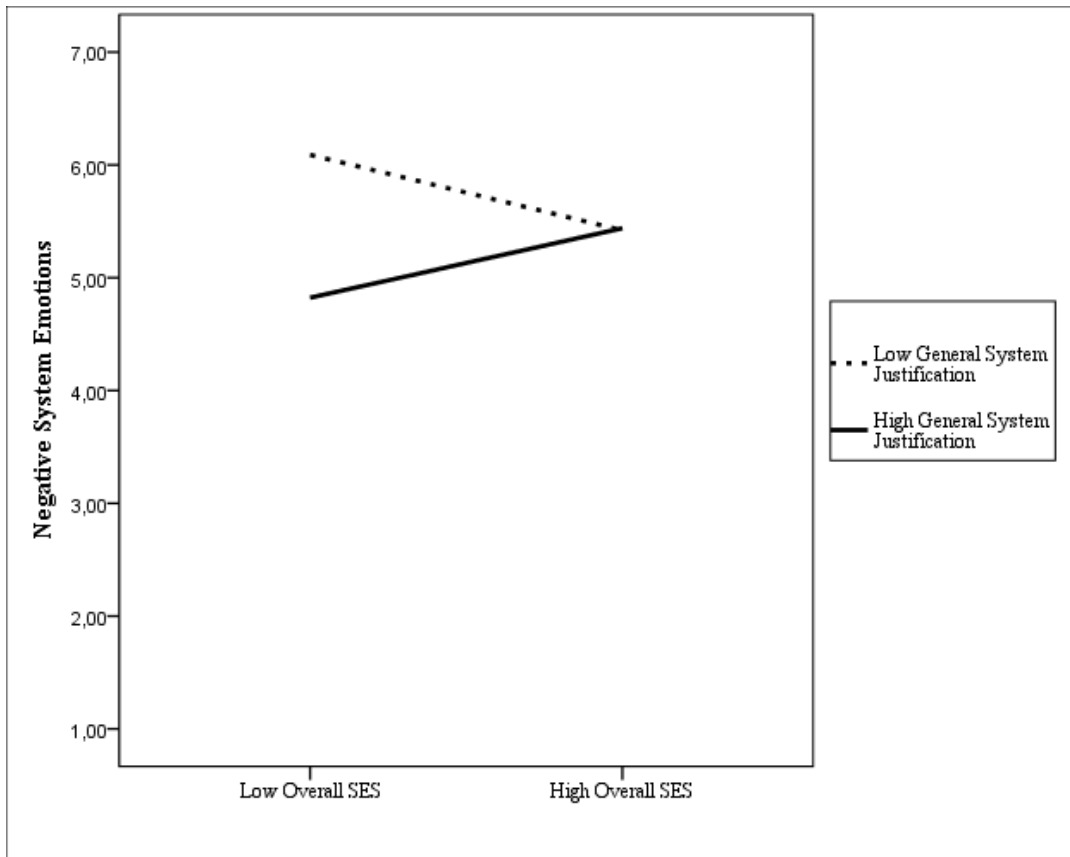


Figure 4.1. *The Interaction Between System Justification and SES in Predicting Negative System Emotions*

Moreover, as seen in Table 4.3, the two-way interaction term between general system justification and discrete emotions were significant in predicting system sadness and marginally significant in predicting in system fear/anxiety. In particular, in the first step, system justification negatively predicted system sadness ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .001$) and fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.37$, $p < .001$), $F(2, 221) = 8.89$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .12$, Adjusted $R^2 = .11$; $F(2, 222) = 17.36$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$, Adjusted $R^2 = .14$, respectively. In the second step, the two-way interaction term between general system justification and SES in predicting system sadness was significant ($\beta = .22$, $p < .01$) and marginally significant in predicting system fear/anxiety ($\beta = .12$, $p = .05$), $F(3, 221) = 9.92$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .16$, Adjusted $R^2 = .15$, $\Delta R^2 = .02$, $\Delta F = 11.16$, $p < .01$; $F(3, 222) = 12.97$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$, Adjusted $R^2 = .14$, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F = 3.76$,

$p = .05$), respectively. As demonstrated in Figure 4.2, at the low level of system justification tendencies, participants with low SES reported more national system sadness than participants with high SES ($t(218) = -2.06, p < .05$), but at the high level of system justification tendencies, participants with high SES reported more negative system sadness than participants with low SES, ($t(218) = 2.86, p < .05$). Also, as shown in Figure 4.3., SES and system fear/anxiety was not related to each other for those with low level of system justification tendencies ($t(219) = -.94, ns$), whereas system fear/anxiety was marginally higher in participants with high SES as compared to participants with low SES ($t(219) = 1.91, p = .06$).

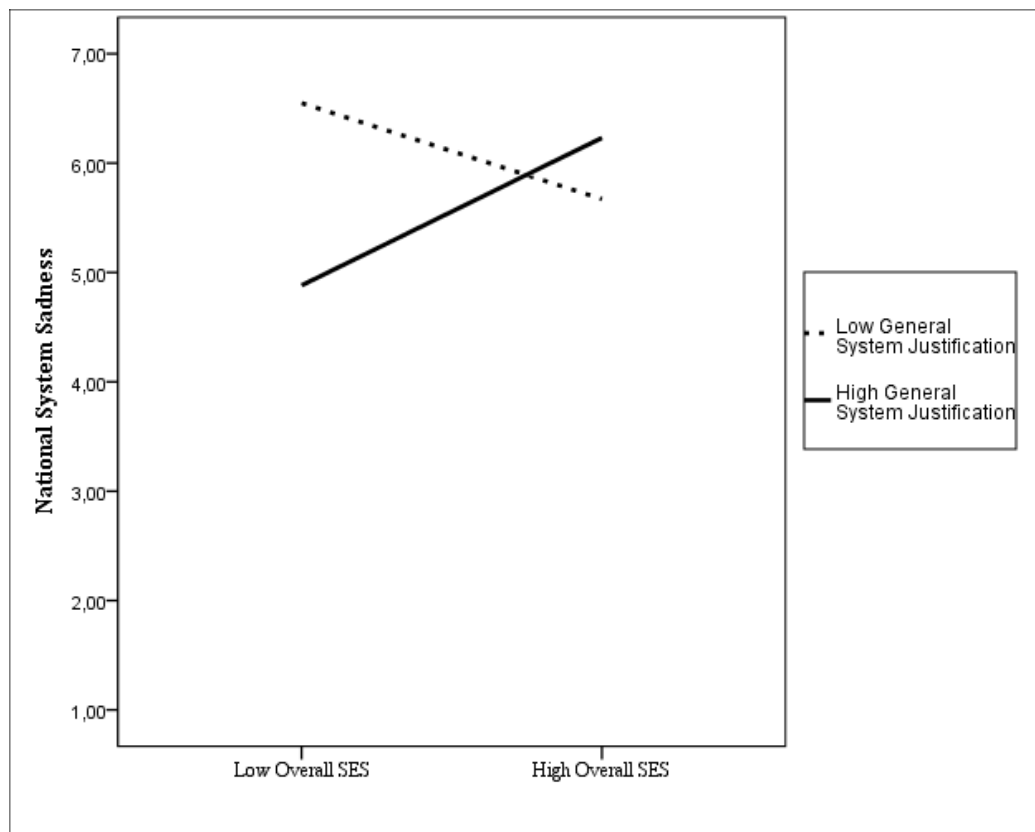


Figure 4.2. *The Interaction Between System Justification and SES in Predicting System Sadness*

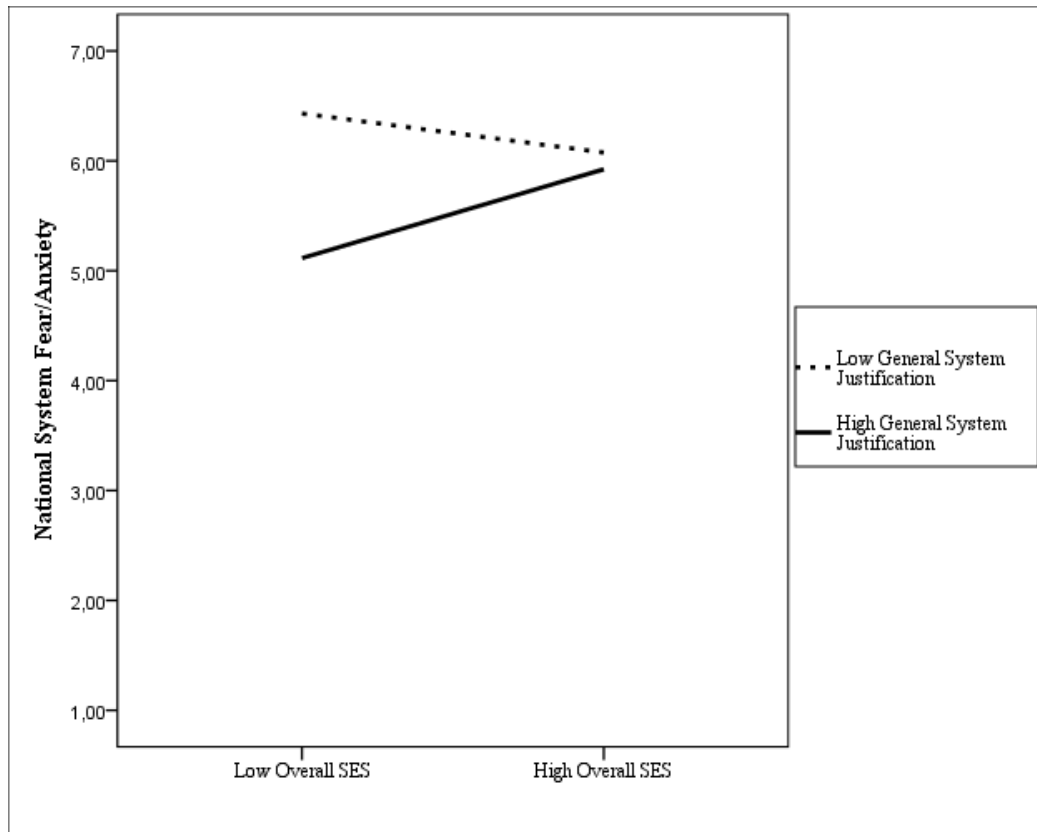


Figure 4.3. *The Interaction Between System Justification and SES in Predicting System Fear/Anxiety*

4.2.5. Testing Hypothesis 2: System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

The second hypothesis states that system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. For this aim, positive and negative individual, group, and system emotions were allowed to correlate with group justification and system justification tendencies. As expected, system justification tendencies were strongly correlated with system emotions in a way that general system justification was positively associated with higher positive ($r = .42, p < .001$) and lower negative ($r = -.37, p < .001$) system emotions in the whole sample (see Table 4.2.). The correlation of system justification with positive and negative system emotions ranged from .44 to -

.35 ($p < .001$) in the political party supporters, respectively, whereas these correlations ranged from .40 to -.39 ($p < .001$) in the non-supporters, respectively.

Moreover, general system justification was associated with more system anger ($r = -.46, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = -.37, p < .001$), sadness ($r = -.27, p < .001$), and less happiness ($r = .36, p < .001$) in the whole sample. However, the correlations between system justification and discrete group emotions were generally much stronger in the non-party supporters as compared to party supporters. Specifically, higher system justification was associated with lower system anger ($r = -.52, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = -.42, p < .001$), sadness ($r = -.24, p < .05$), and higher happiness ($r = .34, p < .001$) in party non-supporters. In party supporters, higher system justification was associated with lower system anger ($r = -.38, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = -.30, p < .001$), sadness ($r = -.32, p < .05$), and higher happiness ($r = .38, p < .001$).

System justification was related to individual anger ($r = -.16, p < .05$) only among discrete individual emotions but it was not associated with any group emotions in the whole sample. For political party supporters, although, system justification was not associated with any discrete individual emotions, it was related to group happiness ($r = .20, p < .05$). For non-political party supporters, system justification was related to individual anger ($r = -.22, p < .05$) and group anger ($r = -.21, p < .05$).

A hierarchical multiple regression was conducted to examine whether the system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order, even controlling individual and group emotions. The same regression model was run for the whole sample, party group supporters, and non-supporters. In the model, political party justification was included to the first step, followed by the entry of the system justification in the second step.

As demonstrated in Table 4.4., in positive national system emotions, only the second regression equation, in which system justification tendencies were included, was statistically significant ($F(2, 223) = 23.69, p < .001, R^2 = .18, \Delta R^2 = .17, \Delta F = 44.17, p < .001$) in the whole sample. In a similar vein, only the second regression equation was statistically significant in the party supporters and non-supporters, ($F(2, 103) = 12.01, p < .001, R^2 = .19, \Delta R^2 = .18, \Delta F = 23.78, p < .001$), ($F(2, 118) = 12.07,$

$p < .001$, $R^2 = .17$, $\Delta R^2 = .16$, $\Delta F = 20.58$, $p < .001$), respectively. Specifically, higher general system justification was related to more positive national system emotions ($\beta = .41$, $p < .001$) in the whole sample as well as in party supporters sample ($\beta = .39$, $p < .001$) and non-supporters sample ($\beta = .44$, $p < .001$), suggesting system emotions are dependent to one's level of system justification.

As demonstrated in Table 4.4., in negative national system emotions the regression equation in the first step ($F(1, 223) = 5.14$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .02$, Adjusted $R^2 = .02$) and in the second step ($F(2, 223) = 23.52$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .14$, $\Delta R^2 = .15$, $\Delta F = 32.76$, $p < .001$) were significant in the whole sample. While negative system emotions were related to group justification in the first step ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$), they were associated with system justification in the second step ($\beta = -.36$, $p < .001$) in the whole sample. In party supporters, the second equation was only statistically significant ($F(2, 103) = 6.89$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .12$, $\Delta R^2 = .10$, $\Delta F = 13.76$, $p < .001$), in a way that higher system justification was associated with less negative system emotions ($\beta = -.35$, $p < .001$). However, in non-supporters, the first regression equation was significant ($F(1, 118) = 8.60$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .07$, Adjusted $R^2 = .06$). Group justification was positively associated with negative system emotions ($\beta = .26$, $p < .01$). The second regression equation was also significant, in a way that not only group justification ($\beta = .21$, $p < .05$) but also system justification ($\beta = -.36$, $p < .001$) contributed to the model. Overall these results imply that people who endorse system justification tendencies have more positive and less negative system emotions, derived from being a participant in the Turkey's system. Confirming Hypothesis 2, system emotions are dependent on the degree of one's system justification.

Moreover, the same regression model was tested for discrete system emotions in whole sample. As shown in table 4.4., not group justification but system justification was the most important predictor of national system anger ($\beta = -.45$, $p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.36$, $p < .001$), sadness ($\beta = -.27$, $p < .001$), and happiness ($\beta = .35$, $p < .001$), except system guilt/shame. Group justification ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$) predicted system guilt/shame stronger than system justification in the second step ($\beta = -.11$, $p = .10$). In party group supporters sample and non-supporters sample, again, system justification was the strongest predictor of national system anger ($\beta = -.38$, $\beta = -.51$, $p < .001$, respectively), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.30$, $p < .01$; $\beta = -.39$, $p < .001$,

respectively), sadness ($\beta = -.33, p < .01$; $\beta = -.22, p < .05$), and happiness ($\beta = .38, \beta = .33, p < .001$), except for system guilt/shame. Neither group justification nor system justification significantly predicted system guilt/shame in the second step in party group supporters. However, among party non supporters, only group justification ($\beta = .17, p = .06$) was marginally related to system guilt/shame in the second step. Taken together, there was evidence for the second hypothesis of the study that system emotions reflect appraisals of the social order.

4.2.6. Testing Hypothesis 3: System-Level Emotions Affect System Related

Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The third hypothesis of the study was that system-level emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors. While 192 (85.8%) participants participate in street protests regarding with Gezi Park, 31(13.8%) participants did not participate in the street protests, and 1 (0.4%) participant did give information about the protest participation. Action tendencies and behaviors regarding with the 2013 Gezi Park protests were significantly associated with each other in the whole sample ($r = .43, p < .001$), as well as among party supporters ($r = .25, p < .05$) and non-supporters ($r = .58, p < .001$).

As predicted in Hypothesis 3, system tendencies and actions regarding with the 2013 Gezi protests were associated with positive ($r = -.28, p < .001$; $r = -.21, p < .01$, respectively) and negative ($r = .32, r = .29, p < .001$, respectively) system emotions in the whole sample. However, neither individual and nor group emotions were significantly associated with system tendencies related to the 2013 Gezi Protests in the whole sample. With regard to system actions, negative individual emotions were also related to action behavior in the whole sample ($r = .19, p < .05$).

Among political party supporters, positive and negative system emotions were associated with only system tendencies ($r = -.20$; $r = .22, p < .05$, respectively) but not system actions. However, in the non-political party supporters, both system tendencies and actions were associated with positive ($r = -.32, r = -.39, p < .001$, respectively) and negative ($r = .43, r = .41, p < .001$, respectively) system emotions.

Table 4.4. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Justification Tendencies on National System Emotions (The Whole Sample)

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1																					
Political Party Group Justification	-.11	.01		.15*	.02*		.10	.01		.13*	.01*		.07	.01		.17*	.03*		-.06	.004	
Step 2																					
General System Justification	.41***	.17***		-.36***	.13**	*	-.45***	.20**	*	-.36***	.13***		-.27***	.07***		-.11	.01		.35***	.12***	

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

Also, in the party supporters ($r = .21, p < .05$) system behaviors were associated with negative individual emotions. No group emotions were related to system tendencies and actions in the political and the nonpolitical party supporters. These preliminary results indicate that system emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors.

In terms of relationship between discrete system emotions and action tendencies and behaviors, the relationships ranged from .13 to .42. Specifically, while action tendencies regarding with the protests were significantly correlated with national system anger ($r = .42, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = .29, p < .001$), sadness ($r = .25, p < .001$), guilt/shame ($r = .18, p < .05$), and happiness ($r = -.31, p < .001$), they were only associated with group anger ($r = .21, p < .01$) and not significantly related to any discrete individual emotions in the whole sample.

Protest participation was associated with national system anger ($r = .35, p < .001$), sadness ($r = .30, p < .001$), fear/anxiety ($r = .20, p < .01$), happiness ($r = -.20, p < .01$), and marginally related to guilt/shame ($r = .13, p = .06$). Also, it was found that protests participation was related to individual anger ($r = .23, p < .01$), individual sadness ($r = .21, p < .01$), and group anger ($r = .16, p < .05$). These results indicated that emotions derived from being a participant in Turkey's system are more related to willingness to participate in protests and actual protest participation.

Next, whether system emotions predict collective action tendencies and behaviors were examined with hierarchical regression analyses. Because the current study was conducted during the protests, in order to control time differences of completion of surveys across participants, the variable "survey end date", representing the date of survey completion, was included in the first step, then individual and group emotions were entered in the second step, followed by system emotions in the third step. Because there was a higher relation between survey start data and end date, one of these variables ($r = .999, p < .001$) was selected for controlling the possible effects of time on system actions and tendencies. The results were provided in Table 4.5.

As presented in Table 4.5., stronger willingness to participate in the 2013 Gezi protests was significantly predicted by only lower positive ($\beta = -.20, p < .05$) and higher negative system emotions ($\beta = .28, p < .01$) in the third step, ($F(7, 223) =$

5.63, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .15$, Adjusted $R^2 = .13$, $\Delta R^2 = .13$, $\Delta F = 16.91$, $p < .001$) in the whole sample. Neither individual nor group emotions significantly predicted action tendencies across regression steps. Also, the time of study was not significant in the first step. Results demonstrated that system emotions are important predictor of system tendencies and actions, after controlling individual and group emotions. The same analyses were conducted in both party group supporters and non-supporters. For party non-supporters, positive group emotions ($\beta = -.21$, $p < .05$) significantly predicted system tendencies in the second step, ($F(5, 118) = 1.65$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .07$, Adjusted $R^2 = .03$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $\Delta F = 2.02$, *ns*). In the third step, only positive ($\beta = -.25$, $p < .05$) and negative ($\beta = .41$, $p < .001$) system emotions were reached the significant level, ($F(7, 118) = 5.79$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .27$, Adjusted $R^2 = .22$, $\Delta R^2 = .23$, $\Delta F = 17.34$, $p < .001$). However, in party supporters, three steps of the model did not reach the significant level.

Table 4.5. *Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of National System Emotions on System Related Action Tendencies and Behavior*

	System Tendencies		System Behavior	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1				
Survey End Date	-.08	.01	.001	.000
Step 2		.02		.05*
Positive Individual Emotions	-.04		-.03	
Negative Individual Emotions	.01		.18	
Positive Political Party Group Emotions	.11		.11	
Negative Political Party Group Emotions	.08		-.02	
Step 3		.13***		.07***
Positive National System Emotions	-.20*		-.16*	
Negative National System Emotions	.28**		.19*	

GSJ = General System Justification * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$,

With regard to system behavior, as presented in Table 4.5., in the whole sample, only negative individual emotions significantly predicted system actions ($\beta = .18$, $p < .05$) in the second step, ($F(5, 223) = 2.09$, $p = .07$, $R^2 = .05$, Adjusted $R^2 =$

.02, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, $\Delta F = 2.61$, $p < .05$). However, only positive ($\beta = -.16$, $p < .05$) and negative ($\beta = .19$, $p < .05$) system emotions made significant contributions to the third step, ($F(7, 223) = 3.99$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .11$, Adjusted $R^2 = .09$, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, $\Delta F = 8.38$, $p < .001$). This means that, as hypothesized, the more system emotions the more participation to the protests, even after controlling individual and group emotions. Again, in party-non supporters, only positive ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .01$) and negative ($\beta = .30$, $p < .05$) system emotions reached the significant level in the third step, ($F(7, 118) = 5.48$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .27$, Adjusted $R^2 = .22$, $\Delta R^2 = .21$, $\Delta F = 15.65$, $p < .001$). However, in the party supporters, although three steps of the model did not reach the significant level, only individual negative emotions ($\beta = .27$, $p < .05$) significantly predicted action behavior in the second step ($F(5, 103) = .17$, ns).

4.2.7. Testing Hypothesis 4: System Emotions Mediates the Relation Between System Justification and Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The mediating role of system emotions in the link between system justification and system related tendencies and behaviors were tested path analysis using LISREL 8.51. Following the data analysis strategy used in previous studies, general system justification was used as a predictor variable, the positive and negative system emotions as mediating variables, and system related tendencies and behavior were employed as the outcome variables. The final model was given in Figure 4.4. A goodness-of-fit statistics indicated very good fit to the model, ($\chi^2 (2, N = 224) = 2.29$, $p = ns$. $GFI = 1$, $AGFI = .97$, $NNFI = .99$, $CFI = .1$, $RMSEA = .03$).

As seen in Figure 4.4., system justification predicted lower positive ($\beta = .41$, $p < .05$) and higher negative ($\beta = -.37$, $p < .05$) system emotions, actions tendencies ($\beta = -.31$, $p < .05$), and behaviors ($\beta = -.18$, $p < .05$) related to the 2013 Gezi Protests, suggesting that individuals with higher general system justification tended to report more positive and less negative system emotions, as well as lower willingness to participate in and less behavioral participation to the protests. Also, negative system emotions predicted lower system tendencies ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$) and behavior ($\beta = .22$, $p < .05$). Research findings provide support for Hypothesis 4 that system emotions mediate the relationship between system justification and system-related tendencies

and behaviors. Negative national system emotions partially mediated the relationship between general system justification and action tendencies (*indirect effect* = -.08, $t = -2.95$, $p < .05$) and the relation between general system justification and behaviors (*indirect effect* = -.08, $t = -2.82$, $p < .05$). Overall, general system justification explained 14% and 17%, of the total variance in positive and negative system emotions, respectively. Full model explained 19% and 11% of the total variances in action tendencies and behaviors, respectively. These results demonstrated that system justification both directly and indirectly-by affecting emotions that are experienced in relation to the social system- undermines participation in the 2013 Gezi protests.

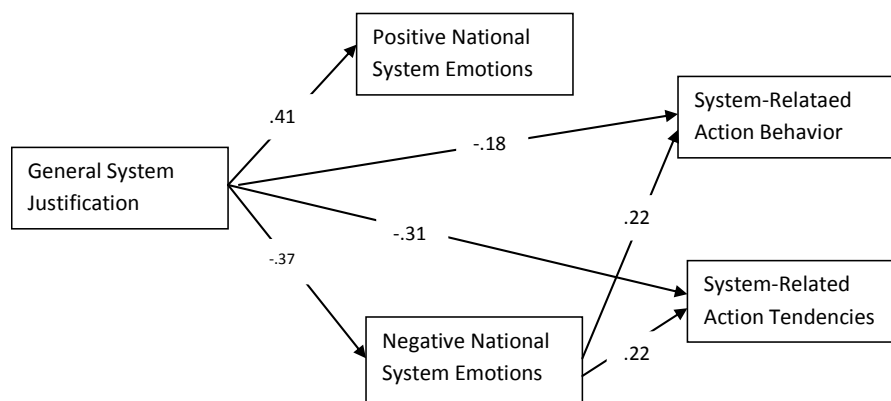


Figure 4.4. Path Model Using National System Emotions as a Mediator

4.2.8. Testing Hypothesis 5: System-Level Emotions are Regulated by System-Related Emotion Regulation

The fifth hypothesis of the research is that system-based emotions will be regulated by system related emotion regulation. First, as presented in Table 4.2., the

correlations between individual and system emotion regulation strategies were computed. Results indicated that individual cognitive reappraisal and individual suppression was positively correlated ($r = .17, p < .05$). System cognitive reappraisal and system suppression was also positively related to each other ($r = .40, p < .001$). Positive relation was found between individual and system reappraisal ($r = .40, p < .001$), as well as between individual and system suppression ($r = .42, p < .001$). These findings demonstrates that who frequently use individual suppression and reappraisal were no more (less) likely to use system suppression and reappraisal, respectively than individuals who use individual suppression and reappraisal infrequently.

Then, the links between system emotion regulation and system emotions strategies were investigated. Confirming Hypothesis 5a, system emotions were associated with system emotion regulation strategies but not with individual emotion regulation strategies. In other words, as compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system-related emotion regulation strategies will be strongly related to system emotions. As presented in Table 4.2., system and individual suppression yielded different result patterns with emotions. Although stronger system suppression was marginally significantly related to less positive system emotions ($r = .12, p = .07$), stronger individual suppression was associated with less positive ($r = -.18, p < .01$) and more negative ($r = .15, p < .05$) individual emotions. Consistent with Hypothesis 5b, while the chronic use of system suppression was related to lower negative system affect, the chronic use of individual suppression was related to lower positive individual affect. This means that emotion regulation at the individual-and system-level seems to have different impacts on emotions.

Moreover, while system reappraisal was associated with higher system positive ($r = .21, p < .01$) and lower negative emotions ($r = -.16, p < .05$), it was not significantly linked with positive and negative individual and group emotions. However, individual reappraisal was not related to any positive and negative individual, group, and system emotions. Additionally, with regard to group emotions, only system suppression was related to negative group emotions ($r = .14, p < .05$). Group emotions were not associated with any individual emotion regulation strategies.

Next, the correlations between emotion regulation strategies and general system justification were examined. As presented in Table 4.2., system justification was associated with system suppression ($r = .27, p < .001$) and system reappraisal ($r = .24, p < .001$) but not significantly related to individual suppression and reappraisal. These results mean that people who chronically high in system justification are more likely to use system reappraisal and suppression to regulate their emotions toward the Turkey's system. Confirming Hypothesis 5c, in the current research, as compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system emotion regulation strategies are related to system justification.

Then, the relationships between system emotions and emotion regulation strategies were investigated via a series of moderated regression analyses. In the analyses, as in previous studies, the centered version of individual and system emotion regression strategies were entered in the first step, system justification was entered in the second step, and their two-way interactions were added to the third step. The results were provided in Table 4.6.

In both positive and negative system emotions and discrete system emotions, as contrary to the Hypothesis 5d, no interaction term reached the significant level. Only main effects of strategies significantly predicted emotions. As shown in Table 4.6., higher system reappraisal predicted more positive ($\beta = .20, p < .05$) and less negative ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$) system emotions in the first step. With regard to discrete system emotions, the main effect of system reappraisal on system anger ($\beta = -.14, p = .07$), sadness ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$), and happiness ($\beta = .16, p < .05$) were observed, whereas higher system suppression predicted lower system anger ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$) but higher system guilt/shame ($\beta = .17, p < .05$). Overall these results indicated that system emotions are affected by system related emotion regulation strategies. That is to say, compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system-related emotion regulation strategies are strongly related to system emotions.

Table 5.6. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Emotion Regulation and System Justification on National System Emotions (The Whole Sample)

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1		.05*			.01			.06			.02			.08			.03			.04	
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	-.03			.05			.09			.02			.08			-.01			-.02		
Individual Suppression	-.004			.05			.08			.001			.08			-.004			.05		
System Cognitive Reappraisal	.20*			-.18*			-.14*			-.13			-.18*			-.09			.16*		
System Suppression	.05			-.02			-.19*			-.06			-.08			.17*			.06		
Step 2		.14***			.29***			.16***			.12***			-.24**			.02*			.10	
GSJ	.40***			-.56***			.43***			-.36***						-.16*			.34***		
Step 3		.01			.04 x			.01			.01			.10			.02			.01	
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	.09			.03			-.03			-.05			.10			-.04			.06		
Individual Suppression x GSJ	.02			-.02			.02			-.09			-.004			-.04			.09		
System Cognitive Reappraisal x GSJ	-.11			-.01			-.10			.09			-.10			.11			-.06		
System Suppression x GSJ	-.04			.09			.12			.05			.06			.06			-.10		

GSJ = General System Justification * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$, $x p < .10$

4.3. Discussion

The current study supports and extends prior findings by demonstrating that system emotions (I) reflect standing in the social order, (II) reflect appraisals of the social order, (III) affect action tendencies and behaviors in the real life protest behaviors. Importantly it offers evidence that affective underpinnings of social protests cannot be understood, nor addressed, without taking into consideration the key role of system-level emotions. In line with findings from first two studies described above, system emotions mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors. Moreover, it provides further evidence that system emotions are regulated by system-level emotion regulation. Testing the study hypothesis in the context where system emotions naturally occur - during the 2013 Gezi protests- replicates, strengthen, and extends previous findings. System-level approach to emotions has reintroduced emotions to social psychology of protest.

The findings of Study 3 yielded support for the study hypotheses. As predicted, in Hypothesis 1a, it was found that overall SES was positively linked with positive system emotions, suggesting social class differences promote divergent emotional experiences related to social order. Moreover, consistent with Hypothesis 1b, the current findings, again, imply the importance of the palliative function of system justification. This means that detrimental effect of low social status on emotions (on the negative system emotions, system sadness, and system fear/anxiety) is less common among people who chronically perceive the system in more positive light.

Also, the results of Study 3, again, provided evidence that system emotions are related to person's level of system justification. In other words, system justification predicted more positive and less negative system emotions, even after controlling group justification, suggesting that system emotions are derived from system justification motivation.

As predicted in Hypothesis 3, system emotions affect willingness to participate in the 2013 Gezi protests and behaviors regarding this protest participation. People with more negative and less positive system emotions are more

likely to have collective action intentions. However, the important role of system emotions in collective action tendencies and behaviors related to the 2013 Gezi protests were observed in the nonparty identifiers sample. It appears that system emotions strongly affect collective action, especially among those who do not identify with any political party during the protests. Also, as expected in Hypothesis 4, the system emotions partially mediate the relation between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors related to the Gezi protests. To the extent that individuals endorse system justification, they reported lower level of negative system emotions and higher level of positive system emotions, then leading to action tendencies and behaviors in the Gezi protests. System justification motive and system emotions, therefore, are important social psychological phenomena of the protest participation.

Finally, results supported Hypothesis 5a, in a way that system emotions are related system emotion regulation strategies. Consistent with Hypothesis 5b, the pattern of association of individual suppression and system suppression with emotions was different. Whereas the chronic use of system suppression was related to lower negative system affect, the chronic use of individual suppression was related to lower positive individual affect. However, the moderating role of system suppression in the relationship between system justification and system emotions was not found. One of the possible explanations of this nonsignificant effect may be that participants (activists) were less likely to suppress their emotions toward the Turkey's system during the protests.

Overall, Study 3 provided evidence for the study hypothesis. The results will be discussed in detail in the general discussion. However, the correlational nature of the first three studies restricts us to provide a causal link between system justification and system emotions. Study 4, thus, attempts to test the study hypotheses using an experimental design.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY 4: TESTING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYSTEM-LEVEL EMOTIONS IN THE EXPERIMENTAL SETTING

Although the results of three studies reported above yielded consistent results supporting the study hypotheses, they were correlational in nature and relying on individual differences measures. In other words, the cross-sectional design of the previous studies prevents making a causal inference between system justification and system emotions as well as system justification, system action tendencies, and emotion regulation. Therefore, the fourth study was designed to test the study hypotheses in an experimental setting.

Study 4 was designed to provide experimental evidence that system emotions were causally related to system level-motivation, namely system justification goals. People are motivated to experience emotions in the service of their goals (Mauss & Tamir, 2014). However, goals are not singular or isolated entities, rather individuals have many different goals at the same time (Mauss & Tamir, 2014). System justification operates as both a conscious and unconscious goal and the activation of system justification goal, motivates individuals to restore their belief toward the status quo by allowing them to adopt system justification means (Jost et al., 2008). In the current dissertation it is claimed that system justification motive is one of the conditions that allows individuals to experience basic system emotions. Because assessment of system justification relied on individuals' self-report in the first three studies of the current dissertation, system justification was conceptualized as a trait variable. Therefore, in the first three studies, this raises the possibility that individuals may pursue not only system justification goal but also other different goals such as individual and group-related goals at the same time when they report their emotions and system-related action tendencies. To eliminate this possibility, there is a need to clarify whether system emotions are attributable to system justification goal pursuit rather than other motivational concerns, such as the individual goal pursuit or group justification goal pursuit. Therefore, to fully

understand the role of system justification in system emotions, collective action, and emotion regulation, it was aimed to examine the system emotions as a function of the type of motivation, or the status of goal pursuit in Study 4. In other words, Study 4 focuses on the unique effect of system justification goal on system emotions, controlling alternative goals, namely individual and group goals.

In doing so, this study examined the effects of individual-, group- and system-level mindsets on the characteristic of system emotions. Specifically, system emotions will be compared with individual- and group emotions by using self-, group-, and system- affirmation manipulations and the control manipulation (see McQueen & Klein, 2006). Reconstructing the stability of the status quo, system affirmation offers a powerful tool to fulfill system justification goal pursuit that is activated by system threat (see Feygina, 2012). Following this argument, this study aims to understand whether affirming the system in the face of system threat, would reduce negative and increase positive system emotions more than group and individual affirmation conditions.

In this study, the classic self- and group-affirmation manipulations were extended to the system-level. Presumably, self-affirmation and group-affirmation satisfy ego justification and group justification, respectively, whereas system affirmation will satisfy the system justification motive. The study was designed to determine whether system emotions are attributable to system justification goal pursuit rather than other motivational concerns, such as the individual or group justification goal pursuit. Thus, the current study focuses on those hypotheses about the links between system emotions, system justification, collective action, and emotion regulation, namely Hypotheses 2, 3, 4, and 5, stated in the previous sections.

Finally, the previous three studies have demonstrated the assumed relationships between system justification, system emotions, and emotion regulation in more politically liberal and less religious samples. However, the participants in this final study will be drawn from a more religious and more politically conservative population, as compared to the previous ones.

5.1. Method

5.1.1. Participants

The initial sample size was 345 Abant İzzet Baysal University students, in Bolu, Turkey. Participants who did not fully complete the manipulation part of the study (affirmation manipulation) were excluded from the analyses, leaving 241 participants. Specifically, participants who only listed 5 characteristics of the relevant manipulation and write a short story about these characteristics were kept in the analyses. Then, eight participants who did not complete at least one scale were also removed from the analyses, remaining sample size was 233. Of these participants, 49 (21%) took part in the system affirmation condition, 48 (20.6%) in the group affirmation condition, 63 (27%) in the individual affirmation condition, and 73 (31.3%) took part in the control condition.

Participants were 171 female (74%), 59 male (25.5%) and 1 participant (0.4%) who did not indicate a gender, ranging from 17 to 32 years of age ($M = 20.96$, $SD = 1.92$). Regarding the ethnic origins of the participants, 199 (86.1%) were Turkish, 22 (9.5%) were Kurdish, 1 (0.4%) were Arab, 7 were “Other” (3%), and 2 participant did not report their ethnicity (0.9%). Of the participants, 218 (94.4%) were Muslim, 4 (1.7%) were Atheist (7.8%), and 4 (1.7%) were Deist, 2 (0.9%) reported their religious affiliation as “Other”, and 3 (1.3%) did not report their religious affiliation.

With regard to the participants’ perceived socioeconomic class, 30 (12.9%) participants reported low SES class, 148 (64.1%) of them reported middle class, and 47(21.3%) of them reported upper class. 5 (2.2%) participants did not indicate their gender. The mean degree of perceived social economic status (1 = *Low SES*, 7 = *High SES*) was 4.07 ($SD = .75$). The mean degree of participants’ political orientation (1 = *Left*, 9 = *Right*) was 4.86 ($SD = 2.10$) and the mean degree of their religiosity (1 = *Not all religious*, 9 = *Very religious*) was 5.70 ($SD = 1.97$).

5.1.2. Procedure

Initially, participants filled out the same questionnaires used in the previous studies. The study was conducted as a class exercise in the 40 min of their class, after giving written consent. Participants were told that the experiment ostensibly examined the individuals' attitudes toward different social issues. Then, participants were told that they would read a newspaper article written by a foreign journalist and excerpted from an international newspaper. They were instructed to read it carefully (and as many times as necessary) to become familiar with its details. Also, they were told that their memory will be tested in the end of the study. Next, they read a system threatening essay. Then, they were randomly assigned to one of four conditions, namely self-affirmation, group-affirmation, system-affirmation, and control conditions. The detailed information about the experimental manipulation was provided in the measures section of the dissertation. Following the affirmation manipulation, participants completed the measures regarding individual, group, and system emotions, as well as action tendencies and emotion regulation. Finally, participants completed a debriefing questionnaire in which they were asked to speculate about the general aim of the study.

5.1.3. Measures

All experimental materials, as mentioned above, were administered as a class exercise. After the study manipulation, participants filled out the measures for emotions, group and system justification tendencies, emotion regulation, system-related actions and demographics used in previous studies.

5.1.3.1. System Threat Essay

In order to activate a system justifying goal pursuit, participants were asked to read a passage about the current state of Turkey. Specifically, the participants were exposed to a system threat passage, ostensibly written by a journalist, and instructed to try to remember the passage later. The passage was designed to be threatening to

the system by emphasizing the systemic problems in Turkey. The passage primes a system justification goal pursuit. The participants were instructed to read the essay and try to remember the it for a memory test later. The following passage was adopted from Kay et al., (2005) and slightly adapted to the Turkey's context. The passage was as follows:

The System and Order are Falling

"These days, many people in Turkey feel disappointment and worry with the nation's condition. Many citizens feel that the country has reached a low point in terms of social, economic, and political factors. People do not feel as safe and secure as they used to, and there is a sense of uncertainty, pessimism and chaos regarding the country's future. Many believe that the country conditions are getting worse, and any day now chaos and anarchy could erupt around us. People do not see stability in social, economic, and political arenas and believe that the county is unlivable. Many people believe that the system and order of Turkey are not for hard working and honest people. That is, people believe that in their daily lives, they do not get what they deserve and pulling strings, injustice, and exploitation are widespread. It seems that many countries in the world are enjoying much better social, economic, and political conditions than Turkey. More and more people express a willing to leave Turkey and emigrate to other nations."

As a manipulation check, participants were asked to complete a 8-item General System Justification Scale (Wakslak et al., 2011), used in the previous studies (e.g., "Everyone in Turkey has a fair shot at wealth and happiness"). Participants indicated their level of agreement with each statement on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 9 (*Strongly agree*). In the present study, the Cronbach's alpha was .90.

5.1.3.2. Affirmation Tasks

After the system threat manipulation, participants were randomly assigned to one of four experimental conditions. The aim of the affirmation task was to manipulate the type of goal pursuit. In a *system-affirmation condition*, participants completed a task that affirms the legitimacy of the status quo. In other words, they fulfill the system justification goal. For this, in a system affirmation condition, they were asked to think of themselves as a participant in the Turkey's system, order, and "the way of life" and they were asked to list five positive aspects of the Turkish system and the way of life and write a short essay about these five aspects. In a *group-affirmation condition*, participants completed a task that affirms their ingroup.

Thus, they were exposed to fulfill a group justification goal. Specifically, they were instructed to think about themselves as an Abant İzzetbaysal University (AİBU) student, list the five positive features of AİBU students and write a short essay about these features. In a *self-affirmation condition*, participants completed a task that affirms their self-concept in a way that they were asked to think about themselves as an individual and list five positive features of themselves, then write a short essay about them. Individual affirmation task allowed individuals to fulfill the individual goal. In a *control condition*, participants were asked to list five daily life activities and write a short essay about them.

5.1.3.3. Emotions

Individual, group, and system emotions were measured in the current study.

5.1.3.3.1. Individual Emotions

To measure individual emotions, participants read the same instruction used in the previous three studies with the wording “When you think of yourself as an individual, to what extent are you feeling each of the following emotions right now? And, then, they rated the same 27 emotions, including 9 positive (e.g., “As an individual, I am feeling happy”) and 19 negative (e.g., “As an individual, I am feeling sad”) emotions. Detailed information regarding this scale was provided in the method section of Study 1 and Study 2. Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). To provide consistency between the current study and previous studies conducted in Turkey, two items (item 2 “I am feeling angry at others” and item 27 “As an individual, I am feeling envious”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha values were .88 for positive and .94 for negative individual emotions, respectively.

Additionally, as in the previous studies, individual emotions were also combined into the same five composites, namely individual anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness (Cronbach’s alphas = .66, .78, .84, .71, and .81, respectively).

5.1.3.3.2. Group Emotions

Group emotions were measured for only university group. Similar to previous studies, participants were asked to read the instruction used in the Study 1, with the wording “When you think of yourself as an AIBU student, what extent are you feeling each of the following right now?” They were presented the same list of 27 emotions. The sample items of group emotions are as follow: “As an AIBU student, I am feeling happy”, “As an AIBU student, I am feeling feel outrage.” The responses were give on a 7-point Likert scale with anchors from strong *Strongly disagree* (1) to *Strongly agree* (7). To provide consistency with previous studies conducted in Turkey, two items (item 2 “As an AIBU student, I feel angry at others” and item 27 “As an AIBU student, I feel envious”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach’s alpha values were .93 for positive university group emotions and .92 for negative university emotions. Additionally, the same party group discrete emotions subscales were created. Additionally, as in the previous studies, group emotions were also combined into the same five composites, namely group anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness (Cronbach’s alphas = .71, .76, .81, .60, and .89, respectively).

5.1.3.3.3. System Emotions

In order to measure system emotions, participants were asked about their emotions about being a participant in the Turkey’s system. They were asked to read the following instruction: “When you think of yourself as a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, to what extent are you feeling each of the following right now?” Participants responded to the same 27 emotions with appropriate wording (e.g., “As a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, I am feeling happy”, “As a participant in the Turkey’s system and order, I feeling moral outrage”). Responses were given on a 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = *Strongly agree*). Considering the factor structure of emotions in previous studies, again two items, (item 27 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I am feeling envious”; item 2 “As a participant in Turkey’s system and order, I am feeling angry at socialist

system”) were removed from the further analyses. Cronbach alpha’s values were .94 and .96 for positive and negative national system emotions, respectively.

Additionally, as in the previous studies, system emotions were also combined into the same five composites, namely group anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness (Cronbach’s alphas = .86, .88, .90, .72, and .90, respectively).

5.1.3.4. System-Related Tendencies

In order to measure individuals’ willingness to participate in collective action, the same 8-item scale for system-related tendencies used in Study 2 was also used in Study 4 with one exception: The item “I support those who are participating in the “Occupy Wall Street” movement” was replaced with the item “I support those who are participating in the Gezi protests”. Detailed information about the scale was provided in Study 1. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale ranged from (1) *Strongly disagree* to (7) *Strongly agree*. The explanatory factor analysis with varimax rotation results yielded a single factor that accounted 62.70% of the results. Cronbach’s alpha value was .90.

5.1.3.5. Emotion Regulation Strategies

As in previous studies, emotion regulation tendencies were measured for both trait emotion regulation tendencies, namely individual-related emotion regulation and emotion regulation tendencies toward the Turkey’s system-that is, system-related emotion regulation. The detailed information about emotion regulation scales were provided in Study 1 and Study 2.

5.1.3.5.1. Individual-Related Emotion Regulation

As in previous studies, at the individual-level, Gross and John’s (2003) 10-item Emotion Regulation Questionnaire (ERQ), including reappraisal and suppression dimensions, was used to assess the individual differences in emotion regulation. Cronbach’s alpha values were .80 and .63 for reappraisal and suppression strategies at the individual level, respectively.

5.1.3.5.2. System-Related Emotion Regulation

Similar to previous studies, the same system-related emotion regulation scale was used in the current study. Specifically, 10-item ERQ at the system level, including reappraisal and suppression dimensions, was used to assess the individual differences in emotion regulation. Responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*). Cronbach's alpha values were .79 and .79 for reappraisal and suppression strategies at the system-level, respectively.

5.1.3.6. Socio-Demographic Questionnaire

The section included socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, income, religion, religiosity, political orientation, and perceived socio-economic status. In order to measure political orientation participants were asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (*Extremely leftist*) to 9 (*Extremely rightist*). Similarly, religiosity was measured with a scale ranging from 1 (*Not all religious*) to 9 (*Very religious*). To measure socio-economic status, participants were asked to indicate their socioeconomic status on a scale ranging from 1 (*Lower class*) to 7 (*Upper class*).

5.2. Results

5.2.1. Data Screening and Cleaning

Although the initial sample size was 346, participants who did not complete or partially completed the manipulation part of the study, was excluded from the analyses. In other words, only participants who both wrote least 5 positive features and a short essay about them were kept in the analyses (N = 241). Specifically, although 100 participants were in the system affirmation condition, the manipulation requirement was met only by 54 participants. As originally, 68 participants were in the group affirmation condition, 70 participants were in the individual affirmation condition, and 83 participants were in the control condition, whereas the manipulation

requirement was fully met by 49 participants the a group affirmation condition, by 64 participants the a individual affirmation condition, and by 74 participants in the control condition.

Also, then, 8 participants who did not complete at least one scale were removed from the analyses, remaining sample size was 233. Of the participants 49 (21%) from the system affirmation condition, 48 (20.6%) the group affirmation condition, 63 (27%) the individual affirmation condition, and 73 (31.3%) the control condition.

There was no missing value in the data set. The data was analyzed for univariate based on the criteria “high ± 3.30 or beyond values of standard z- scores” and multivariate outliers based on Mahalonobis distance values, $X^2(13) = 34.53$. In a system and a group affirmation condition, there were no univariate or multivariate outliers. In the individual affirmation condition, 1 univariate outlier was detected but there was no multivariate outlier. In the control condition, 1 univariate outlier was removed from the analyses, and there was no multivariate outlier. The remaining sample was 49 (21.2%) for the system affirmation condition, 48 (20.6%) for the group affirmation condition, 62 (26.8%) for the individual affirmation condition, and 72 (31.2%) for the control condition. The skewness and kurtosis levels were all in acceptable ranges, indicating the normality of the distributions in each condition.

5.2.2. Manipulation Check

A manipulation check was performed to confirm that system affirmation manipulation leads to higher system justification. One-way ANOVA was conducted on general system justification that assessed whether system affirmation manipulation leads to higher tendencies to support the status quo as compared to other experimental conditions. Results revealed a significant statistical difference the between experimental groups, $F(3, 230) = 3.13, p < .05$). As presented in Table 5.21., participants in the system affirmation condition ($M = 4.10, SD = 1.92$) reported higher system justification than participants in the group affirmation condition ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.71$) and the individual affirmation condition ($M = 3.20, SD = 1.73$).

In addition, in order to compare system affirmation mindset with overall cumulative effect of other experimental conditions, the experimental conditions were recoded in two-categories: system affirmation condition (1= system affirmation condition) and other overall experimental conditions (0 = other conditions: individual affirmation, group affirmation, and control conditions). Then, one-way ANOVA was performed to examine whether participants in the system affirmation condition were different in terms of system justification tendencies from those in the other conditions. As demonstrated in Table 5.2., participants in the system affirmation condition ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.92$) was higher in system justification than those in other conditions, ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 1.75$), $F(1, 230) = 7.76$, $p < .05$). Moreover, none of the participants guessed that the study was investigating anything related to people's motivation to justify the status quo or emotions.

5.2.3. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and ranges) for the major study variables per each conditions were presented in Table 5.1.

Mean scores of the subscales were roughly compared with the given scale's absolute midpoint to see how common (or frequent) the observed emotions, emotion regulation, system tendencies, and system-related tendencies are experienced among the participants. In the system affirmation condition, the comparison of the means of emotions demonstrated that while the mean of positive individual (4.76) and group emotions (4.60) were higher than the midpoint, the mean of negative individual (2.62) and group emotions (2.17) were lower than the midpoint. Although negative system emotions (3.18) were lower than the midpoint, system positive emotions (3.75) were not significantly different from the scale midpoint. The mean of collective tendencies (4.61) were higher than the midpoint. In terms of emotion regulation strategies, system suppression (3.38) was lower and individual cognitive reappraisal (4.62) was higher than the midpoint. With regard to discrete emotions, individual anger (2.80), fear/anxiety (3.04), sadness (2.74), guilt/shame (2.99) as well as group anger (2.35), fear/anxiety (2.57), sadness (2.22), and guilt/shame (1.78) were lower than the midpoint, whereas individual (4.66) and group happiness (4.67)

were higher than the group midpoint. In terms of system emotions, only system sadness (3.27) and guilt/shame (2.12) were lower than the midpoint.

In the group affirmation condition, the mean positive individual (4.91) and group emotions (4.92) were higher than the midpoint, the mean of negative individual (2.59) and group emotions (1.76) were lower than the midpoint. Although positive system emotions (3.13) were lower than the midpoint, system negative emotions (4.02) were not significantly different from the scale midpoint. The mean of collective tendencies (5.43) was higher than the midpoint. In terms of emotion regulation strategies, system suppression (2.95) and individual suppression (3.42) were lower and individual cognitive reappraisal (4.63) was higher than the midpoint. With regard to discrete emotions, individual anger (2.74), fear/anxiety (3.18), sadness (2.87), guilt/shame (2.07) as well as group anger (1.92), fear/anxiety (2.11), sadness (1.73), and guilt/shame (1.53) were lower than the midpoint, individual (5.05) and group happiness (5.08) were higher than the group midpoint. In terms of system emotions, system anger (4.65), fear/anxiety (4.58) was higher but system guilt/shame (2.67) and happiness (2.97) were lower than the midpoint (2.97).

Table 5.1. Effect of Affirmation Type Task on Main Study Variables

Dependent Variables	System Affirmation Group		Group Affirmation Group		Individual Affirmation Group		Control Group		Overall		<i>F</i>
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Positive Individual Emotions	4.76	1.30	4.91	1.07	5.04	1.15	4.89	1.22	4.91	1.86	0.49
Negative Individual Emotions	2.62	1.44	2.59	1.21	2.53	1.31	2.60	1.27	2.58	1.30	0.06
Positive University Group Emotions	4.60	1.59	4.92	1.09	4.62	1.32	4.45	1.34	4.63	1.35	1.14
Negative University Group Emotions	2.17	1.44	1.76	.81	1.90	.94	2.02	.90	1.97	1.03	1.45
Positive National System Emotions	3.75	1.70	3.13	1.38	3.12	1.45	3.24	1.51	3.29	1.52	2.01
Negative National System Emotions	3.18 ^a	1.75	4.01 ^b	1.67	4.08 ^b	1.68	3.65 ^{ab}	1.63	4.23	1.70	3.18*
System-Related Action Tendencies	4.61 ^a	1.70	5.43 ^b	1.21	5.23 ^b	1.37	5.15 ^b	1.46	5.11	1.46	2.89*
System Cognitive Reappraisal	4.05	1.22	3.90	1.25	4.19	1.06	4.25	1.10	4.12	1.15	1.01
System Suppression	3.38	1.45	2.95	1.43	3.05	1.32	3.44	1.39	3.22	1.40	1.72
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	4.62	1.14	4.63	4.63	4.99	1.05	4.85	1.06	4.79	1.12	1.44
Individual Suppression	3.56	1.54	3.42	3.42	3.90	1.33	3.92	1.44	3.74	1.46	1.68
University Group Justification	4.21	1.26	4.48	1	4.14	1.24	4.17	1.01	4.23	1.13	0.96
General System Justification	4.10 ^a	1.92	3.13 ^b	1.71	3.20 ^b	1.73	3.51 ^{ab}	1.80	3.47	1.81	3.13*
National System Anger	3.57	2.04	4.65	1.81	4.66	2.06	4.32	1.97	4.32	2.01	3.39*
National System Fear/Anxiety	3.91	1.99	4.58	1.84	4.81	1.74	4.43	1.83	4.45	1.86	2.27×
National System Sadness	3.27	2.10	4.22	1.98	4.31	1.99	3.72	2.01	3.89	2.05	3.01*
National System Guilt/Shame	2.12	1.51	2.67	1.68	2.78	1.60	2.43	1.41	2.51	1.55	1.93
National System Happiness	3.57	1.84	2.97	1.39	1.65	1.65	3.09	1.60	3.17	1.63	1.24

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, × $p \leq .08$

Table 5.2. *Effect of Affirmation Type Task (1 = System Affirmation Condition; 0 = Other Experimental Conditions) on Main Study Variables*

Dependent Variables	System Affirmation Group		Other Experimental Conditions		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Positive Individual Emotions	4.76	1.30	4.94	1.16	0.89
Negative Individual Emotions	2.62	1.44	2.57	1.26	0.05
Positive University Group Emotions	4.60	1.59	4.63	1.28	0.02
Negative University Group Emotions	2.17	1.44	1.91	.89	2.51
Positive National System Emotions	3.75	1.70	3.13	1.45	5.80*
Negative National System Emotions	3.18	1.75	3.89	1.66	7.02*
System-Related Action Tendencies	4.61	1.70	5.25	1.36	7.60*
System Cognitive Reappraisal	4.05	1.22	4.14	1.13	0.21
System Suppression	3.38	1.45	3.18	1.39	0.85
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	4.62	1.14	4.82	1.11	1.42
Individual Suppression	3.56	1.55	3.78	1.44	0.89
University Group Justification	4.21	1.26	4.24	1.10	0.03
General System Justification	4.10	1.92	3.30	1.75	7.76*
National System Anger	3.57	2.04	4.52	1.96	8.91**
National System Fear/Anxiety	3.91	3.91	4.60	4.60	5.37*
National System Sadness	3.27	2.10	4.05	2.01	5.74*
National System Guilt/Shame	2.12	1.51	2.61	1.54	3.91×
National System Happiness	3.57	1.84	3.09	1.56	3.31×

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, × $p \leq .07$

In the individual affirmation condition, as presented in Table 5.1., positive individual emotions (5.04) and group emotions (4.62) were higher than the midpoint, negative individual (2.53) and group emotions (1.90) were lower than the midpoint. Although positive system emotions (3.12) were lower than the midpoint, system negative emotions (4.08) were not significantly different from the scale midpoint. The mean of collective tendencies (5.23) was higher than the midpoint. In terms of emotion regulation strategies, while system suppression (3.05) was lower than the midpoint, individual reappraisal (3.99) was higher than the midpoint. With regard to discrete emotions, individual anger (2.63), fear/anxiety (2.91), sadness (2.74), guilt/shame (2.11) as well as group anger (1.98), fear/anxiety (2.41), sadness (1.97), and guilt/shame (1.65) were lower than the midpoint, individual (5.12) and group happiness (4.80) were higher than the group midpoint. In terms of system emotions, system anger (4.66), fear/anxiety (4.81) was higher but system guilt/shame (2.78) and happiness (3.09) were lower than the midpoint (2.97)

In the control condition, positive individual emotions (4.89) and group emotions (4.45) were higher than the midpoint, negative individual (2.60), group emotions (2.02), and positive system emotions (3.24) were lower than the midpoint. The mean of collective tendencies (5.15) was higher than the midpoint. In terms of emotion regulation strategies, while system suppression (3.44) was lower than the midpoint, individual cognitive reappraisal (4.85) was higher than the midpoint. Also, individual anger (2.80), fear/anxiety (3.13), sadness (2.69), guilt/shame (2.20) as well as group anger (2.06), fear/anxiety (2.69), sadness (1.96), and guilt/shame (1.89) were lower than the midpoint, individual (4.93) and group happiness (4.65) were higher than the midpoint. In terms of system emotions, fear/anxiety (4.43) was marginally significantly higher but system guilt/shame (2.43) and happiness (3.17) were lower than the midpoint (2.97).

Overall, in the whole sample, as demonstrated in Table 5.1., positive individual emotions (4.91), group emotions (4.63), collective tendencies (5.11), and individual cognitive reappraisal were higher (4.79) than the midpoint, whereas positive (3.29) and negative (3.74) system emotions as well as individual (3.74) and system suppression (3.22) were lower than the midpoint. In relation with discrete emotions, while individual anger (2.74), fear/anxiety (3.06), sadness (2.75),

guilt/shame (2.11), group anger (2.07), group fear/anxiety (2.47), group sadness (1.97), and group guilt/shame (1.73) were lower than the midpoint, individual happiness (4.95) and group happiness (4.78) were higher than the group midpoint. In terms of system emotions, anger (4.32), fear/anxiety (4.45) was higher but system guilt/shame (2.51) and happiness (3.19) were lower than the midpoint (2.97).

A 2 x 4 ANOVA of gender and affirmation task on positive and negative individual, group, and system emotions were run to examine potential gender differences. Results demonstrated that gender did not have any material effects on emotion measures. Gender was marginally significantly related with only negative individual emotions, $F(1, 229) = 4.01, p = .05$ in a way that women ($M = 2.68$) reported slightly (marginally) more negative individual emotions than men ($M = 2.30$). The only significant interaction between gender and affirmation task was observed in the positive system emotions, $F(3, 229) = 4.41, p < .05$, indicating that there was no significant link between gender and positive system emotions in the system, group, and individual justification tasks but men ($M = 4.48$) reported more positive system emotions than women ($M = 2.94$) in the control condition, $F(1, 71) = 13.94, p < .001$. Considering that gender differences were minor across the variables, analyses were conducted on the whole sample ignoring the gender classification.

5.2.4. The Correlations Between Individual, Group, and System Emotions

To explore the relations between study variables, two-tailed Pearson product-moment correlations were computed. Bivariate correlations between major study variables were presented in Table 5.3. The average correlation of corresponding emotions between individual-, group- and system-level was ranging from -.31 to -.79 in the system affirmation condition; from -.03 to -.84 in the group affirmation condition; from -.06 to -.75 in the individual affirmation condition; and from -.05 to -.73 in the control condition.

Specifically, as seen in Table 5.3., positive individual emotions was significantly correlated with negative individual emotions in the system, group, individual affirmation conditions and in the control condition ($r = -.79, r = -.60, r = -.64, p < .001; r = -.33, p < .05$, respectively). Also, the relationship between positive

and negative university group emotions were significant in the system, group, individual affirmation as well as in the control conditions ($r = -.74, p < .001$; $r = -.43, p < .01$; $r = -.46, p < .001$; $r = -.35, p < .01$, respectively). Likewise, higher positive system emotions were associated with lower negative system emotions in the system, group, individual affirmation conditions and in the control condition ($r = -.73, r = -.84, r = -.75, r = -.73, p < .001$).

As shown in Table 5.3., the correlation between individual and system emotions was between $-.50$ and $.80$ in the system affirmation condition; between $-.09$ and $.30$ in the group affirmation condition; between $-.16$ to $.41$ in the individual affirmation condition; and between $-.30$ to $.62$ in the control condition. Moreover, the correlation between system and group emotions were between $-.31$ and $.60$ in the system affirmation condition, indicating the highest correlation as compared to the same relationships in the other experimental conditions. This relationship was between $.00$ and $.26$ in the group affirmation condition; between $-.06$ to $.35$ in the individual affirmation condition; and between $-.13$ to $.39$ in the control condition. These results implied that heightened system affirmation as a response to a system threat not only increased the relation between positive and negative system emotions but also the links of system emotions with the individual and the group emotions became stronger. Therefore, system emotions derived from affirming a system under a system threat overlaps with individual and group emotions to some degree.

Moreover, the correlation between group and individual emotions was between $-.37$ and $.59$ in the system affirmation condition; $-.23$ and $.55$ in the group affirmation condition; and $-.21$ to $.59$ in the individual affirmation condition; and $-.03$ to $.50$ in the control condition.

Additionally, with regard to five types of discrete emotions, namely, anger, sadness, fear/anxiety, guilt/shame, and happiness, the correlations of system emotions with individual emotions ranged from $-.38$ to $.67$ in the system affirmation condition; from $-.04$ to $.38$ in the group affirmation condition; from $.04$ to $.38$ in the individual affirmation condition; and from $-.12$ to $.60$ in the control condition. The correlation of discrete system emotions with discrete group emotions ranged from $-.26$ to $.62$; from $.001$ to $.26$ from $-.03$ to $.37$; and from $-.03$ to $.38$ in the system, the group, and the individual affirmation, and control conditions, respectively.

Table 5.3. Bivariate Correlation Between Main Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Positive Individual Emotions	1														
2. Negative Individual Emotions	-.57**	1													
3. Positive Group Emotions	.50**	-.25**	1												
4. Negative Group Emotions	-.31***	.53***	-.53***	1											
5. Positive System Emotions	.41***	-.29**	.29**	-.14*	1										
6. Negative System Emotions	-.32***	.52***	-.11	.34***	-.76***	1									
7. General System Justification	.26**	-.27***	.15*	-.18**	.75***	-.74***	1								
8. Group Justification	.26***	-.20**	.62***	-.38***	.26***	-.16*	.25***	1							
9. System-Related Action Tendencies	-.10	.23***	-.01	.13	-.43***	.49***	-.53***	-.03	1						
10. System Cognitive Reappraisal	.04	-.05	.14*	-.09	.11	-.11	-.09	.25***	.13	1					
11. System Suppression	.06	-.11	.05	.00	.23***	-.21**	.26***	.10	-.11	.31***	1				
12. Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	.08	-.03	.14*	-.11	.10	-.08	.16*	.24***	.02	.49***	.26***	1			
13. System Suppression	.09	-.09	.04	.00	.12	-.06	.16*	.11	-.09	.23***	.55***	.27***	1		
14. Overall SES	-.04	-.03	-.08	-.03	-.11	.09	-.08	-.08	.08	-.07	-.15*	-.00	-.13*	1	
15. Experimental Condition (1 = SAC; 0 = OEC)	-.06	.02	-.01	.10	.16*	-.17**	.18**	-.01	-.17**	-.03	.06	.07	-.06	.00	1

SAC = System Affirmation Condition; OEC = Other Experimental Conditions, * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

5.2.5. Testing Hypothesis 2: System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

Hypothesis 2 states that system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. For this aim, experimental conditions (1 = system affirmation condition; 0 = other experimental conditions) were correlated with positive and negative individual, group, and system emotions. The analyses revealed that the system affirmation condition, as expected, was associated with positive ($r = .16, p < .001$) and negative ($r = -.17, p < .05$) system emotions, in that system justification goal pursuit was related to positive and negative system emotions but not individual and group emotions. With regard to discrete emotions, the system affirmation was negatively related to system anger ($r = -.19, p < .01$), fear/anxiety ($r = -.15, p < .005$), sadness ($r = -.16, p < .05$), and marginally associated with guilt/shame ($r = -.13, p = .05$). This means that affirming the system as a response to system threat was related to lower negative and higher positive system emotions.

In order to test whether system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order, a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs) was performed. The results were presented in Table 5.1. As expected, post hoc analysis using LSD showed that the system affirmation group ($M = 3.18, SD = 1.75$) experienced significantly less negative system emotions than the individual affirmation group ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.68$), and the group affirmation group ($M = 4.01, SD = 1.67$); $F(3, 230) = 3.18, p < .05$. Although, positive system emotions were higher in the system-affirmation condition ($M = 3.75, SD = 1.70$), as compared to the individual ($M = 3.12, SD = 1.46$) and the group affirmation ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.39$) conditions, the statistical differences failed to reach the significant level.

Moreover, it was examined whether the system affirmation group was higher in positive system emotions as compared to other experimental conditions (1 = system affirmation condition; 0 = other experimental conditions). As presented in Table 5.2., the system affirmation group reported more positive system emotions than the other groups (positive system emotions: $M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 3.75, SD = 1.70$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 3.17, SD = 1.45, F(1, 230) = 5.80, p < .05$). Also, the system

affirmation group reported less negative system emotions than the other groups (negative system emotions: $M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 3.18$, $SD = 1.75$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 3.89$, $SD = 1.67$, $F(1, 230) = 7.02$, $p < .05$), implying that system emotions are depend on the system justification motivations. However there were no significant differences between system affirmation and other conditions in terms of individual and group emotions.

In terms of discrete emotions, participants in the system affirmation condition reported less system anger ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 2.04$) than those in the individual affirmation condition ($M = 4.66$, $SD = 2.06$), the group affirmation condition ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.81$), and the control condition ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.83$); $F(3, 230) = 3.39$, $p < .05$). Also, system affirmation group reported less system sadness ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 2.10$) than individual affirmation group ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.99$), and group affirmation group ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.98$), $F(3, 230) = 3.01$, $p < .05$).

Again, ANOVAs were run to compare the system affirmation condition with the other conditions in terms of discrete emotions (1 = system affirmation condition; 0 = other experimental conditions). As expected, participants in the system affirmation condition reported less system anger ($M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 3.57$, $SD = 2.04$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 4.52$, $SD = 1.96$; $F(1, 230) = 8.91$, $p < .01$), fear/anxiety ($M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 4.60$, $SD = 1.80$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 3.91$, $SD = 1.99$, $F(1, 230) = 5.37$, $p < .05$), sadness ($M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 3.27$, $SD = 2.10$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 4.05$, $SD = 2.01$, $F(1, 230) = 5.74$, $p < .05$), and guilt/shame, ($M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 2.12$, $SD = 1.51$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 2.61$, $SD = 1.54$; $F(1, 229) = 3.91$, $p = .05$) but more happiness ($M_{\text{system affirmation condition}} = 3.57$, $SD = 1.84$ vs. $M_{\text{other conditions}} = 3.09$, $SD = 1.55$; $F(1, 230) = 3.31$, $p = .07$) than those in the other experimental conditions. However there were no any significant difference between the system affirmation condition and other conditions in terms of a individual and group emotions.

Taken together, these findings implied that affirming the system following a system threat exposure decreased negative and increased positive system emotions. Therefore, system emotions depend to one's system-level motivation- that is, system justification motivation. The result provided evidence that system emotions are attributable to system justification goal pursuit rather than other motivational

concerns, such as the individual goal pursuit or group justification goal pursuit. In other words, supporting Hypothesis 2, system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order.

5.2.6. Testing Hypothesis 3: System-Level Emotions Affect Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The third hypothesis of the study was that system-level emotions affect action tendencies and behaviors. Significant relations were observed among system-emotions and action tendencies and behaviors. Specifically, as presented in Table 5.3., collective tendencies were positively correlated with negative system emotions ($r = .49, p < .001$) and negatively linked with positive system emotions ($r = -.43, p < .001$) in the whole sample. Higher collective tendencies were also related to higher individual emotions ($r = .23, p < .01$) but not associated with group emotions.

Moreover, significant relationships between system related action tendencies and behaviors with discrete system emotions were as follow: national system anger ($r = .51, p < .001$), national system fear/anxiety ($r = .50, p < .001$), national system sadness ($r = .46, p < .001$), national system guilt/shame ($r = .33, p < .001$), and national system happiness ($r = -.44, p < .001$).

Importantly, as shown in Table 5.1., ANOVA results demonstrated that participants in the system affirmation condition ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.70$) reported less willingness to participate in collective action than those in the individual affirmation condition ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.37$), the group affirmation condition ($M = 5.42, SD = 1.21$), and the control condition ($M = 5.15, SD = 1.46$); $F(3, 230) = 2.89, p < .05$. These findings implied that when the system is under threat, the social change is attenuated by affirming the status quo.

Also, whether system emotions affect action tendencies were tested via hierarchal regression, for controlling individual and group emotions. Then, the regression model, in which experimental condition (1 = system justification condition; 0 = other conditions) was entered in the first step, positive and negative individual and group emotions in the second step, and system emotions in the third step, was tested. The coefficients from this model are presented in Table 5.4. System

affirmation condition was a significant predictor of the system tendencies ($\beta = -.18, p < .001$) in the first step, ($F(1, 230) = 7.60, p < .05, R^2 = .03, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .03, p < .05$). Again, this indicated that affirming the status quo provided lower willingness to participate in collective action. Negative individual emotions ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) was the only significant predictor of collective tendencies in the second step, ($F(5, 230) = 4.60, p < .01, R^2 = .09, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .07, \Delta R^2 = .06, \Delta F = 3.76, p < .05$), implying that more negative individual emotions are associated with stronger support for collective action. However, negative system emotions ($\beta = .30, p < .05$) and positive system emotions ($\beta = -.23, p < .05$) were the strongest predictors of willingness to participate in collective action in the third step, ($F(7, 230) = 11.67, p < .001, R^2 = .27, \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .25, \Delta R^2 = .18, \Delta F = .26.71, p < .001$), after controlling individual and group emotions. Moreover, after entering system emotions in the third step, negative individual emotions did not reach the significant level ($\beta = .07, ns$). These finding replicated the results of previous there studies.

Table 5.4. *Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Emotion on System Tendencies (The Whole Sample)*

	Action Tendencies	
	β	$R^2 \Delta$
Step 1		.03*
Experimental Conditions (1 = SA; 0 = OEC)	.18*	
Step 2		.06*
Positive Individual Emotions	.002	
Negative Individual Emotions	.22*	
Positive University Group Emotions	.08	
Negative University Group Emotions	.07	
Step 3		.18**
Positive National System Emotions	-.23*	
Negative National System Emotions	.30*	

SA = System Affirmation Condition; OEC = Other Experimental Conditions * $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$

Taken together, the findings demonstrated that fulfilling the system justification goal in the face of system threat decreased people's intentions to take pro-social change action to solve system-related problems. Moreover, supporting Hypothesis 3, system-level emotions affect action tendencies, after controlling individual and group emotions.

5.2.7. Testing Hypothesis 4: System Emotions Mediate the Relation Between System Justification and Action Tendencies

Path analysis was used to examine the pattern of relationships between system emotions, system justification, and action tendencies. Consistent with previous studies of the current dissertation, first, a fully saturated path model was assessed, in which system justification mindset (1= system affirmation; 0 = other conditions) was used a predictor of (a) positive and negative system emotions, and collective tendencies, and (b) positive and negative emotions were predictors of action tendencies. Specifically, the final model included only the significant paths by trimming the nonsignificant paths in a standardized fashion. The final model fit the data every well, $\chi^2 (2, N = 231) = 5.01, p = ns. GFI = .99, AGFI = .95, NNFI = .97, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .08$.

Examination the path coefficients in the model illustrated in Figure 5.1. provided evidence that was consistent with predictions. System affirmation was a positive predictor of negative system emotions ($\beta = .17, p < .05$) and positive system emotions ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$). In turn, negative system emotions was a strong predictor of willingness to participate in collective action ($\beta = .49, p < .05$). Negative national system emotions fully mediated the relationship between system affirmation and action tendencies (*indirect effect* = .08, $t = 2.52, p < .05$). Overall, general system affirmation explained 3% and 3%, of the total variance in positive and negative system emotions, respectively. Full model explained 14% of the total variances in action tendencies. In line with Hypothesis 4, these results suggested that fulfilling the system justification goal in the face of a system threat affected system-related tendencies via system emotions.

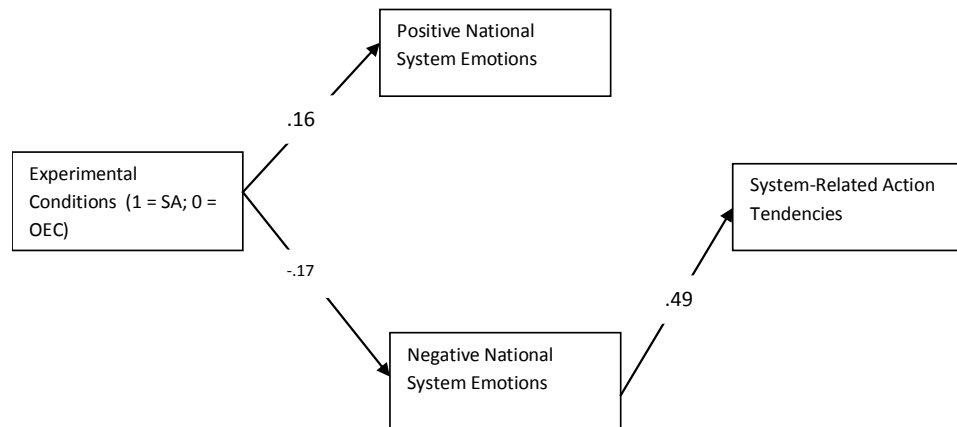


Figure 5.1. *Path Model Using National System Emotions as a Mediator*

5.2.8. Testing Hypothesis 5: System Emotions are Regulated by System Emotion Regulation

Before examining whether system emotions are regulated by system emotion regulation, the correlations between individual and system emotion regulation strategies were examined. In the whole sample, as presented in Table 5.3., individual cognitive reappraisal and system cognitive reappraisal was positively correlated ($r = .50, p < .001$). Also the relationship between individual suppression and system suppression was positive ($r = .55, p < .001$). Supporting the previous three studies, these findings demonstrate that those who frequently use individual suppression and reappraisal are also more likely to use system suppression and reappraisal, respectively.

Likewise, system cognitive reappraisal and suppression was positively related to each other ($r = .31, p < .001$). Individual reappraisal was positively correlated with individual suppression ($r = .27, p < .001$). These results showed that

cognitive reappraisal and suppression was related to each other both at the individual level and system level.

Furthermore, although the system affirmation (1 = system affirmation mindset; 0 = other conditions) was not significantly associated with any emotion regulation strategies, general system justification tendency was positively associated with system suppression ($r = .26, p < .001$) as well as individual suppression ($r = .16, p < .05$) and individual cognitive reappraisal ($r = .16, p < .05$). However, although the relationship of system justification with system emotion regulation strategies look higher than its relationship with individual emotion regulation strategies, there was no significant difference between the correlation coefficients ($z = 1.12, ns$). Therefore, Hypothesis 5c was not supported.

Examination of the relationships between emotions and emotion regulation strategies demonstrated that system suppression was positively related to positive system emotions ($r = .23, p < .001$) and lower negative system emotions ($r = -.21, p < .01$). Neither individual reappraisal nor individual suppression was associated with system emotions. These results are in line with Hypothesis 5a that system-related emotion regulation strategies are associated with system emotions than individual emotion regulation strategies. Also, partially confirming Hypothesis 5b, system suppression was associated with more positive and less negative system emotions. However, , Hypothesis 5c was not supported because, as shown in Table 5.3,,system affirmation condition (vs. other experimental conditions) were not significantly related to individual and system emotion regulation strategies

Finally, the study hypotheses were also tested via a series of moderated regression analyses. In the analyses, controlling affirmation manipulation, experimental conditions (1 = system affirmation; 0 = other conditions) were entered in the first step, then individual and system emotion regression strategies were entered in the second step, and two-way interactions between experimental conditions and emotion regulation were added in the third step. In the analyses, emotion regulation strategies and system justification were centered, and then the interaction terms were created using the centered predictors (see Aiken & West, 1991). The results were provided in Table 5.5. In line with Hypothesis 5d, system suppression is a critical emotion regulation strategies in regulating system emotions,

in a way that system suppression buffers negative emotional effects of low system justification mindset.

As shown in Table 5.5., specifically, in positive national system emotions, participants who were exposed to the system affirmation manipulation reported somewhat more positive system emotions in the first step ($\beta = .16, p < .05$), ($F(1, 230) = 5.80, p < .05, R^2 = .03$, Adjusted $R^2 = .02, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 5.80, p < .05$). Higher system suppression predicted higher positive system emotions in the second step, ($\beta = .20, p < .05$), ($F(5, 230) = 3.84, p < .01, R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .06, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 3.30, p < .05$). However, the effect was qualified by a marginally significant two-way interactions of the experimental conditions with system suppression ($\beta = -.16, p = .05$) and individual suppression in the third step, ($\beta = .14, p = .07$) ($F(9, 230) = 2.69, p < .05, R^2 = .10$, Adjusted $R^2 = .06, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 1.23, ns$). An additional regression analysis was conducted to examine the unique effect of interaction. In this regression analysis, experimental conditions and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was added in the second step. Because the results showed that the interaction between system suppression and experimental conditions was not significant in predicting positive system emotions in the second step, the interaction graph for the relationship between the system suppression and experimental conditions ($\beta = -.06, ns$) ($F(3, 230) = 6.33, p < .001, R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .003, \Delta R^2 = .09, \Delta F = .74, ns$) and the graph for individual suppression and experimental conditions were not plotted ($\beta = .07, ns$) ($F(3, 230) = 3.77, p < .001, R^2 = .05$, Adjusted $R^2 = .04, \Delta R^2 = .01, \Delta F = 1.20, ns$).

Table 5.5. Model Summary of Regression Analyses Examining the Effects of Emotion Regulation and System Justification on National System Emotions

	Positive National System Emotions			Negative National System Emotions			National System Anger			National System Fear/Anxiety			National System Sadness			National System Guilt/Shame			National System Happiness		
	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	B	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ	β	R^2	Δ
Step 1:		.03*			.03*			.04**			.02*			.02*			.02			.01*	
EC (1 = SA; 0 = OEC)	.16*			-.17*			.19**			-.15			-.16			-.13			.12		
Step 2		.05*			.05*			.05*			.02			.03			.07**			.04*	
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal	.15			-.03			.02			.00			-.03			-.05			.09		
Individual Suppression	.00			.07			-.03			.05			.09			.15			-.04		
System Cognitive Reappraisal	.06			-.05			-.03			-.003			-.03			-.10			.02		
System Suppression	.20			-.22*			-.19*			-.18*			-.19*			-.25**			.18*		
Step 3		.02			.03			.02			.03			.03			.03			.02	
Individual Cognitive Reappraisal x EC	.01			-.13			-.11			-.07			-.12			-.15			.001		
Individual Suppression x EC	.14*			-.09			-.10			-.09			-.09			-.08			.11		
System Cognitive Reappraisal x EC	.04			.06			.06			-.01			.07			.09			.11		
System Suppression x EC	-.16*			.19*			.15*			.22*			.20*			.16*			-.16*		

SA = System Affirmation Condition; OEC = Other Experimental Conditions * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ $\times p \leq .08$

In negative national system emotions, as shown in Table 5.5., participants who were exposed to the system affirmation manipulation reported somewhat less negative system emotions in the first step ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$), ($F(1, 230) = 7.02, p < .05, R^2 = .03$, Adjusted $R^2 = .03, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 7.02, p < .05$). Higher system suppression predicted lower negative system emotions in the second step, ($\beta = -.22, p < .05$), ($F(5, 230) = 3.77, p < .01, R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .06, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 2.91, p < .05$). Again, the effect was qualified by a significant interaction of the experimental conditions with system suppression in the third step ($\beta = .19, p < .05$), ($F(9, 230) = 3, p < .01, R^2 = .11$, Adjusted $R^2 = .07, \Delta R^2 = .03, \Delta F = 1.95, ns$). To examine the unique effect of interaction, an additional regression analysis was conducted. In the regression analysis experimental conditions and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Results indicated that experimental conditions ($\beta = .16, p < .05$) and system suppression ($\beta = -.20, p < .05$) predicted negative national system emotions in the first step and the interaction between system suppression and the experimental conditions was marginally significant in the second step ($\beta = .12, p = .07$), ($F(3, 230) = 6.85, p < .001, R^2 = .08$, Adjusted $R^2 = .07, \Delta R^2 = .01, \Delta F = 3.22, p = .07$). As shown in Figure 5.2, participants with low system suppression reported less negative system emotions after being exposed to the system affirmation task as compared with those who were exposed to the other experimental manipulations, ($t(227) = -3.03, p < .05$), whereas participants with high system suppression did not show a significant effect of the conditions ($t(227) = -.67, ns$). These results were consistent with Hypothesis 5d which states that system suppression reduces the detrimental effect of system justification on system emotions.

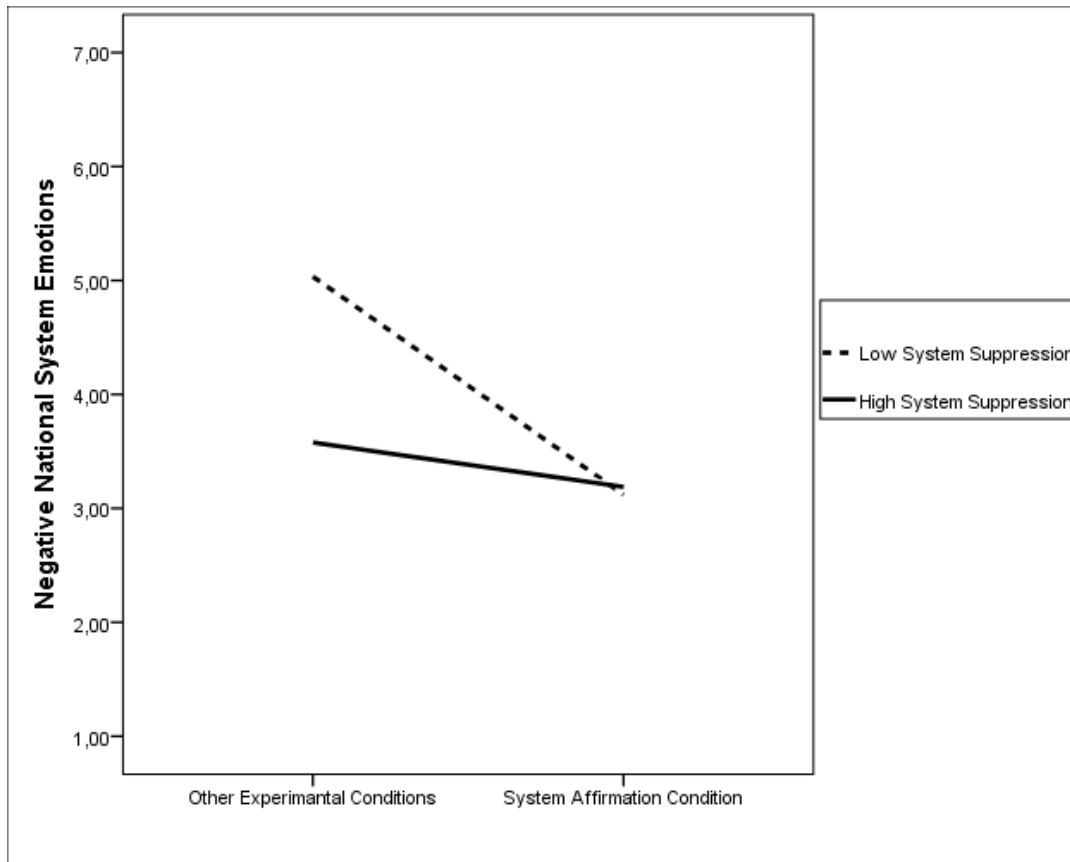


Figure 5.2. *The Interaction Between Experimental Conditions and System Suppression in Predicting Negative System Emotions*

Moreover, the interaction terms in system anger, fear/anxiety, sadness, guilt/shame, and happiness were also significant. Taken together, as demonstrated in Table 5.5, participants who were exposed to the system affirmation manipulation reported somewhat less system anger ($\beta = -.19, p < .01$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.15, p < .05$), and sadness ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$) as well as marginally less guilt/shame ($\beta = -.13, p = .05$) but more happiness ($\beta = .12, p = .07$) in the first step. Again, system suppression predicted system anger ($\beta = -.19, p < .05$), fear/anxiety ($\beta = -.18, p < .05$), sadness ($\beta = -.19, p < .05$), guilt/shame ($\beta = -.25, p < .05$) and system happiness in the second step ($\beta = .18, p < .05$). As expected, the effect was qualified by a significant interaction of the experimental condition with system suppression in predicting system fear/anxiety ($\beta = .22, p < .05$), sadness ($\beta = .20, p < .05$),

guilt/shame ($\beta = .16, p < .05$), and happiness ($\beta = -.16, p < .05$). Also, results revealed a marginally significant interaction between experimental conditions and system suppression in the system anger ($\beta = .15, p = .06$).

To interpret the interaction, the unique effect of interactions and relevant simple slopes for the interactions were examined. To examine the unique effects, an additional regression analyses were run. In this additional regression analyses, experimental conditions and system suppression were included in the first step, and their interaction was included in the second step. Simple slope graphs were drawn based on this unique interaction. Overall results revealed that system suppression consistently serve as a buffer for detrimental effects system threat on emotions regarding with the status quo.

Results based on unique regression analyses demonstrated that the only interaction term of system fear/anxiety and system sadness reached the significant level. Thus, only the interaction graphs of system fear/anxiety and system sadness were plotted. Specifically, the main effects of experimental conditions and system suppression were significant in predicting system fear/anxiety ($\beta = .14, \beta = -.15, p < .05$, respectively), ($F(2, 230) = 5.41, p < .05, R^2 = .05$, Adjusted $R^2 = .04, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 5.41, p < .05$), ($F(2, 230) = 6.01, p < .001, R^2 = .05$, Adjusted $R^2 = .04, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 6.01, p < .01$), respectively. In the second step, the interaction between system suppression and experimental conditions was significant in system fear/anxiety ($\beta = .14, p < .05$), ($F(3, 230) = 5.29, p < .01, R^2 = .07$, Adjusted $R^2 = .05, \Delta R^2 = .05, \Delta F = 5.41, p < .05$), whereas the same interaction in predicting system sadness was a marginally significant ($\beta = .13, p = .05$), ($F(3, 230) = 5.32, p < .01, R^2 = .07$, Adjusted $R^2 = .05, \Delta R^2 = .02, \Delta F = 3.80, p = .05$).

As demonstrated in Figure 5.3. and 5.4. while participants low in system suppression reported less system fear/anxiety ($t(227) = -3.12, p < .01$) and system sadness ($t(227) = -2.30, p < .01$) in the system affirmation condition as compared to the other experimental conditions, participants high in system suppression did not show a significant effect of condition $t(227) = -.17, ns, p < .01, t(227) = -.39, ns$ respectively. Overall, in line with Hypothesis 5d, system-related emotion regulation

strategies moderated the relation between system justification and system emotions (system fear /anxiety and system sadness).

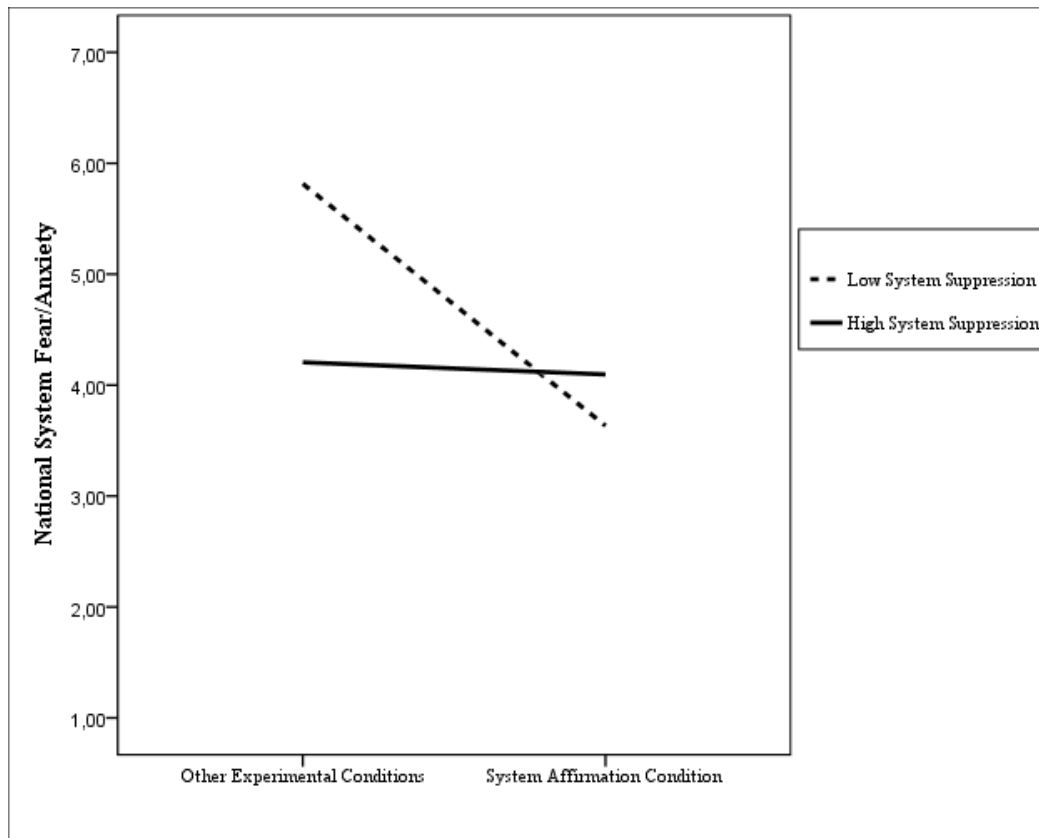


Figure 5.3. *The Interaction Between Experimental Conditions and System Suppression in Predicting System Fear/Anxiety*

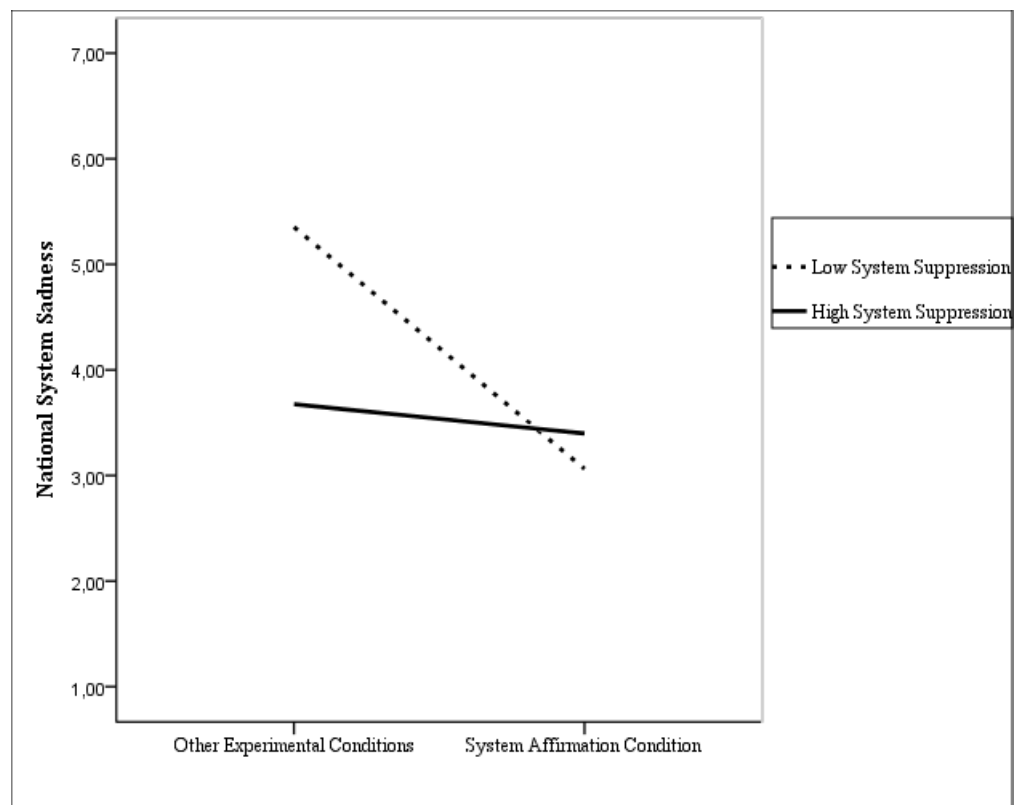


Figure 5.4. *The Interaction Between Experimental Conditions and System Suppression in Predicting System Sadness*

5.2.9. Discussion

The current study has provided evidence for both supporting the previous results and extended them in the experimental setting. The findings of Study 4 indicate that system emotions are attributable to system justification goal pursuit rather than other motivational concerns, such as the individual goal or group justification goal pursuit. The experimental manipulation (rather than measurement) of system affirmation that triggers system justification goal pursuit in the face of a system threat permits me to conclude that a causal relationship exists between system justification and system emotions. These results provide the evidence for Hypothesis 2 that system-based emotions reflect appraisals of the social order. Specifically, the current study demonstrated that exposure to the system affirming manipulation following a system threat increased positive and decreased negative system emotions. Results demonstrated that system emotions are attributable to only system

justification goal but not individual goal or group goal. Therefore, system justification motive is one of the conditions that allows individuals to experience of system emotions.

Consistent with Hypothesis 3, it was found that system emotions affect willingness to participate in social protests. The results showed that affirming the status quo provided lower willingness to participate in collective action. Also, the system emotions were the strong predictors of collective tendencies, after controlling individual and group emotions. Moreover, when system justification goal was fulfilled, individuals were less willing to participate in the collective action than those who fulfilled the individual or the group justification goals. Therefore fulfilling the system justification goal in the face of a system threat decreased people's intentions to participate in the collective action in favor of social change.

Moreover, as expected in Hypothesis 4, the system emotions mediated the relation between system justification mindset (system affirmation) and action tendencies. Affirming the system leads individuals to report decreased level of negative and increased level of positive system emotions, then leading to action tendencies. This suggests that system emotions play a role in social stability vs. social change.

Consistent with previous studies, results supported Hypothesis 5a in a way that system emotions are related system emotion regulation strategies. Partially supporting Hypothesis 5b, however, it was found that the chronic use of system suppression was related to lower negative system affect, but the chronic use of individual suppression was not related to individual affect. At the same time, in line with Hypothesis 5d, the results demonstrated that system suppression serve as a buffer for detrimental effect of lower system justification goal on the system emotions (system fear/anxiety and system sadness). Overall, Study 4 has provided ample experimental evidence linking system justification mindset to system emotions, as well as system action tendencies, and emotion regulation. The findings will be discussed in detail in the general discussion below.

CHAPTER 6

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present dissertation research has attempted to provide empirical evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions that are either elicited by some characteristics of the system, or directed toward individuals, groups, and systems (Solak et al., 2012). In addition, the present study aimed to examine how system justification affects the ways in regulating emotions evoked by the system-level context.

Addressing these two research goals, four studies were conducted to understand the affective processes of system justification. Using a diverse range of settings, samples, and methods, the present set of studies has provided generalizable evidence for the study hypotheses. In Study 1 and Study 2, system justification motivation was measured as an individual difference variable in the US and Turkish samples, respectively. In Study 3, the study hypotheses were tested during the 2013 Gezi Protests, and in Study 4, system justification motivation was experimentally manipulated. The empirical evidence offered by the current line of research provides consistent and ample evidence on linking system justification, system-level emotions, and action tendencies and behavior. Although the primary goal of the present study was to examine the characteristics of the system emotions, by comparing individual and group emotions, these findings also advance our understanding of the role of emotion regulation in the relationship of the system justification with respect to system emotions. Overall, these findings demonstrate that system justification both directly and indirectly-by affecting emotions that are experienced in relation to the social system-undermines support for social change and promotes social stability.

The current study provided empirical evidence for the characteristics of system-level emotions. Specifically, the dissertation studies have revealed that system-based emotions (I) reflect standing in the social order, (II) reflect appraisals of the social order, (III) affect action tendencies and behaviors. Moreover, it was

shown that system emotions mediate the relationship between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors.

The relationship of emotion regulation with system emotions and system justification was also considered in the present study. In that sense, emotion regulation measures were included in the research across four studies. Examination of the results has showed system-based emotions are regulated by system-level emotion regulation tendencies.

Social behavior occurs within the context of institutional, political, and cultural system, therefore emotions cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the mutual relationship between emotions and social structure. Hence, the current study empirically extended emotions from individual level and group level to the level of system. Examination of the findings has revealed important implications for the emotion and emotion regulation literature. The present chapter discusses the finding of the study considering each research question and hypothesis, separately. It is followed by limitations and suggestions for future, and the major contribution of the present study.

6.1. Relationships Between System, Group, and Individual Emotions

System emotions are embedded in the system-level process, including ideologies, social status, and system-level motives (cf. Jost, 2011) rather than arising in response to personal-self relevance events or events related to one's ingroup identification. Results indicate that correlations between the three levels of emotions, namely individual, group, and system emotions are in the expected direction. The moderate correlations indicate that system emotions are different from individual emotions, although they overlap to some degree. Also, the correlation pattern within system emotions (Study 1 and Study 2) is higher than the correlations of system emotions with individual and group emotions. These correlational results indicate that system emotions are different from individual and group emotions, although they overlap to some degree.

Additionally, as was found in Study 4, the correlation of system emotions with the individual and the group emotions are higher in the system affirmation

condition than the correlations in the other experimental conditions. One possible reason for these high associations might be that although fulfilling system justification goal had the strongest effect on system emotions, feeling satisfaction with the system may also positively affect individuals' emotional experience at the individual and the group-levels. When individuals fulfill a system justification goal, they not only report more positive affect and less negative emotions related to the status quo but also fulfilling this goal might spill over on the individual and the group emotions. Palliative function of system justification states that system justification operates as a coping response to the many stressors and justifying the status quo "making people feel better about their own situation, whatever that situation happens to be" (Jost & Hunyady, 2002, *p.*146). Therefore, justifying the system strongly affects system-level concerns and also have some emotional impacts on the individual-and the group-level concerns.

6.2. System-Level Emotions Reflect Standing in the Social Order

The first hypothesis of the present study was that system-level emotions reflect standing in the social order. In current research line, the combination of objective social status (monthly income) and subjective social status (perceived social status) was used as an indicator of the social status (see also Kraus & Spethens, 2012). Findings provide evidence that a person's social status position in a social structure affects emotional experience, in a way that high SES individuals reported more positive and less negative system emotions. Moreover, it was shown that adopting system justification ideologies reduced the detrimental effect of low social status on negative system emotions.

In line with Hypothesis 1a, it was demonstrated that the social class shapes emotions that are experienced as a direct or indirect consequence of system-level characteristics. Results showed that individuals with high social status reported more positive and less negative system emotions. Specifically, social status is positively correlated with positive capitalist emotions in the US sample (Study 1) and negatively associated with negative capitalist emotions in Turkey (Study 2). Also, social status was positively associated with positive national system emotions during

the 2013 Gezi Park protests (Study 3). Furthermore, social status was related to less fear/anxiety derived from being a member of the capitalist economy (Study 2). These findings are in line with the previous evidence that social class differences promote divergent emotional experiences related to the status quo (e.g., Mackie et al., 2000; Tiedens, 2000, 2001; Van Kleef et al., 2008). For instance, reviewing the relevant literature on the links of power and social status with emotions, Keltner et al. (2003) reported that reduced power and status were associated with negative feelings, such as fear and anxiety. Therefore, social status influences and/or modifies individuals' emotions.

Emotions have social functions that coordinate social interactions in ways that help individuals to form and maintain the relationships that are beneficial for social stability (vs. social change) (Keltner & Haidt, 1993; Morris & Keltner, 2000). Social status guides individuals in their affective responses to maintain their "place" in the social structure. Therefore, one possible reason for the differences in system emotions across different social groups might be related to the unequal distribution of life conditions (see McLeod, 2013). Individuals who are socially close to the upper social class may have economic and emotional interests that lead them to feel sympathy towards and satisfaction with the status quo. These individuals may see themselves successful at moving up in the socioeconomic ladder and they may believe that they have a fair chance to succeed. Because they gain the benefits of the current economic and social system, they might be satisfied with their financial situation and a life that leads them to report more positive and less negative system emotions.

However, lower status individuals can criticize the system that put them in a disadvantageous position (see also Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013). Lower social class individuals are deprived from the current economic and social system because they are more likely to be the focus of threats, inequality, and punishment that results in more negative system emotions (see Keltner et al., 2003; S. T. Fiske, 2003). Hence, they are more likely to be dissatisfied with the status quo. These findings point, yet again, to the importance of understanding and addressing social status characteristics as the underpinnings of system emotions.

In the current study, it also appears that while individual and group emotions were not associated with social status in the US sample, positive individual emotions, and specifically, individual happiness, were positively related to social status in Turkey (Study 2 and Study 3). These results point out that social class differences not only promote divergent emotional experience related to the status quo but also these affective responses toward the self (see also Kraus & Stephens, 2012). Exposure to stressors and limited access to other coping mechanism (e.g., material coping mechanism) may lead lower status individuals to experience more negative individual emotions than higher status individuals (see Chen & Miller, 2013; McLeod, 2013). The relationship between happiness and social status was reported in previous studies. For example, Easterlin reviewed 30 studies conducted in different countries and he demonstrated that wealthy people are happier than poor people. Also, Diener (1984) indicated the positive link between income and happiness. It also appears that social status is related to individual emotions in Turkey but not in the USA. One of the possible explanations might be that because inequality is more prevalent in Turkey as compared to the USA (Factbook, 2010), not only one life domain (e.g., emotions toward the status quo)- but also other life domains, such as personal life is affected by the system-level contexts.

Hypothesis 1b states that system justification reduces the detrimental effects of low social status on negative system emotions. As explained in the introduction section, palliative function of system justification results in higher satisfaction with the status quo, positive affect, life satisfaction but lower moral outrage, frustration, and cognitive dissonance (Dalbert, 2002; Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Rankin et al., 2009). Confirming the legitimacy of status quo, as mentioned before, serves as the basis for coping strategies (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; 2005; Jost et al., 2008). Current findings align with this argument. It was found that economic system justification significantly moderates the relationship of social status with system sadness (Study 1, Study 2) and system happiness (Study 1). The perception of the economic system as fair and legitimate serves as a system-justifying function, and maintain a positive view of the system (Jost & Thompson, 2000). Therefore, at the low level of economic system justification, low status individuals reported more capitalist economy sadness and less happiness than high status individuals, whereas

for high level of system justification, there was no significant difference between social status groups.

In addition, justifying the existing national system significantly moderates the relationship between social status and negative emotions derived from being a participant of the Turkey's system during the 2013 Gezi protests. Specifically, although low SES individuals reported more negative national system emotions than high SES individuals, at the high level of system justification, no significant SES group differences were observed. In line with Study 1 and Study 2, sadness showed the parallel pattern of the results of Study 3. That is to say, low SES individuals reported more national system sadness. These results indicate that bolstering the social status quo serves as a mitigates expressing sadness, disappointment, and resentfulness derived from being a member of the Turkey's national system.

Why does system justification consistently affect the link between SES and system sadness? One of the possible explanations is that individuals who express sadness may engage in a more extensive deliberation during decision making. In other words, as compared to other emotions, sadness might be associated strongly with accuracy perceptions of the status quo. For example, past research demonstrated that induction of a sad emotional state decreases the likelihood of false memory bias that shows that "with sadness comes accuracy" (Storbeck & Clore, 2005, p. 785).

However, adopting system justifying ideologies reduces accuracy in the evaluation of the status quo. System justification goal pursuit results in memory distortions such as misremembering the reasons for the power differences as being more fair and legitimate than they actually are (Haines & Jost, 2000). These results may imply that since sadness about the status quo is more related to the accuracy perception of the system, as compared to the other discrete emotions, system justifying ideologies consistently affect sadness derived from some aspects of the status quo. Also, another possible explanation for the relationship between system justification and sadness is that sadness is more frequently experienced and regulated as compared to other emotions (see Webb, Miles, & Sheeran, 2012).

In sum, the available evidence derived from the current research suggested that social status affects emotional experience in a way that higher status individuals report more positive and less negative system emotions. However, system

justification buffers detrimental effect of disadvantaged status on system emotions by giving the “illusory happiness of the people” (see Jost et al., 2010, p. 5). Thus, system justifying ideologies mitigate the effect of social status on negative system emotions (mainly, sadness).

6.3. System-Based Emotions Reflect Appraisals of the Social Order

Across four studies, results showed a strong relationship between system emotions and system justification motives, even after controlling group justification motives. It was found that system justification tendencies were correlated with system emotions, and these correlation ranges are stronger than those of system justification tendencies with individual and group emotions both in the USA and Turkey in Study 1 and Study 2. Specifically, while economic system justification was the strongest predictor of the capitalist economy emotions, general system justification was the strongest predictor of the -national system emotions. Also, system justification tendencies were the most important predictor of naturally occurring system emotions both in political party supporters sample and non-supporters sample during the protests in Study 3. Generally speaking, it was found that in the first three correlational studies that general system justification positively predicted positive national system emotions and negatively predicted negative system emotions, after controlling group justification motives.

Moreover, system justification was experimentally manipulated in Study 4, and it was found that affirming the system in a response to a system threat evokes more positive and less negative national system emotions. In other words, as compared to individual justification and group justification mindsets, system justification mindset leads individuals to report more system emotions. Therefore, Study 4 indicated that system emotions are attributable to system justification goal pursuit rather than other relevant motivational concerns, such as the individual justification or the group justification. Specifically, in the condition where system-defensive motivation was fulfilled, individuals were more likely to experience positive system emotions and less likely to experience negative system emotions, as compared to the conditions in which ego-defensive and group-defensive motivations

were fulfilled. Therefore, affirming the system serves as a palliative function when individuals confront with threatening information about the status quo (see also, Feygina, 2012). As a result of the palliative function of system justification (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Jost et al., 2003), accessing to system-justifying beliefs or activation of various social systems increase the positive affect and decrease the negative affect (e.g., Cichocka & Jost, 2012; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Napier & Jost, 2008; Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Rankin et al., 2009).

Overall, the data patterns suggest that system emotions are largely derived from system justification motive. System justification motive leads individuals to avoid negative feelings and report positive feelings regarding to the status quo. This makes sense because individuals experience emotions in the service of their goals (Mauss & Tamir, 2014), thus system justification motive is one of the conditions that induces emotional experience regarding with the status quo. These results indicate that system level emotions are dependent to one's level of system level motives such as system justification motive.

6.4. System-Level Emotions Affect System-Relevant Action Tendencies and Behaviors

The results of the current study also demonstrate that system-level emotions predicted system-relevant action tendencies and behaviors, above and beyond the predictive power of individual and group emotions. The third characteristic of system-level emotions is that system-level emotions affect action tendencies and behavior, including behaviors that promote system stability *vs.* change. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, the data patterns suggested that system emotions predict action tendencies and behaviors, after controlling the effects of individual and group emotions.

The results of the current study showed that negative system emotions were the most important predictor of intention and behavior regarding the collective action, after controlling individual and group emotions. For example, consistent with Hypothesis 3, it was found that negative national and capitalist economy emotions were the most important predictor in the system relevant action tendencies and

behavior, after controlling individual and group emotions, in the US (Study 1). It was also shown that people with more negative capitalist system emotions were more likely to have higher willingness to participate in collective action, after controlling individual and group emotions in Turkey (Study2). Also, higher negative and lower positive system emotions predicted willingness and actual participation in the 2013 Gezi protests (Study 3). Considering these patterns of results, it appears that negative system emotions were a more important determinant than positive system emotions in predicting system-related action tendencies and behavior. This was also consistent with previous work. For instance, research on collective action has pointed out the role of negative emotions in predicting collective action participation (e.g., Iyer et al., 2007; Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, & Burder, 2009; Van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008).

Moral outrage and anger are the central components of social protests and attitudes towards social policies (Gurr, 1970; Nepstad & Smith, 2001; Montada & Scheinder, 1989; Smit et al, 2008; Van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008). Specifically, anger is one of the important emotions in collective action. Because anger is related to a high level of arousal and action readiness (Frijda, Kuipers, & ter Schure, 1989; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994) and it is typically elicited when other person, group, or a particular situations are appraised as being unjustified or unfair (Averill, 1982). In line with this work, in the current study anger was the most important emotion in motivating individuals to participate in the protests. In other words, as compared to other discrete emotions, relationship of system anger with collective action intention was stronger.

Furthermore, one of the critical findings in the current research is that experimental manipulation of system justification reduced individuals' willingness to participate in collective protests. As mentioned before, Jost et al. (2012) demonstrated that individuals in a system justification condition reported less willingness to participate in protest as compared to those in a system non-justifying condition. Current findings provided support for these previous studies Specifically, Study 4 provides evidence that affirming the system in response to a system threat leads to lower willingness to participate in collective action as compared to individual affirmation, group affirmation, and control conditions. Considering that

system justification satisfies epistemic, existential, and relational needs (Hennes et al., 2012), threats to the system are likely to increase the motivation to justify the status quo (Kay & Jost, 2005). In this respect, system affirmation offers a powerful tool to satisfy these needs and reconstruct a sense of coherence and security about the status quo, that in turn, reduced willingness to engage in social change (see also Feygina, 2012). Also, this result is consistent with the results obtained in Study 3. Moreover, the mediating model in Study 3, showed that system justification has a direct effect on the 2013 Gezi Park protest participation. Overall, system justification motivation typically leads people to take action against the status quo.

In line with Hypothesis 4, system emotions mediated the relationship between system justification and action tendencies and behaviors, in a way that system justification both directly and indirectly undermines support for collective action. Wakslak et al. (2007) demonstrated that system justification reduces moral outrage, which in turn undermines intentions and actions aiming at helping disadvantages. Likewise, Jost et al. (2012) indicated that system justification was negatively related to anger and willingness to protest, and then anger mediated the relationship between system justification and collective action. The current research findings are align with these results. Specifically, across four studies both national and capitalist economy emotions mediated the effect of system justification on intentions and actions related to protests. These results indicated that when system justification motivation is heightened either chronically or temporally, individuals are more likely to report more positive and less negative system emotions and they show less willingness to take action against the status quo, and those emotions mediate the effect of system justification on system-related action tendencies and behavior.

6.5. System Emotions, Emotion Regulation, and System Justification

In the current study, it was also suggested that regulating ways of emotions have implications for system emotions and system justification. It was found that individual and system emotion regulation strategies are correlated to each other. Across four studies, the relationships of system emotion regulation strategies with individual emotion regulation strategies ranged from .10 to .55. Chronic emotion

regulation strategies overlap with system-related emotion regulation strategies to some degree. These results showed that who frequently use individual suppression and reappraisal are frequently more likely to use system reappraisal and suppression.

Emotion regulation is affected by the motive people have in the current context. In other words, emotion regulation strategies are adopted to the extent that they help individuals to attain their goals (Tamir & Bigman, 2014). System justification is a powerful motive that affects the ways of seeing the world, behavioral and emotional experiences. Past research attempts to explain how system justification influences emotional reactions (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Rankin et al., 2009). From the majority of findings, it can be seen that system justification is also associated with emotion regulation tendencies. The study results indicated that system justification was positively associated with both system reappraisal and system suppression. Specifically, consistent with Hypothesis 5c, the relationship of system justification with system emotion regulation strategies was stronger than the relationship of system justification tendencies with individual emotion regulation strategies. This hypothesis was supported in Study 2 and Study 3. Cognitive reappraisal allows individuals to change the meaning of emotional event whereas suppression results in inhibiting expression of emotional state (Gross, 1998; John & Gross, 2003).

System justification might lead to positive reappraisal of negative events regarding the status quo and decreasing the behavioral expression of negative system-level affective concerns. Specifically, Study 3 provides the most important support for the current hypothesis. In Study 3, system justification tendencies were only correlated with system emotion regulation strategies, but not individual emotion regulation strategies. One of the possible reasons of this result might be that system-level motives are activated during the social protests. System justification operates as a goal which motivates individuals to restore their belief toward the status quo by leading them to adopt system justification means (Jost, 2008; Liviatan & Jost, 2014). When system justification goal is activated, individuals will be more motivated to use emotion regulation strategies related to the status quo in order to achieve their desired emotional state. System justification, therefore, is related to emotion regulation strategies which are functional in the given context, so by using these

strategies, people particularly regulate their emotions congruent with their system-level motives.

Following goal approach of emotion regulation (Tamir & Bigman, 2014), the findings of three studies conducted in Turkey (Study 2, Study 3, and Study 4) demonstrated that system emotions were associated with system emotion regulation strategies more than individual emotion regulation strategies. In other words, as compared to individual emotion regulation strategies, system-related emotion regulation strategies will be strongly related to system emotions. As stated before, emotion regulation strategies operate in a service of the desired goals (e.g., Mauss & Tamir, 2014). In the current study, system justification motivation may determine which emotions people attempt to regulate. Therefore, system-related emotion regulation may operate in the service of system justification which affect emotional experience related to the status quo. Together, these findings also provide convergent and discriminant validity for system-related emotion regulation strategies.

Confirming Hypothesis 5b, system suppression was linked with more positive and less negative system emotions, whereas individual suppression was associated with less positive and more negative individual emotions. Past studies showed that using trait suppression is associated with lower well-being, self-esteem, inauthenticity, environmental mastery, and a sense of control (Gross & John, 2003). Consistent with these previous findings on trait suppression, in the current study chronic use of individual suppression was associated with lower levels of positive (Study 1, Study 2, Study3) and higher levels of negative (Study 2, Study 3) individual emotions. Higher system suppression, however, is associated with more positive (Study 2; Study 3; Study 4) and less negative system (Study 2, Study 4) emotions. These findings indicated that individuals who use suppression about the status quo deal with the system level concerns by controlling their emotional expression.

As mentioned above, people use the emotion regulation strategies in line with their goals. For instance, if system justification promotes the experience of satisfaction with the status quo, the emotion regulation strategies should increase positive affect and decrease negative affect related to the system. In the context of current study, therefore, system justification may allow individuals to employ

suppression toward the status quo, which results in more positive and less negative emotions.

In line with Hypothesis 5d, it was also found that system related emotion regulation strategies will moderate the link between system justification and system emotions, in a way that system emotion regulation strategies will buffer the detrimental effects of low system justification on negative system emotions. Generally speaking, it was found that system suppression buffers the detrimental effects of system justification on negative system emotions. Specifically, when individuals employ system suppression strategy, they are prone to express less negative system emotions at the low level of system justification. Specifically, system suppression buffers negative effects of system justification on negative system emotions in general (Study 1, Study 2, Study 4) as well as system anger (Study 2), system sadness (Study 1, Study 2, Study 4), system guilt/shame (Study 2), and system fear/anxiety (Study 4) in particular. Moreover, system suppression results in heightened positive system emotions (Study 1, Study 2), and system happiness (Study 2) at the low system justification condition. Together, the results demonstrated that employing suppression strategy toward the status quo allows individuals to report less negative and more emotions derived from experiences with the status quo. As mentioned in the introduction section, past research has showed that suppression strategy is adopted in the cultures where uncertainty avoidance and power distance at the high level (Matsumoto et al., 2008).

Past research has also provided support for the assumption that endorsing system-justifying ideologies is associated with epistemic needs to attain certainty, consistency and meaning (see Hennes et al., 2012). In the current study, system-related suppression operates as a function of sustaining the social order and the social status quo. Suppressing emotional responses toward the status quo restraints negative affect derived from the system-related context and disrupt actions that challenge the status quo. For instance in Study 4, those who chronically employ suppression toward the status quo, reported more positive and less negative system emotions, even when their system-defensive motivation is not fulfilled as a response to system threat. It appears that suppression is one of the system justifying means to maintain the status quo. Therefore, these results seem to provide new explanations for why

individuals are still satisfied with the system, even they accept that system is not just and fair.

Additionally, the moderating effect of system suppression was not found in Study 3 which was conducted during the protests. It makes sense because during the protests individuals are less likely to suppress their emotions toward the status quo. Consistent with the current study's findings, past research has showed that suppression reduced willingness to participate in collective action (Gill & Matheson, 2006).

6.6. Limitations and Future Suggestions

The current work made important contributions to the available literature by providing empirical evidence for system-level emotions. However, the current study has also limitations that should be considered while interpreting the results. First, although system justification motive was experimentally manipulated in the current study, alternative explanation could be that people who have more positive and less negative system emotions are more likely to justify the status quo. Future research should test whether reporting system emotions affects the strength of system justification motivation. This could be done in longitudinal studies that analyze system emotions and change in system justification tendencies over time.

The second limitation of the present investigation is the fact that the findings are subject to common method bias. The study used self-report measures for each variable across four studies. The future studies should consider implicit measures to assess emotional experiences and emotion regulation.

The third limitation of the present research is related to discrete emotions. The current research largely focuses on classifying emotions as positive or negative. Previous research has explored that discrete emotions such as anger, guilt, shame, fear have quite different social functions and consequences (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). This conclusion implies a need for a research on comparing the effects of individual, group, and system level effects of discrete emotions.

As a fourth limitation, the first hypothesis of the study is that system-based emotions reflect one's subjective as well as objective standing in the social order. In the current study, social status is measured based on individuals' self-reported income and status. Thus, future research should test this hypothesis in the setting where social status is experimentally manipulated.

Fifth limitation is that although the study hypotheses based on emotion regulation were built on goal approach of emotion regulation (e.g., Mauss & Tamir, 2014; Tamir, 2009), it was not tested that whether system justification was associated with choosing to use system suppression more often to regulate emotions, even when other emotion regulation strategies exist in the current context. Future research, thus, should test frequency of using of system suppression when other regulation strategies are available.

Finally, the current study showed that system justification motive is one of the conditions that allows individuals to the experience of system emotions. The future studies should examine other possible motivations underlying system emotions, and how these possible motivations affect the characteristics of system emotions.

6.7. Contributions and Implications of the Study

The present study has many implications for emotion and emotion regulation literature, as well as system justification theory.

First of all, past research has examined the links between emotional experience and social structure, focusing on individual and group-level process (e.g., Iyer & Leach, 2008; Smith & Mackie, 2008). However, current study provides empirical evidence for system-level emotions. Specifically, current dissertation focuses on the characteristics of system-based emotions which are experienced by individual as a consequence of subjective and objective system-level characteristics (Solak et al., 2012). Drawing on the variety of empirical findings and theoretical approaches based one emotional experiences, the current study provides empirical support for the fact that individuals not only experience emotions derived from individual-and group-level processes, but they also they experience emotions derived

from some aspect of the social status quo. It was demonstrated that the evidence for the characteristic of system-level emotions. Therefore, the current study contributed to the emotion literature by extending emotions from individual-and group-level context to system-level context.

Second, current study has shown that emotion regulation strategies toward the status quo play a role in maintaining the social stability. Specifically, it has been showed that suppressing system emotions operates as a tool for protecting social order. Suppressing emotional responses toward the status quo restrains negative affect derived from the system-related context and disrupts actions against the status quo. Moreover, past research suggests that cognitive reappraisal is a healthy strategy (see John & Gross, 2003). However, employing reappraisal strategy would have some detrimental consequences for social stability. System justification is related to system reappraisal, which is associated with more positive system and less negative system emotions.

Moreover, the current study offers empirical evidence to better understand how system justification processes play a role in emotional experience and emotion regulation related to the system-level concerns. A great deal of research in system justification theory has focused on cognitive and motivational components of supporting the status quo. However, the current study provides an example of fruitful collaboration of system justification theory with emotion research both in psychology and sociology. At the same time, this study has provided an opportunity to better interpret and/or understand emotional dynamics underlying social stability (vs social change).

6.8. Conclusion

The line of research presented here demonstrates that responses to social stability vs. social change cannot be fully understood without taking into consideration the key role of system-level emotional experiences, which are mutually associated with the motivations aimed at supporting or opposing the status quo. Individuals not only experience emotions derived from individual-or group-level concerns, but they also can experience emotions either evoked by some features of

the system or directed toward individual, group, and system. Moreover, the present study showed how system justification affects the regulating ways of emotions induced by the system-level context. Also, the current research line findings demonstrate that system justification both directly and indirectly-by affecting emotions that are experienced in relation to the social system—undermines support for social change and promotes social stability. Including reciprocal linkages between emotional experiences and social structure, I hope that the current research has contributed in the current literature by shedding some lights on the dynamics of social change.

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APPENDICES

A. Materials of Study 1

EMOTION REGULATION QUESTIONNAIRE

What do you think and do in general, while attempting to influence your feelings? Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement. (7 point scale; 1 = Strongly disagree; 7 = Strongly agree)

Not at all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Much

- 1) I control my emotions by changing the way I think about the situation I'm in.
- 2) When I want to feel less negative emotion, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
- 3) When I want to feel more positive emotion, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
When I want to feel more positive emotion (such as joy or amusement), I change what I'm thinking about.
- 4) When I want to feel less negative emotion (such as sadness or anger), I change what I'm thinking about.
- 5) When I'm faced with a stressful situation, I make myself think it in a way that helps me stay calm.
- 6) I control my emotions by not expressing them.
- 7) When I am feeling negative emotions, I make sure not to express them.
- 8) I keep my emotions to myself.
- 9) When I am feeling positive emotions, I am careful not to express them.

INDIVIDUAL EMOTIONS

Now we would like you to focus only on YOURSELF. When you think of yourself as an unique INDIVIDUAL, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself an individual. Simply, how do you feel about YOURSELF?

Not at all
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very Much

- 1) I feel angry at myself.
- 2) I feel angry at others.
- 3) As an individual, I feel satisfied.
- 4) As an individual, I feel afraid.
- 5) As an individual, I feel hopeful.
- 6) As an individual, I feel proud.
- 7) As an individual, I feel disgusted.
- 8) As an individual, I feel uneasy.
- 9) As an individual, I feel happy.
- 10) As an individual, I feel grateful.

- 11) As an individual, I feel guilty.
- 12) As an individual, I feel respectful.
- 13) As an individual, I feel irritated.
- 14) As an individual, I feel cheerful.
- 15) As an individual, I feel frustrated.
- 16) As an individual, I feel at ease.
- 17) As an individual, I feel shame.
- 18) As an individual, I feel excited.
- 19) As an individual, I feel anxious.
- 20) As an individual, I feel sad.
- 21) As an individual, I feel outrage.
- 22) As an individual, I feel regretful.
- 23) As an individual, I feel bothered.
- 24) As an individual, I feel disappointed.
- 25) Not As an individual, I feel betrayed.
- 26) Not As an individual, I feel resentful.
- 27) As an individual, I feel envious.

GROUP EMOTIONS-POLITICAL PARTY IDENTITY

Please indicate whether you identify yourself as Republican or Democrat.

- ☐ I identify myself as a Republican.
- ☐ I identify myself as a Democrat.
- ☐ Other (Please specify).....

Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement.

Strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Completely agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1) I see myself as a typical member of my political party.
- 2) I am pleased to be a member of my political party.
- 3) I feel strong ties with members of my political party.
- 4) I identify with other members of my political party.
- 5) Members of my political party are superior to members of most other political parties.
- 6) As a rule, members of my political party are justified in acting the way they do.

Now we would like you to focus only on YOUR POLITICAL PARTY GROUP or political party belongingness. When you think of yourself as a member of YOUR POLITICAL PARTY, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a member of your party. Simply, how do you feel about being a member of YOUR POLITICAL PARTY?

Not at all Very Much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1) I feel angry at Democrats.
- 2) I feel angry at Republicans.

- ## GROUP JUSTIFICATION AND GROUP EMOTIPNS (NYU IDENTITY)

Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement.

- 1) I see myself as a typical NYU student.
- 2) I am pleased to be an NYU student
- 3) I feel strong ties with NYU students.
- 4) I identify with other NYU students.
- 5) NYU students are superior to students in most American universities.
- 6) As a rule, NYU students are justified in acting the way they do.

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- 1) I feel angry at NYU students.
- 2) Not at I feel angry at non-NYU students.
- 3) As an NYU student, I feel satisfied.
- 4) As an NYU student, I feel afraid.
- 5) As an NYU student, I feel hopeful.
- 6) As an NYU student, I feel proud.
- 7) As an NYU student, I feel disgusted.
- 8) As an NYU student, I feel uneasy.
- 9) As an NYU student, I feel happy.
- 10) As an NYU student, I feel grateful.
- 11) As an NYU student, I feel guilty.
- 12) As an NYU student, I feel respectful.
- 13) As an NYU student, I feel irritated.
- 14) As an NYU student, I feel cheerful.
- 15) As an NYU student, I feel frustrated.
- 16) As an NYU student, I feel at ease.
- 17) As an NYU student, I feel shame.
- 18) As an NYU student, I feel excited.
- 19) As an NYU student, I feel anxious.
- 20) As an NYU student, I feel sad.
- 21) As an NYU student, I feel outrage.
- 22) As an NYU student, I feel regretful.
- 23) As an NYU student, I feel bothered.
- 24) As an NYU student, I feel disappointed.
- 25) As an NYU student, I feel betrayed.
- 26) As an NYU student, I feel resentful.
- 27) As an NYU student, I feel envious.

GENERAL SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION AND NATIONAL SYSTEM EMOTIONS (THE AMERICAN SYSTEM)

General System Justification Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement.

Strongly disagree ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Strongly Agree
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- 1) In general, America is just and fair.
- 2) In general, American society operates as it should.
- 3) America needs to be restructured.
- 4) America is the best country in the world.
- 5) America serves the greatest good for its citizens.
- 6) Everyone in America has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.
- 7) America is getting worse every year.
- 8) America is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.

Now we would like you to focus only on the AMERICAN SYSTEM and AMERICAN "WAY OF LIFE". When you think of yourself as a PARTICIPANT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM, to what do you feel each of the following emotions in general? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a participant in the American system. Simply, how do you feel about being participant of the AMERICAN SYSTEM?

- | | Not at all | | | | | | Very Much |
|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|-----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1) I feel angry at American system. | | | | | | | |
| 2) I feel angry at systems in other countries. | | | | | | | |
| 3) As a participant in the American system, I feel satisfied. | | | | | | | |
| 4) As a participant in the American system, I feel afraid. | | | | | | | |
| 5) As a participant in the American system, I feel hopeful. | | | | | | | |
| 6) As a participant in the American system, I feel proud. | | | | | | | |
| 7) As a participant in the American system, I feel disgusted. | | | | | | | |
| 8) As a participant in the American system, I feel uneasy. | | | | | | | |
| 9) As a participant in the American system, I feel happy. | | | | | | | |
| 10) As a participant in the American system, I feel grateful. | | | | | | | |
| 11) As a participant in the American system, I feel guilty. | | | | | | | |
| 12) As a participant in the American system, I feel respectful. | | | | | | | |
| 13) As a participant in the American system, I feel irritated. | | | | | | | |
| 14) As a participant in the American system, I feel cheerful. | | | | | | | |
| 15) As a participant in the American system, I feel frustrated. | | | | | | | |
| 16) As a participant in the American system, I feel at ease. | | | | | | | |
| 17) As a participant in the American system, I feel shame. | | | | | | | |
| 18) As a participant in the American system, I feel excited. | | | | | | | |
| 19) As a participant in the American system, I feel anxious. | | | | | | | |
| 20) As a participant in the American system, I feel sad. | | | | | | | |
| 21) As a participant in the American system, I feel outrage. | | | | | | | |
| 22) As a participant in the American system, I feel regretful. | | | | | | | |
| 23) As a participant in the American system, I feel bothered. | | | | | | | |
| 24) As a participant in the American system, I feel disappointed. | | | | | | | |
| 25) As a participant in the American system, I feel betrayed. | | | | | | | |
| 26) As a participant in the American system, I feel resentful. | | | | | | | |
| 27) As a participant in the American system, I feel envious. | | | | | | | |

ECONOMIC SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION AND CAPITALIST ECONOMY EMOTIONS

Economic System Justification Scale

Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement.

Strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

1. If people work hard, they almost always get what they want.
2. The existence of widespread economic differences does not mean they are inevitable.
3. Laws of nature is responsible for differences in wealth in society.
4. There are many reasons to think that the economic system is unfair.
5. It is virtually impossible to eliminate poverty.
6. The poor people are not essentially different from reach people.
7. Most people who don't get ahead in our society should not blame the system; they have only themselves to blame.
8. Equal distribution of resources is a possibility for our society.
9. Social class differences reflect differences in the natural order of things.
10. Economic differences in the society reflect an illegitimate distribution of resources.
11. There will always be poor people, because there will never be enough jobs for everybody.
12. Economic positions are legitimate reflections of people's achievements.

13. If people wanted to change the economic system to make things equal, they could.
14. Equal distribution of resources is unnatural.
15. It is unfair to have an economic system which produces extreme wealth and extreme poverty at the same time.
16. There is no point to make incomes more equal.
17. There are no inherent differences between rich and poor; it is a purely a matter of the circumstances into which you born.

Now we would like you to focus on the CAPITALIST ECONOMY. When you think of yourself as a MEMBER OF A CAPITALIST ECONOMY, to what extent do you feel each of the following emotions in general? Choose the number that indicates your best estimate of how much you experience each emotion when you think about yourself as a member of the capitalist economy? How do you feel about being a member of a CAPITALIST ECONOMY?

Not at all Very Much

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1) I feel angry at the capitalist system.
- 2) I feel angry at the socialist system.
- 3) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel satisfied.
- 4) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel afraid.
- 5) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel hopeful.
- 6) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel proud.
- 7) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel disgusted.
- 8) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel uneasy.
- 9) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel happy.
- 10) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel grateful.
- 11) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel guilty.
- 12) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel respectful.
- 13) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel irritated.
- 14) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel cheerful.
- 15) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel frustrated.
- 16) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel at ease.
- 17) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel shame.
- 18) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel excited.
- 19) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel anxious.
- 20) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel sad.
- 21) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel outrage.
- 22) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel regretful.
- 23) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel bothered.
- 24) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel disappointed.
- 25) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel betrayed.
- 26) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel resentful.
- 27) As a member of a capitalist economy, I feel envious.

COLLECTIVE ACTION TENDENCIES AND BEHAVIORS

Following includes a list of collective actions and please indicate how much you would be willing to participate in each action.

Strongly disagree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ Completely agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1) I am willing to participate in protest actions against the high tuition costs at my university.

- 2) I am willing to participate in actions in favor of equal access to university education for everyone.
- 3) I am willing to participate in actions to protest against gender disparities in the workplace.
- 4) I am willing to participate in actions in favor of protecting the rights of ethnic minorities.
- 5) I am willing to participate in actions in favor of increasing freedom of speech and expression in society.
- 6) I am willing to participate in actions to increase financial assistance for homeless people.
- 7) I am willing to participate in actions in favor of a more equal distribution of economic resources.
- 8) I support those who are participating in the "Occupy Wall Street" movement.

How often have you engaged in each of the following actions during the past 1 year?

1 = never; 2 = 1 time; 3 = two times; 4 = three times; 5 = four times; 6 = five times; 7 = more than 6 times

- _____ Participated in a political demonstration.
- _____ Added your name to e-mail petitions or a protest letter.
- _____ Attended meetings or discussion groups about how to address a social problem.
- _____ Taken part in protest via social networking websites (e.g., joining in a protest group on Facebook, protesting something on your Facebook Wall)
- _____ Help to organizing a demonstration or public campaign.

SYSTEM-RELATED EMOTION REGULATION QUESTIONNAIRE

What do you think and do in general, while attempting to influence your feelings about the American system? Please indicate to what extent you agree with each statement.

Strongly disagree ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ Completely agree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1) I control my emotions about the American system by changing the way I think about the situation I'm in.
- 2) When I want to feel less negative emotion about the American system, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
- 3) When I want to feel more positive emotion about the American system, I change the way I'm thinking about the situation.
- 4) When I want to feel more positive emotion (such as joy or amusement) about the American system, I change what I'm thinking about.
- 5) When I want to feel less negative emotion (such as sadness or anger) about the American system, I change what I'm thinking about.
- 6) When I'm faced with a stressful situation, I make myself think about the American system in a way that helps me stay calm.
- 7) I control my emotions about the American system by not expressing them.
- 8) When I am feeling negative emotions about the American system, I make sure not to express them.
- 9) I keep my emotions about the American system to myself.
- 10) When I am feeling positive emotions about the American system, I am careful not to express them.

Appendix B
Turkish Abstract
Tezin Türkçe Özeti

Sosyal ve politik davranış duygularla içicedir. Duygular ve duygu düzenlemesi çok yönlü bir olgu olup, sosyal ve politik tutumların anlaşılması için önemlidir. (Bar-Tal, Halperin, & de Rivera, 2007; Gill & Matheson, 2006; Halperin, Sharvit, & Gross, 2011; Marcus, 2003). Sosyal sistemlere verilen tepkiler sadece duygulardan etkilenmemekte, aynı zamanda duygular da mevcut sosyal düzenin sürdürülmesi ya da bu düzene karşı çıkılmasına yönelik tepkileri çeşitli yollardan biçimlendirmektedir (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2013; Sweetman, Spears, Livingstone, & Manstead, 2013, Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Özellikle de sosyoloji ve politik bilimler alanlarındaki birçok düşünür duyguların sosyal sistemlerle karşılıklı ilişkisine dikkat çekmiştir (örn., Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2011; Marcus, 2003; Kemper, 1991).

Son yirmi yıldır, duyguların siyasi ve sosyal davranıştaki rolü psikologların da araştırma alanı haline gelmiş, bu alanda yapılan çalışmalar duyguların insanların biliş ve eylemleriyle ilişkilerine işaret etmiştir (e.g., de Rivera, 1992; Mackie & Smith, 1998; Parkinson, Fischer, & Manstead, 2005; Tiedens & Leach, 2004). Bununlar beraber, sosyal psikolojideki duygu ve duygu düzenlemesi çalışmalarında iki görüş hakimdir (Solak, Jost, Sümer, & Clore, 2012). Bu görüşlerden biri duyguları birey perspektifinden ele alırken, diğer görüş de duyguları grup-temelli bakış açısından hareketle analiz eder (e.g., Frijda, 1986; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988; C. A. Smith & Ellsworth, 1985; Smith, Seger, & Mackie, 2007; Ray, Mackie, & Smith, 2014). Grup temelli çalışmalar duyguları grup –düzeyindeki motivasyonlar, grup üyeliği ve grup-temelli amaçlarla ilişkilendirirken (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Kuppens & Yzerbyt, 2014; Kuppens, Yzerbyt, Dandache, Fischer, & Van der Schalk, 2013; Mackie, Smith, & Ray, 2007; Smith et al., 2007), duygulara birey düzeyindeki perspektiften yaklaşan çalışmalar ise duyguları birey düzeyindeki motivasyon ve değerlendirmelerden hareketle analiz etmektedir (örn., Ortony, et al., 1988; C. A. Smith & Ellsworth, 1985).

Duyguların yanı sıra, duygu düzenlemesi konusunda yapılan çalışmaların da odak noktası bu sürecin kişisel ya da kişiler arası doğası üzerinde durmaktadır

(Butler & Gross, 2009; Rime, 2009). Son yıllarda, duygu düzenlemesi üzerine yapılan çalışmalar gruplara arası çatışmanın doğasını incelemeye odaklansa da, araştırmacılar sosyal özdeşimin bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan grup duygularını incelemeye yönelmiştir (örn., Gross, 2014a; Halperin & Gross, 2011; Halperin et al., 2011; Halperin, 2014).

Duygu ve duygu düzenlemenin birey ve grup bakış açısına vurgu yapan söz konusu iki hakim bakış açısına rağmen, insan davranışı sadece birey ve grup bağlamlarıyla sınırlı olmayıp, aynı zamanda sistem-düzeyindeki dinamiklerden ya da mikro, marko sistemlerden ve sosyal yapılardan da etkilenmektedir (Doise, 1986; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Stangor & Jost, 1997; Wakslak, Jost, & Bauer, 2011). Stangor ve Jost (1997), sistem-düzeyindeki analizin birey ve grup düzeyindeki analizden farklı olduğunu ileri sürmüştür. Başka bir deyişle, sistem düzeyindeki analiz, birey grup ve sistemleri de kapsayan sosyal sistemlerin karakteristikleri hakkındaki açıklamalara dayanmaktadır.

Sistem düzeyindeki analizi benimseyen sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı (Jost, 2011; Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost et al., 2010; Jost & Van der Toorn, 2012; Van der Toorn & Jost, 2014), sosyal yapı, statüko, güç ve ideoloji arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkilere odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı duygu, biliş, ve motivasyonu sistem-düzeyinde incelemektedir. Son yıllarda duyguların sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramındaki rolüne odaklanan çalışmaların sayısı artmıştır (cf. Chapleau & Oswald, 2014; Connelly & Heesacker, 2012; Godfrey, 2013; Harding & Sibley, 2013; Jost & Kramer, 2003; Jost & Thompson, 2000; Jost, Wakslak, & Tyler, 2008; Napier & Jost, 2008; O'Brien & Major, 2005; Rankin, Jost, & Wakslak, 2009; Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007; Zimmerman & Reyna, 2013). Bununla beraber, sistemi meşrulaştırma süreçlerinde duyguların rolü, motivasyon ya da bilişsel etkenlerin rolüne göre daha az çalışılmıştır.

Solak, Jost, Sümer ve Clore (2012) duyguların sistem-düzeyindeki analizini, sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı (Jost et al., 2004), soysal statü (e.g., Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Kraus et al., 2011), grup-düzeyindeki duygular (Iyer & Leach, 2008; Leach, 2010; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Ray et al., 2014; Smith et al, 2007) ve duygu düzenlemesi (e.g., Gross, 2014; Gross & John, 2003; Gill & Matheson, 2006) gibi psikolojideki diğer araştırma literatürlerini birleştirerek ileri

sürmüştür. Bu yaklaşımda, sistem düzeyindeki duygular bütünleştirici bir kavram olarak ortaya sunulmuş olup, duygularla ilgili önceki kavramalara karşıt değildir, daha ziyade onlara tamamlayıcı bir niteliktedir.

Bu tezin amacı Solak ve arkadaşları tarafından ileri sürülen sistem-düzeyindeki duygulara empirik destek sağlamaktır. Ayrıca, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin sistem-düzeyindeki bağlamdan ortaya çıkan duygu düzenleme stratejileri ile ilişkisi de incelenmiştir. Bu iki araştırma amacı kapsamında, söz konusu doktora tezinde dört çalışma yer almaktadır. Çalışma 1 ve Çalışma 2’de sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi bireysel bir fark değişkeni olarak ölçülmüştür. Çalışma 3’te sistem-düzeyindeki duygular 2013 Gezi Parkı eylemleri bağlamında incelenmiştir. Çalışma 4’de ise sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonu deneysel olarak manipüle edilmiştir. Söz konusu tez, sistemi meşrulaştırma süreçlerinin duygularla ilişkili boyutunun daha iyi anlaşılmasını amaçlamaktadır.

Tezde ilk olarak, sistem duygularının analizine değinilecek ve daha sonra sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramına, sistem duygularının özelliklerine değinilecek ve son olarak da sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı, sistem-temelli duygular ve duygu düzenlemesi arasındaki ilişkilerden kısaca bahsedilecektir.

Duyguların Sistem Düzeyindeki Analizi ve Sistem-Düzeyindeki Duygular

Daha önceden de belirtildiği üzere, duygular genellikle birey ve/ya grup ile ilişkili güdüler, bilişseler, eğilimler ve davranışlar temelinde çalışılmaktadır (örn., Frijda, 1986; Iyer & Leach, 2008; Smith & ark., 2007; Tajfel, 1978). Buna karşın, az sayıda çalışma sosyal düzen ve ideolojilerin duygularla ilişkisini incelemiştir (örn., Conover & Feldman, 1986; de Rivera, 1992). Buna karşın, sosyal değişim ve istikrarının dinamiklerinin analiz edilmesi için duyguların rolü göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Gordon’un (1990) da dediği üzere “bir sosyal kurumu düşündüğümüzde onunla ilgili belirli bir duyguyu” da düşünürüz” (p. 167). Dolayısıyla duygular, “işyerleri, semtler, topluluklar, politik partiler, eylemler ve devletler gibi sosyal organizasyonların büyük ölçekli birimlerinin ve bu birimlerin birbiriyle etkileşimlerinin içine gömülüdür” (Goodwin et al., 2001a, p.1). Örneğin, dini sistemlerde umut, suçluluk ve özkontrol duygusu baskınken (Kay, Gaucher, McGregor, & Nash, 2010; Sedikides, 2010), askeri kurumlar ise öfke duygusuyla ilişkilendirilmektedir (Clanton, 2006). Dolayısıyla, “sosyal psikologlar ‘makro’

yapıları ve süreçleri incelemekten duyguları tam olarak anlayamazlar” (Goodwin et al., 2001, p. 16).

Duygular, bazen grup düzeyindeki süreçlerin üstünde ve ötesinde olup, aynı zamanda makro ve mikro sistemlerle de ilişkilidir (Barbalet, 1998; Gordon, 1989, 1990; Ridgeway, 2006; Stets & Turner, 2008). Bununla beraber, duyguların sosyal yapı ve sistemlerle ilişkileri psikologlar tarafından kendi kuramsal ve gorgül analizlerinde ihmal edilmiştir. Halbuki, duyguların sosyal sistemlerle ilişkileri incelenmeden duygular tam olarak anlaşılamaz. Örneğin, neden bazı bireylerin yoksulluk, işsizlik ve iş güvencesizliği karşısında kaygı ve utanma yaşadıklarını (Adaia, 2002; Ashford, Lee & Bobko, 1989) ya da neden bazı politik sistemlerde korku ve güvensizlik atmosferinin yaygın olduğunu (de Rivera, Kurrien, & Olsen, 2007) tahlil etmek, duyguların sosyal yapı ve ideolojiyle ilişkisi göz önüne alınmadan anlaşılamaz.

Bu bağlamda, Solak ve arkadaşları (2012) tarafından duygular sistem düzeyinde kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Yazarlar, insanların birey ve grup düzeyinin yanı sıra sistem düzeyindeki süreçlerle ilişkili sistem-düzeyindeki duygular (*system-level emotions*) da hissettiklerini ileri sürmüştür. Bu duygular sistem düzeyindeki hedefler, güdüler, değerlendirmeler ve arzulardan kaynaklanan sistem temelli duygular (*system-based emotions*) veya sosyal sistemi desteklemeye da buna karşı çıkmaya dayanan değerlendirmeleri içeren sistem hedefli duygulardır (*system-targeted emotions*). Örneğin, kişinin yoksulluğundan ötürü utanması sistem temelli bir duyguyken, protestolarda sisteme karşı öfke hissetmesi sistem hedefli bir duygudur.

Sistem düzeyindeki duygular, temel olarak sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı ve duyguların sosyolojik analizi çalışmalarında temellenmiş bir kavramdır. Sistem perspektifinden duyguların ele alınması, duygularla ilgili mevcut literatürün sosyal yapı, ideoloji ve sistem penceresinden yeniden okunmasını kapsar. Sistem perspektifinden duyguların değerlendirilmesi, sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramına dayanmasına rağmen onunla sınırlı değildir. Başka bir deyişle, sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonlarını barındırdığı gibi sisteme meydan okuyucu veya sistemle ilişkili diğer çeşitli motivasyonları da içerir.

Sistemi Meşrulaştırma Kuramı

Sistem düzeyindeki duygular kavramının temel aldığı kuramların en önemlisi sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramıdır. Sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı Jost ve Banaji tarafından 1994 yılında geliştirilmiş olup, insanların kendi kişisel ve kolektif çıkarınının tersine dahi olsa niçin ve nasıl mevcut düzeni meşrulaştırdığının ve rasyonalize ettiğinin sosyal-bilişsel analizini önermektedir (Jost & Hunyady, 2002). Sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramı birey, grup ve sistem olmak üzere üç güdünün varlığına işaret etmektedir. Buna göre, sistemi, bu üç güdü de birbirinden farklı olup farklı sonuçlara sahiptir. Bu bağlamda, egonun meşrulaştırılması güdüsü kişisel benlik çıkarı ve saygısını korumaya ve arttırmaya yönelik olup, grubun meşrulaştırılması olumlu grup ayırt ediciliğini arttırmakla ilişkilidir. Bununla birlikte, sistemin meşrulaştırılması güdüsü sistem ve düzenin meşru algılanması ile ilgilidir (Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003).

Sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramına göre, sistemi meşrulaştırma insanların kendilerini iyi hissemesine yol açmakta, yaşam doyumunu arttırmakta, suçluluk, engellenme ve kızgınlık duygularını azaltmakta ve adaletizliklerle başa çıkmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle sistemi meşrulaştırmanın acıları hafifletici bir işlevi mevcuttur (*palliative function*) (Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Rankin, Jost, & Wakslak, 2009; Wakslak & ark., 2007). Örneğin, sistemi meşrulaştırıcı bir işleve sahip meritokratik ideolojileri onaylayanın yoksullar arasında bile ekonomik koşullardan memnuniyete yol açmaktadır (Jost, Pelham & ark., 2003; ayrıca bkz. Kluegel & Smith, 1986). Sistemi meşrulaştırmanın acıları hafifletici işlevi, kişilerin içinde yaşadığı adaletsiz durumdan kaynaklanan olumsuz duyguları azaltarak statükonun korunması ve sürdürülmesine katkıda bulunmakta ve değişime ket vurmaktadır.

Sistem-Düzeyindeki Duyguların Özellikleri

Sistem düzeyindeki duyguların üç temel özelliği mevcuttur (Solak et al., 2012). Bunlar: (I) sistem temelindeki duygular kişinin sosyal yapıdaki “yeri”ni yansıtır; (II) sistem temelli duygular kişinin sosyal düzen hakkındaki öznel değerlendirmelerini yansıtır; ve (III) sistem düzeyindeki duygular sistemin istikrarını ve değişimine yönelik sistem düzeyindeki eğilim ve davranışları etkiler. Söz konusu özellikler aynı zamanda mevcut çalışmanın hipotezleridir.

Buna göre, sistem duygularının ilk özelliği kişinin sosyal düzendeki öznel ve nesnel konumu ya da “yeri” hakkında bilgi vermesidir. Duygular üzerine çalışan sosyologlar ve psikologlar sosyal statü ve güç farklılıklarının duyguları etkilediğini göstermiştir (Barbalet, 1998; Clark, 1990; Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003; Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000; Kraus, Piff & Keltner, 2011; Ridgeway, 2006; Tiedens, 2000, 2001; Van Kleef, Oveis, van der Löwe, LuoKogan, Goetz, & Keltner, 2008). Örneğin, erkeklerin kızgınlık gibi daha “baskın” duygular bildirirken, kadınların üzüntü ve korku gibi daha “boyun eğici” duygular bildirdiği çeşitli çalışmalarda bulgulanmıştır (bkz. Fischer, Mosquera, van Vianen & Manstead, 2004; Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayni, Kouznetsova & Krupp, 1998). Jost, Wakslak ve Tyler (2008) ise sosyal statü açısından daha az güce sahip olanlara kıyasla güçlü konumda bulunanların daha fazla memnuniyet, buna karşın daha az engellenme bildirdiklerini gözlemiştir.

Sistem-düzeyindeki duyguların ikinci özelliği ise kişinin sosyal düzen hakkındaki öznel değerlendirmesini yansıtmasıdır. Sistem temelindeki duygular politik, sosyal ya da ekonomik sistemle ilgili değerlendirmeleri, algıları ve ideolojileri yansıtmaya eğilimindedir. Çeşitli araştırmalar, sistemi meşrulaştırıcı ideolojilerin kişinin, adaletsiz ve meritokratik sistemden doğan olumsuz duyguları azalttığına işaret etmiştir (örn., Cichocka & Jost, 2014; Jost, Blount, Pfeffer, & Hunyady, 2003; Jost & Hunyady, 2002, 2005; Jost & ark., 2003b; Kluegal & Smith, 1986; Napier & Jost, 2008). Örneğin, Wakslak ve arkadaşları (2007) sistemi meşrulaştırmanın olumsuz duyguları ortadan kaldırdığını deneysel çalışmalarında göstermiştir.

Sistem düzeyindeki duyguların diğer bir özelliği ise, sistemin istikrarını ve değişimini içeren sistem düzeyindeki kolektif eğilim ve davranışları etkilemeleridir. Örneğin, Wakslak ve arkadaşları (2007) sistemi meşrulaştırmanın sadece olumsuz duyguları azaltmadığını, aynı zamanda, az yoğunluktaki olumsuz duyguların eşitlikçi politikaları da daha az desteklemeye yol açtığını bulmuştur. Jost ve arkadaşları (2012) yaptıkları bir dizi deneysel çalışmada sistemi meşrulaştırma koşuluna maruz kalan katılımcıların devlete karşı daha az kızgınlık bildirdiklerini ve düşük düzeydeki kızgınlığın sosyal protestolara daha az katılma eğimini azalttığını göstermiştir.

Sistem-Düzeyindeki Duygular, Duygu Düzenlemesi ve Sistemi Meşrulaştırma

Duyguların yanısıra, duyguların düzenlenmesi de statükoyu meşruiyet ve istikrar affetmede önemlidir ve kolektif eylemler için birtakım sonuçları mevcuttur. Duygu düzenlemesi sırasında duygular, kişinin amaçları doğrultusunda değiştirilir, yönetilir, yoğunlukları azaltılır yada artırılır (Eisenberg & Spinrad, 2004; Gross, 1999b; Thompson, 1994).

Mevcut çalışmada, iki duygu düzenlemesi strateji üzerinde durulmaktadır. Bu stratejiler, bilişsel yeniden değerlendirme (*cognitive reappraisal*) ve bastırma stratejileridir (*expressive suppresion*). Bilişsel yeniden değerlendirme stratejisi kişinin düşünme şeklini değiştirerek duygularını etkilenmesi olarak tanımlanırken, bastırma stratejisi ise kişinin kendi duygularının ifade etmesini bastırması olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Gross, 1998a,b). İlgili literatürde, bastırma ve yeniden değerlendirmenin fizyolojik, bilişsel ve öznel deneyimler olmak üzere farklı sonuçları mevcuttur (Gross, 1998a, b). Spesifik olarak, bilişsel değerlendirme stratejisi duygu oluşmadan önce kullanılırken, bastırma stratejisi ise duygu oluşuktan sonra kullanılmaktadır. Bundan ötürü bilişsel yeniden değerlendirme stratejisi daha fazla olumlu ve daha az olumsuz duygularla ilişkilirken, bastırma stratejisi ise daha az olumlu ve daha fazla olumsuz duygularla ilişkilidir (Gross & John, 2003).

Bununla beraber, bireyler acıdan kaçınmak ve haz almak gibi sadece hedonik güdüler yüzünden değil, aynı zamanda araçsal (*instrumental*) güdüler yüzünden de duygu düzenlenmesi stratejilerine başvurabilirler (Manstead & Fischer, 2000). Başka bir deyişle, bireyler amaçlarına ulaşmak için bazen olumlu duygularını azaltabilirler ve olumsuz duygularını artırabilirler (Erber, Wegner, & Therriault, 1996; Gross & Thompson, 2007; Maus & Tamir, 2013; Tamir, 2009). Yani, insanlar mevcut bağlamla tutarlı ve bu bağlama yarar sağlayacak olan duygular yaşamak isterler. Örneğin, kişiler arası çatışmaya girecekleri zaman kızgınlık duygularını artırmaya ancak işbirliği yapacakları zaman ise mutluluk duygusunu arttırmaya güdülenmişlerdir (örn, Tamir & Ford, 2012; Tamir et al., 2008). Bu nedenle, duygu düzenleme süreci kişinin içinde bulunduğu bağlamdaki motivasyonlarından ve amaçlarından etkilenir.

Bu bakış açısıyla tutarlı olarak, sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonu insanların sistem düzeyindeki amaçlarına ulaşmayı kolaylaştıracak duygu düzenleme stratejilerini kullanmalarını etkileyebilir. Duygu düzenleme stratejisi kişinin içinde bulunduğu bağlamdaki güdüden etkilendiğinden sistem-temelli duygular bireysel duygu düzenleme stratejilerinden çok sistemle ilişkili duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle ilişkilidir. Bu bağlamda statükoya yönelik duyguların bastırılması ve yeniden yorumlanması duygular için birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme sürecinden farklı sonuçlara yol açabilir. Bu bağlamda, statükoya yönelik sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisinin kullanımı daha fazla olumlu ve daha az olumsuz sistem temelli duygularla ilişkilirken, birey düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisinin kullanımı ise daha fazla olumsuz ve daha az olumlu birey düzeyindeki duygularla ilişkilidir. Eğer statükoya yönelik duyguların bastırılması daha az düzeyde olumsuz sistem duygularının ifade edilmesiyle ilişkilirse, bu durumda sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlileri düşük olanlar dahi bile sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisini kullandıklarında daha az olumsuz sistem duyguları ifade edeceklerdir. Bu nedenle sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejileri sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistem-düzeyindeki duygular arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici bir rol oynayacaktır.

Mevcut Çalışma

Mevcut çalışma, sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramından hareketle, sistem-düzeyindeki duyguların özelliklerini ve bu duyguların duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle ilişkilerini incelemektedir. Mevcut çalışma dört çalışmadan oluşmaktadır. Çalışma 1 Amerika, Çalışma 2 Türkiye örneklemelerini içermektedir. Çalışma 3, 2013 Gezi olayları sırasında gerçekleştirilmiştir ve Çalışma 4 deneysel bir çalışma olarak yapılmıştır. İlgili literatürden hareketle beş temel hipotez formüle edilmiştir. Bu hipotezler şunlardır:

1. Sistem temelindeki duygular kişinin sosyal yapıdaki nesnel ve öznel “yeri”ni yansıtır. (H1a): yüksek statüye sahip bireyler düşük statüye sahip olanlara kıyasla daha fazla olumlu ve daha az olumsuz sistem duygularına sahip olacaktır; (H1b) Sistemi meşrulaştırmanın acıları hafifletici işlevinden ötürü, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi sosyal statünün sistem düzeyindeki duygular üzerindeki etkisinde tampon görevi görecektir.

2. Sistem temelli duygular kişinin sosyal düzen hakkındaki öznel değerlendirmelerini yansıtır. Başka bir deyişle, sistem düzeyindeki duygular kişinin sistemi meşrulaştırma düzeyine bağlıdır.
3. Sistem düzeyindeki duygular sistemin istikrarına ve değişimine yönelik sistem düzeyindeki eğilimleri ve davranışları etkiler. Sistem duyguları sistemle ilişkili eğilim ve davranışları birey ve grup duygularından daha güçlü olarak yordar.
4. Sistem duyguları sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistem düzeyindeki eğilim ve davranışlar arasındaki ilişkilere aracılık eder.
5. Sistem-düzeyindeki duygular sistemle ilişkili duygu düzenleme stratejileri tarafından düzenlenir (H5a). Sistem düzeyindeki duygular, birey temelli duygu düzenleme stratejilerinden ziyade, sistemle ilişkili duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle ilişkilidir (H5b). Birey düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisi ve sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisi farklı sonuçlar gösterebilir. Bu bağlamda, statükoya yönelik sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisi daha fazla olumlu ve daha az olumsuz sistem temelli duygularla ilişkiliyken, birey düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisi ise daha fazla olumsuz ve daha az olumlu birey düzeyindeki duygularla ilişkilidir (H5c). Birey temelli stratejilerden ziyade, sistem temelli stratejiler sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimiyle/motivasyonu ile daha fazla ilişkilidir (H5d). Sistem düzeyindeki stratejiler sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistem duyguları arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlemektedir.

Çalışma 1

İlk çalışma sistem-düzeyindeki duyguların özelliklerini Amerikalı bir örnekleme incelemektedir.

Yöntem

Katılımcılar

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını, New York Üniversitesi'nde üniversite öğrencisi olan 124 kadın ve 37 erkek olmak üzere 161 kişi oluşturmaktadır. Katılımcıların yaşı 18 ve 25 arasında değişmektedir ($M = 19.57$, $SD = 1.27$).

Uygulama

Katılımcılar birey, grup ve sistem duygularını, sistemi ve grubu meşrulaştırma eğilimlerini, birey ve sistem duygu düzenleme stratejilerini ve sistem-düzeyindeki eğilim ve davranışları kapsayan ölçek bataryasını doldurmuştur (bkz. Appendix A).

Sistem düzeyindeki duyguların özelliklerinin incelenmesi için Smith ve arkadaşlarının (2007) prosedürü kullanılmıştır. Bu prosedürde Smith ve arkadaşları grup duygularının birey duygularından farklı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu tezde, birey ve grup duygularının yanında ulusal sistem duyguları ve kapitalist ekonomi duyguları da ölçülmüştür.

Söz konusu duygular olumlu duygular ve olumsuz duygular olmak üzere iki boyutta analize dahil edilmiştir. Ayrıca, daha detaylı analizlerin yapılabilmesi için kızgınlık, üzüntü, suçluluk/utanma, korku/kaygı ve mutluluk olmak üzere beş ayrı spesifik duygu alt ölçekleri oluşturulmuştur. Sistemi meşrulaştırma ölçekleri hariç, tüm ölçme araçları 7 dereceli Likert tipi bir aralıkta katılımcılara sunulmuştur. Sistemi meşrulaştırma ölçekleri 9 dereceli bir ölçekte katılımcılara sunulmuştur.

Araçlar

Birey Düzeyindeki Duygular. Birey temelli duyguların ölçülmesi için katılımcılara kendilerini özgün bir birey olarak düşünmeleri istenmiş ve kendilerine sunulan 9 olumlu (örn., mutlu, umutlu) ve 19 olumsuz duyguyu (örn., korku, utanma) 7-basamaklı Likert tipi bir ölçek üzerinde ne sıklıkla hissettikleri sorulmuştur (1 = *Hiç*; 7 = *Çok fazla*) (örn., “*Bir birey olarak, mutlu hissederim*”).

Grubu Meşrulaştırma ve Grup Düzeyindeki Duygular. Grup düzeyindeki duygular hem kişinin üniversite grubu hem de politik grubu için ölçülmüştür. Grup duygularının ölçülmesinden önce kişilerin kendi gruplarını meşrulaştırma eğilimleri ölçülmüştür. Buna göre, üniversite grup duygularının ölçümünde kişiler önce grubu meşrulaştırma eğilimleriyle ilgili bir ölçek doldurmuştur (örn., “*Benim üniversitemin öğrencileri, diğer üniversitelerin öğrencilerinden üstündür*”) ve daha sonra katılımcılardan kendilerini bir New York Üniversitesi öğrencisi olarak düşünmeleri istenmiş ve kendilerine 27 duygunun olduğu aynı liste sunulmuştur. Bu liste birey duyguları listesiyle aynı duyguları içermektedir ancak listedeki vurgu grubun üzerindedir (örn., “*Bir NYU öğrencisi olarak mutlu hissederim*”).

Benzer biçimde politik grupla ilişkili duyguların ölçülmesi için kişiler politik grubu meşrulaştırma ölçeğini doldurduktan sonra aynı 27 maddelik duygu ölçeğini kendilerini politik partilerinin bir destekçisi şeklinde düşünerek doldurmuştur (örn., “*Politik partimin bir destekçisi olarak mutlu hissederim.*”)

Sistemi Meşrulaştırma ve Sistem Düzeyindeki Duyguları. Sistem duyguları ulusal sistem ve kapitalist ekonomi için ölçülmüştür. Sistemin meşrulaştırılmasının ölçülmesi için ilk olarak katılımcılar Genel Sistemi Meşrulaştırma (Kay & Jost, 2003) ölçeğini doldurmuş ve daha sonra kendilerini Amerikan sisteminin ve yaşam tarzının bir katılımcısı olarak düşünerek, aynı 27 maddelik duygu ölçeğini doldurmuşlardır (örn., “Amerikan sisteminin bir katılımcısı olarak mutlu hissedirim”).

Kapitalist ekonomi duygularının ölçülmesi için ise katılımcılar Ekonomik Sistemi Meşrulaştırma ölçeğini (Jost & Thompson, 2000) doldurduktan sonra, aynı 27 maddelik duygu ölçeğini kapitalist ekonomi duyguları için yanıtlamışlardır (örn., “*Kapitalist ekonominin bir üyesi olarak mutlu hissedirim*”).

Sistem-Düzeyindeki Eğilimler ve Davranışlar. Sistem-düzeyindeki eğilimler 8 madde ile ölçülmüştür. Bu maddeler kişilerin etnik azınlıkların haklarının korunması, ifade özgürlüğünün artırılması, evsiz insanlara ekonomik yardımın yapılması gibi çeşitli alanlardaki kolektif eylemlere katılma isteğini kapsamaktadır (Örn., “*Herkesin üniversite eğitimine eşit düzeyde erişimini sağlayan protestolara katılmak isterim*”).

Sistem-düzeyindeki eylemlerin ölçülmesi için ise katılımcılara geçen 1 sene içerisinde çeşitli kolektif eylemlere ne kadar sıklıkla katıldıklarını bildirmeleri (1 = *Hiç*; 7 = *6 ya da 6 defadan fazla*) istenmiştir (örn., “*politik gösteriye katılmak*”; “*ismini protesto e-mailine ya da mektuba eklemek*”).

Duygu Düzenleme Stratejileri. Duygu düzenleme stratejileri hem bireysel hem de sistem-düzeyinde ölçülmüştür. Birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin ölçümü için Gross ve John’un (2003) 10 maddelik ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Söz konusu ölçek bilişsel yeniden değerlendirme ve bastırma olmak üzere iki boyuta sahiptir. Söz konusu ölçeğin maddeleri ayrıca sistem-düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin ölçümü için Amerikan sistemine de uyarlanmıştır

Bulgular

Çalışmanın birinci hipotezi, sistem-temelli duyguların kişinin sosyal düzendeki yerini yansıttığıdır Söz konusu hipotezi test etmek için kişinin kendi sosyal-ekonomik statüsünü değerlendirmeye yönelik değişkeni (öznel statü değişkeni) ve kişinin aylık geliri değişkeni (objektif statü) standardize edilip,

toplanmış ve sosyo-ekonomik statü (SES) değişkeni oluşturulmuştur. Söz konusu hipotez SES değişkeni için test edilmiştir.

ANOVA analizi sonuçları düşük SES'ye sahip katılımcıların ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.01$), yüksek SES'e sahip katılımcılara ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .96$) göre daha düşük düzeyde olumlu kapitalist ekonomi duygusu bildirdiklerini göstermiştir ($F(1, 159) = 4.09$, $p = .05$). Sosyal statünün etkisi birey ve grup duygularında gözlenmemiştir. Söz konusu sonuç Hipotez 1a (H1a) ile tutarlıdır.

Daha sonra, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin sosyal statü ve sistem duyguları arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenleyip düzenlemediğinin incelenmesi için hiyerarşik regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Moderasyon etkisini test edebilmek için sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sosyal statü değişkenlerinin çarpımı alınarak ortak etki (*interaction*) değişkenleri oluşturulmuştur. Regresyonun ilk boyutunda, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğimleri ve sosyal statü değişkenlerinin temel etkileri (iki ana etki) regresyona katılmıştır. İkinci aşamada ise ortak etki değişkeni regresyon modeline dahil edilmiştir. Aiken ve West'in (1991) önerisi doğrultusunda bütün bağımsız değişkenler kendi ortalamalarından çıkarılarak merkezileştirilmiş ve ortak etki değişkenleri bu değerler kullanılarak hesaplanmıştır.

Ulusal sistem duygularında, sistemi meşrulaştırma değişkeni için genel sistemi meşrulaştırma ölçeği bağımsız değişken olarak kullanılırken, kapitalist ekonomi duyguları için ekonomik sistemi meşrulaştırma değişkeni bağımsız değişken olarak kullanılmıştır. Söz konusu düzenleyici regresyon analizi sadece olumlu ve olumsuz duygu boyutları için değil aynı zamanda kızgınlık, üzüntü, korku/kaygı, suçluluk/utanç ve mutluluk boyutları içinde yapılmakta olup, toplam 14 regresyon analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Moderasyon etkisine yönelik sonuçlara bakıldığında, ortak etkinin kapitalist ekonomi mutluluğu için marjinal düzeyde anlamlı olduğu görülmüştür ($\beta = -.14$, $p = .07$); $F(3, 159) = 5.83$, $p < .01$. Anlamlı olan ortak etki değişkenlerinin istatistiksel olarak anlamlılığını test etmek için "simple slope" analizleri yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar, düşük düzeyde sistemi meşrulaştıran katılımcılar arasında, yüksek statüye sahip olanların düşük statüye sahip olanlara kıyasla kapitalist ekonomi sistemiyle ilgili daha fazla mutluluk bildirdiklerini ($t(156) = 2.69$, $p < .05$), buna karşın yüksek düzeyde sistemi meşrulaştıran katılımcılarda statü grupları arasında istatistiksel açıdan anlamlı düzeyde bir fark olmadığını

göstermiştir, ($t(156) = .19, ns$). Özetleyecek olursak, Hipotez 1a ve Hipotez 1b ile tutarlı olarak, özellikle de sistem duyguları kişinin sosyal statüsünden etkilenmekte, düşük SES'ye sahip katılımcılar bile sistemi meşrulaştırdıklarında ekonomik sistemden mutlu ve memnun olduklarını bildirmektedir.

Çalışmanın ikinci hipotezi, sistem duygularının sosyal düzen ile ilgili değerlendirmeleri yansıtacağıdır. Söz konusu hipotezi test etmek için grubu meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin birinci basamağa ve sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin ikinci basamağa eklendiği hiyerarşik regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Buna göre ulusal sistem duygularının bağımsız değişken olduğu regresyon analizinde, genel sistemi meşrulaştırma değişkeni kullanılırken, kapitalist ekonomi duygularının bağımlı değişken olduğu modelde ise ekonomik sistemi meşrulaştırma değişkeni kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlar, Hipotez 2 (H2) ile tutarlı olarak, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin grubun meşrulaştırılması eğilimlerine kıyasla sistem duygularını güçlü bir şekilde yordadığını göstermiştir. Ayrıca, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın acıları hafifletici işlevi doğrultusunda, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri arttıkça katılımcıların hem ulusal hem de ekonomik statükoya yönelik olumlu duygularının da arttığı buna karşın olumsuz duygularının azaldığı gözlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü hipotezi, sistem duygularının kolektif eylemlerle ilgili niyet ve davranışları yordayacağıdır. Söz konusu hipotez hem ulusal sistem duyguları ve ekonomik sistem duyguları için ayrı olarak test edilmiş olup, bu doğrultuda dört regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Buna göre, ilk regresyon analizinin ilk basamağına olumlu ve olumsuz birey ve grup duyguları dahil edilirken, ikinci basamağına olumlu ve olumsuz sistem duyguları dahil edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, Hipotez 3 ile tutarlı olarak, sadece sistem duygularının bağımlı değişkenleri anlamlı düzeyde yordadığını göstermiştir. Özellikle de olumsuz sistem duygular, kolektif eylem niyetleri ve davranışları için kritiktir. Buna göre, olumsuz sistem duyguları arttıkça kolektif eylem eğilimleri ve davranışları da artma eğilimindedir.

Çalışmanın dördüncü hipotezi sistem duygularının sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri ve sistem düzeyindeki eğilim ve davranışlar arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık edeceğidir. Söz konusu hipotezin test edilmesi amacıyla, ulusal sistem ve ekonomik sistem duyguları için iki ayrı yol (path) analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, öncelikle bağımsız değişkenlerden aracı değişkenlere ve bağımlı değişkenlere olan

ilişkiler, ayrıca aracı değişkenlerden bağımlı değişkenlere olan ilişkiler tanımlanmıştır. Daha sonra ilgili modelde istatistiksel olarak anlamsız olan bütün bağlantılar (beta değerleri) tek tek çıkarılarak model sürekli olarak yeniden test edilmiştir. Bu süreç içerisinde, eğer modifikasyon endeksinde her hangi bir ilişkinin yeniden anlamlı olabileceği görülürse, bu ilişki tekrar model içerisinde tanımlanmıştır. En son model sadece anlamlı olan ilişkilerden oluşmaktadır.

Sonuçlar, ulusal sistem duyguları ve ekonomik sistem duyguları için test edilen her iki modelin de uyum endekslerinin olması gereken aralıklarda olduğunu göstermiştir. Her iki modelde de sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri (ulusal sistem duyguları modelinde genel sistemi meşrulaştırma ve kapitalist ekonomi sistem duyguları modelinde ise ekonomik sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri) sistem duygularını yordamakta ve sistem duyguları da sistem düzeyindeki niyet ve eylemleri yordamaktadır. Buna göre, genel sistemi meşrulaştırma negatif sistem duyguları ($\beta = -.53$) ve sistem düzeyindeki eğilimler ($\beta = -.34$) üzerinde doğrudan etkiye sahiptir, olumsuz ulusal sistem duyguları da sistem düzeyindeki davranışları anlamlı düzeyde yordamaktadır ($\beta = .27$). Benzer olarak, ekonomik sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi de hem olumlu ($\beta = .35$) hem de olumsuz ($\beta = -.36$) kapitalist ekonomi duygular ile sistem düzeyindeki eğilim ($\beta = -.56$) ve davranışlar ($\beta = -.24$) üzerinde doğrudan etkiye sahiptir. Sistem düzeyindeki duygular üzerinde olumsuz kapitalist ekonomi duygularının doğrudan etkisi de mevcuttur ($\beta = .20$). Söz konusu bulgular, sistem duygularının aracı rolüne işaret etmektedir.

Son olarak, duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistem duyguları ile ilişkisi incelenmiştir. Öncelikle, sistemle ilişkili duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin sistem düzeyindeki duygularla ilişkisi araştırılmıştır. Yapılan z-testi analizlerine göre sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin sistem duyguları ile ilişkilerinin, birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin sistem düzeyindeki duygularla ilişkilerinden farklı olmadığı bulunmuştur, dolayısıyla Hipotez 5a desteklenememiştir. Buna karşın Hipotez 5b doğrultusunda, birey düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisinin düşük düzeyde olumlu duygu bildirimi ile ilişki olduğu ($r = -.31, p < .001$) ancak sistem düzeyindeki bastırmanın ise düşük düzeyde kızgınlık duygusu ($r = -.15, p = .06$) ile (marjinal düzeyde anlamlı) ilişkisi bulunmuştur. Buna karşın, Hipotez 5c ile karşıt olarak, yine yapılan z-testi sonuçları,

sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejileri ile ilişkisinin, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın sistem düzeyindeki stratejilerle ilişkisinden anlamlı düzeyde farklılaşmadığını göstermiştir.

Bunun yanı sıra, sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin düzenleyici rolünün test edilmesi için hiyerarşik regresyon yapılmış, regresyonun ilk basamağına birey ve sistem duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin ana etkileri, ikinci basamağa genel sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi ve üçüncü basamağa da genel sistemi meşrulaştırmanın sistem ve birey duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle iki yönlü ortak etkileri dahil edilmiştir. Söz konusu model sadece ulusal sistem duyguları için test edilmiştir. Sonuçlar sadece olumsuz sistem duygularına ve ulusal sistemden kaynaklanana üzüntü duygusunda sistem düzeyindeki bastırmanın düzenleyici rolüne işaret etmektedir. Başka bir deyişle, sistemle ilişkili bastırma stratejisi, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın ve sistem duyguları arasındaki ilişkide tampon görevi görmektedir.

Çalışma 2

Çalışma 2, sistem duygularının özelliklerinin Türkiye kültüründe test edilmesine dayanmaktadır. Türkiye kültürü Amerikan kültüründen farklı sosyal, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik koşullara sahiptir (bkz. Hofstede, 2015; OECD Factbook, 2010, Taydas, Akbaba, & Morrison, 2012; Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). İkinci çalışmanın, amacı araştırma hipotezlerinin Türkiye örnekleminde araştırılmasıdır.

Yöntem

Katılımcılar

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nde üniversite öğrencisi olan 88 kadın ve 39 erkek, ve cinsiyetini belirtmemiş olan 2 kişi olmak üzere toplam 129 kişi oluşturmaktadır. Katılımcıların yaşı 19 ve 30 arasında değişmektedir ($M = 21.53$, $SD = 1.85$).

Uygulama ve Araçlar

Çalışma 2'de Çalışma 1'de uygulanan aynı prosedür uygulanmıştır. Katılımcılar Çalışma 1'de uygulanan aynı ölçekleri doldurmuşlardır. Ölçekler ilk önce İngilizceden Türkçeye çevrilmiş ve çevirinin yetkinliği sosyal psikoloji alanında doktora derecesine sahip üç araştırmacı tarafından gözden geçirilmiştir. Ölçme araçları Türkiye bağlamına uyarlanmıştır. Buna göre, üniversite grup

duyguları ODTÜ bağlamında, ulusal sistem duyguları Türkiye'nin sistem ve düzeni bağlamında ölçülmüştür. Sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenlemesinde ise Türkiye'nin sistem ve düzenine yönelik duygu düzenleme stratejileri ölçülmüştür.

Bulgular

Çalışma hipotezleri Çalışma 1'de kullanılan aynı analiz yöntemleriyle test edilmiştir. Çalışmanın birinci hipotezi (H1a) doğrultusunda, yüksek sosyoekonomik statüye sahip katılımcılar ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.27$), düşük sosyal ekonomik statüye sahip olanlara ($M = 4.35$, $SD = 1.40$), kıyasla marjinal düzeyde daha düşük negatif kapitalist ekonomi duyguları bildirmiştir ($F(1, 126) = 3.44$, $p = .07$). Ayrıca, Hipotez 1b doğrultusunda, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğiliminin sistem duygularından üzüntü ve SES arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlediği bulunmuştur. Buna göre, yüksek sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerine sahip olanlar arasında statü grupları anlamlı düzeyde birbirinden farklılaşmazken ($t(122) = -.06$, ns), düşük sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimine sahip olanlarda, düşük SES'dekiler yüksek SES'dekilere kıyasla daha fazla sistem temelli üzüntü bildirmiştir ($t(122) = -2.61$, $p < .05$).

Yine, çalışmanın ikinci hipotezi de doğrulanmıştır. Buna göre, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin grubun meşrulaştırılması eğilimlerine kıyasla sistem duygularını güçlü bir şekilde yordadığı bulunmuştur. Ayrıca, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın acıları hafifletici işlevi doğrultusunda, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri arttıkça katılımcıların hem ulusal hem de ekonomik statükoya yönelik olumlu duygularının arttığı buna karşın olumsuz duygularının azaldığı gözlenmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü hipotezi doğrultusunda, sistem duygularının kolektif eylemlerle ilgili niyet ve davranışlarla ilişkisi bulunmuştur. Sonuçlar, özellikle de olumsuz kapitalist ekonomi sistem duygularının sistem düzeyindeki eğilimleri yordadığını göstermiştir ($\beta = .43$). Buna göre olumsuz sistem duyguları arttıkça kolektif eylemlere katılma isteği azalmaktadır.

Yine, çalışmanın dördüncü hipotezi doğrultusunda, yol analizi sonuçlarına göre, olumlu ulusal sistem duygularının genel sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi ve sistemle ilişkili eğilimler arasında aracı rolü saptanmıştır (*dolaylı etki* = $-.18$, $t = -3.17$, $p < .05$). Buna karşın, olumsuz kapitalist ekonomi duygularının ekonomik sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistem düzeyindeki eğilimler (*dolaylı etki* = $-.21$, $t = -4.02$,

$p < .05$) ile davranışlar (*dolaylı etki* = -.14, $t = -2.95$, $p < .05$) arasında tam aracılık etkisi bulgulanmıştır.

Çalışmanın beşinci hipotezi doğrultusunda, Hipotez 5a ile tutarlı olarak korelasyon analizi sonuçları sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejilerine kıyasla, sistem düzeyindeki duygularla daha güçlü bir ilişkiye sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Hipotez 5b doğrultusunda da sistemle ilişkili bastırmanın daha fazla olumlu ve daha az olumsuz sistem duygularıyla ilişkili olduğu, ancak birey düzeyindeki bastırmanın daha az olumlu ve daha fazla olumsuz birey duygularıyla bağlantısı saptanmıştır.

Hipotez 5c yönünde, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin sistem düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle olan ilişkilerinin birey düzeyindeki duygu düzenleme stratejileriyle ilişkilerinden daha güçlü olduğu saptanmıştır. Son olarak da, Hipotez 5d doğrultusunda, sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisinin sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi ile sistem duyguları (olumlu sistem duyguları, olumsuz sistem duyguları, kızgınlık, üzüntü, suçluluk/utanma ve mutluluk) arasında düzenleyici bir değişken olarak işlev gördüğü bulgulanmıştır.

Çalışma 3

Çalışma 3'ün amacı sistem düzeyindeki duyguların özelliklerini bu duyguların doğal olarak yaşandığı sosyal bağlamda test etmektir. Bu nedenle Çalışma 3'de, sistem düzeyindeki duyguların özellikleri 2013 Gezi olayları sırasında incelenmektedir. Protestolar duyguların yoğun yaşandığı süreçlerdir ve duygular sosyal protestolarda çok önemli bir yer tutar (bkz. Goodwin & Jasper, 2007), bu nedenle Çalışma 3, bulguların geçerliğini arttıracaktır.

Yöntem

Katılımcılar

Çalışmanın katılımcılarını, 155 kadın ve 67 erkek ve cinsiyetini belirtmemiş olan 2 kişi olmak üzere toplam 1224 kişi oluşturmaktadır. Katılımcıların yaşı 16 ve 56 arasında değişmektedir ($M = 28.59$, $SD = 7.18$).

Uygulama ve Araçlar

Söz konusu çalışmada kullanılan ölçme araçları Çalışma 2 ile aynıdır. Çalışma 2'den farklı olarak, Çalışma 3'de sadece politik parti grubuna yönelik grup duyguları ve ulusal sistem duyguları ölçülmüştür. Ayrıca, sistem düzeyindeki eğilimler ve

davranışlarla ilgili Çalışma 2'deki ölçme araçları Gezi Parkı olaylarına göre uyarlanmıştır. Söz konusu çalışma Haziran 19 ve Temmuz 17, 2013 tarihleri arasında yapılmıştır.

Bulgular

Çalışmanın birinci hipotezi ile tutarlı olarak (H1a), yüksek SES'ye sahip katılımcılar $M = 2.46$, $SD = .79$) düşük SES'ye sahip olanlara ($M = 2.26$, $SD = .87$) kıyasla marjinal düzeyde daha olumlu sistem duyguları bildirmiştir $F(1, 222) = 3.21$, $p = .08$). Bunun yanı sıra, Hipotez 1b ile tutarlı olarak sistemi meşrulaştırma eğiliminin bir yandan SES ve sistem duyguları (olumsuz sistem duyguları, korku/kaygı ve üzüntü arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlediği görülmüştür).

Çalışmanın ikinci hipotezi ile tutarlı olarak da sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimleri grubu meşrulaştırma eğilimlerine göre sistem duygularını daha güçlü bir şekilde yordamaktadır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü hipotezi yönünde, birey ve grup duygularının kontrol edildiği analizde, olumlu ve olumsuz sistem duygularının Gezi olaylarına katılma isteğini ve katılma davranışını olumlu yönde yordadığı bulunmuştur. Özellikle de olumsuz sistem duyguları kolektif eylemlerde kritik bir değişkendir.

Çalışmanın dördüncü hipotezi doğrulanarak, olumsuz sistem duygularının sistemi meşrulaştırma ve sistemle ilişkili eğilimler (*dolaylı etki* = $-.08$, $t = -2.95$, $p < .05$) ve davranışlarla ilişkisinde kısmi aracılık rolü bulgulanmıştır (*dolaylı etki* = $-.08$, $t = -2.82$, $p < .05$).

Çalışmanın son hipotezlerinden sistem düzeyindeki bastırma stratejisinin düzenleyici rolü bu çalışmada saptanmamıştır, dolayısıyla da Hipotez 5d desteklenmemiştir.

Çalışma 4

Çalışma 4'ün amacı sistem düzeyindeki duyguların özelliklerine deneysel bir araştırma deseni ile test etmektir. Bu çalışmada, sistemi meşrulaştırma güdüsünün sistem düzeyindeki duygular üzerindeki etkisi birey ve grup güdülerini kontrol edilerek incelenmiştir. İlk üç çalışmada, sistemi meşrulaştırma değişkeni bireysel bir fark değişkeni olarak ölçülürken, bu çalışmada deneysel olarak manipüle edilmiştir

Katılımcılar

241 Abbant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi öğrencisi çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Katılımcılardan 171'i kadın, 59'u erkek ve 1 kişi cinsiyetini belirtmemiştir.

Uygulama ve Araçlar

Söz konusu araştırma 40 dakikalık bir sınıf uygulaması olarak yapılmıştır. İlk olarak katılımcılar Türkiye'deki sistemden kaynaklanan toplumsal sorunları vurgulayan ve sistemin tehdit altında olduğu mesajını veren bir sistem-tehdidi makalesini okumuşlardır (Kay et al., 2005). Söz konusu makalenin bir yabancı gazeteci tarafından yazıldığı söylenmiş olup, Türkiye bağlamına uyarlanmıştır. Sistem tehdidi makalesinin kullanılmasının amacı kişinin sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonunu arttırmaktır.

Makaleyi okuduktan sonra katılımcılar, sistemi doğrulayıcı koşul, grubu doğrulayıcı koşul, bireyi doğrulayıcı koşul ve kontrol koşulu olmak üzere dört koşuldan birine atanmıştır. Sistemi doğrulayıcı koşulda, katılımcılardan, Türkiye'nin sistem ve düzeninin 5 olumlu özelliğini sıralamaları ve bu özellikler hakkında kısa bir yazı yazmaları istenmiştir. Grubu doğrulama koşulunda ise katılımcılara Abbant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi öğrencisi olmanın 5 olumlu özelliğini sıralamaları ve bunun hakkında kısa bir yazı yazmaları söylenmiştir. Benzer olarak, birey koşundakiler kişilikleri hakkında 5 olumlu özellik sıralamışlar ve yazı yazmışlardır. Kontrol koşundakiler ise 5 günlük aktiviteyi sıralamışlar ve bunun hakkında bir yazı yazmışlardır. Söz konusu deneysel manipülasyondan sonra katılımcılar Çalışma 3'de kullanılan ve Genel Sistemi Meşrulaştırma Ölçeğini, birey, grup (üniversite grubu), ve ulusal sistem duygularını, duygu düzenleme stratejilerini ve sistem düzeyindeki eğilimleri içeren ölçek bataryasını doldurmuşlardır. Deney bitikten sonra, katılımcılar araştırma hakkında bilgilendirilmiştir.

Bulgular

İlk olarak, deneysel manipülasyonun sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerini arttırıp arttırmadığı incelenmiştir. Bulgular, sistemi doğrulama koşulundaki katılımcıların ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.92$), grubu doğrulama ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.71$) ve bireyi doğrulama ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.73$) koşundakilere göre daha yüksek sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerine sahip olduklarını göstermiştir. Bu sonuç araştırma manipülasyonun işlediğini göstermektedir.

Çalışmanın sonuçlarından biri, sistemi doğrulayıcı koşulda olanların diğer koşullara göre (1 = sistemi doğrulayıcı koşul; 0 = diğer deneysel koşullar), daha fazla olumlu ($F(1, 230) = 5.80, p < .05$) ve daha az olumsuz ($F(1, 230) = 7.02, p < .05$) sistem duyguları bildirmeleridir. Söz konusu bulgular çalışmanın ikinci hipotezle tutarlıdır.

Çalışmanın en çarpıcı sonuçlarından biri, sistemi doğrulayıcı koşulundakilerin ($M = 4.61, SD = 1.70$), bireyi ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.37$) ve grubu ($M = 5.42, SD = 1.21$), doğrulayıcı koşulundakilere ve kontrol koşulundakilere ($M = 5.15, SD = 1.46$) göre kolektif eylemlere daha fazla katılma istediği bildirmeleridir ($F(3, 230) = 2.89, p < .05$). Söz konusu sonuçlar, sistem tehdit altındayken, sistemi meşrulaştırmanın sosyal değişime ket vurduğunu göstermektedir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü hipotezi yönünde, özellikle de olumsuz sistem duygularının kolektif eylemlere katılma isteğini yordadığı gözlenmiştir ($\beta = .30$). Yine, olumsuz sistem duyguları sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi ve kolektif eylemlere katılma isteği arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık etmektedir (*dolaylı etki* = .08, $t = 2.52, p < .05$). Son olarak da, Hipotez 5d doğrultusunda, sistem düzeyinde bastırma stratejini kullanmanın deneysel koşullar (1 = sistemi doğrulama koşulu; 0 = diğer deneysel koşullar) ve sistem duyguları arasındaki ilişkiyi (olumsuz sistem duyguları, korku/kaygı, üzüntü) düzenlediği bulgulanmıştır.

Tartışma ve Son Söz

Duygular sosyal ve politik olguların anlaşılmasında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Psikologlar genellikle duyguları birey ya da grup düzeyinde incelemiş ve duyguların sosyal sistem, politikayapı ve ideoloji gibi süreçlerle ilişkileri üzerinde daha az durmuştur. Solak ve arkadaşları (2012) ise mevcut literatürdeki duygu çalışmalarını sistem bakış açısından yeniden ele alarak duyguları sistem düzeyinde tanımlamıştır. Bu tanımlamanın en önemli ayağı sistemi meşrulaştırma kuramına dayanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, duygular sistem düzeyinde yeniden ele alınmış ve duyguların kişinin sosyal konumundan etkilendiği, toplumdaki ideolojileri yansıttığı ve kolektif eyleme katılımı etkilediği gösterilmiştir. Ayrıca, sistem duygularının sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi ile kollektif eylem ve niyelerle ilişkisinde aracı rolü bulunmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra, duygu düzenleme stratejileri, sistem duyguları ve sistemi meşrulaştırma

eğilimleri arasındaki ilişki de incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın hipotezleri dört çalışmanın bulguları tarafından genellikle desteklenmiştir.

Çarpıcı sonuçlar arasında, dört çalışmada da sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimlerinin özellikle de SES ve sistemden kaynaklanan üzüntü arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlediği görülmüştür. Bu durumun olası nedenlerinden biri üzüntü duygusunu ifade eden kişilerin karar verme süreçlerinde daha detaylı düşünme eğiliminde olmalarıdır. Başka bir deyişle üzüntü duygusu , diğer duygulara göre statükoya ilişkin doğru algılarla daha yakından ilişkilidir. Örneğin, geçmiş çalışmalarda üzüntü duygusunu arttırmanın sahte bellek yanlışlıklarını azalttığı görülmüştür (Storbeck & Clore, 2005, p. 785)

Çalışmanın diğer bir çarpıcı sonucu ise sistemi meşrulaştırma motivasyonunun grubu ve bireyi meşrulaştırma motivasyonlarına göre kolektif eylemlere katılma isteğini (Çalışma 4) arttırmasıdır. Bu sonuç, sistemi doğrulama sürecinin sistemi meşrulaştırma güdüsünü tatmin etmede ve sosyal değişime ket vurmada güçlü bir araç olduğunu göstermektedir (bkz. ayrıca Feygina, 2012).

Yine bu çalışmada, statükoya yönelik bastırma stratejisini kullanmanın sistemin adil olmadığını düşünenlerde dahi sistemden kaynaklanan olumsuz duyguları azalttığı görülmüştür. Bu sonuç, sistem bağlamında duygu düzenleme stratejisini kullanmanın sosyal düzenin ve statükonun sürdürülmesinde önemli bir işlev gördüğüne işaret etmektedir.

Söz konusu çalışmanın bazı sınırlılıkları mevcuttur. Bu sınırlılıklardan biri de dört çalışmanın açık ölçümler olarak değerlendirilmesidir, gelecek çalışmalarda örtük ölçümler kullanılarak sistem düzeyindeki duygular, sistemi meşrulaştırma eğilimi, duygu düzenlemesi ve kolektif eylemlerle ilgili tutum ve davranışlar arasındaki ilişkiler incelenebilir. Çalışmanın diğer bir sınırlılığı, söz konusu çalışmaların genelde olumlu ya da olumsuz duygu boyutu üzerinde durmasıdır. Halbuki kızgınlık, utanma, suçluluk, korku, kaygı ve üzüntü duyguları birbirinden farklı işlevlere ve sonuçlara sahiptir (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). Bu durum, gelecekte spesifik duyguların birey, grup ve sistem düzeyinde karşılaştırılmasının gerekliliğine işaret etmektedir. Yine, diğer bir sınırlılık da sosyal statü ile ilgili ölçümlerin kişinin kendisinin bildirmesine dayanan ölçümler olmasıdır. Gelecek

alışmalarda, sosyal statü deęiřkeni manipüle edilerek, sistem duyguları ve sosyal statü arasındaki iliřki daha ayrıntılı incelenmelidir.

Söz konusu alışmanın duygu literatürüne katkılarından biri, duyguları birey ve grup düzeyinden sistem-düzeyine genişletmesi ve sistem duygularının karakteristikleri için empirik destek sağlamasıdır. alışmanın dięer bir katkısı ise duygu düzenleme stratejilerinin sistemi meşrulaştırma süreçlerindeki rolünü göstermesidir. Sistemi meşrulaştırma ve duygu düzenlemesi arasındaki iliřkiye deęinen bulgular sadece sistemi meşrulaştırma literatürüne deęil aynı zamanda duygu düzenlemesi literatürüne de katkı sağlayacaktır. Son olarak da, duyguların sistem düzeyinde ele alınmasının uzun vadede psikoloji ve sosyoloji literatürüne önemli katkılar yapacağı söylenebilir. Bu vesileyle hem duygular üzerinde sosyal yapının etkisini görmezden gelen psikologlar hem de sosyal yapı ve duygular arasında iliřki kurmasına karşın bunların bilişsel, motivasyonel ve fizyolojik süreçlerle bağlantısına deęinmeyen sosyologlar arasında yeni bir köprü kurulmuş olacaktır. Umuyorum ki mevcut alışma sosyal deęişimin dinamiklerinin daha iyi anlaşılmasına katkı sağlayacaktır.

Appendix C

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Solak Nevin
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 15 November, 1980 Bulgaria
email: e168718@metu.edu.tr, nevin.solak@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MA	Ege University, Turkey, Social Psychology,	2008
BA	Ege University, Turkey, Psychology,	2004
High School	Kılıç Arslan Süper Lisesi	1999

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2014March-	Interdisciplinary Research Center (IDC), Herzliya, Israel & The Hebrew University of Jerusalem,	Researcher
2011 September-	Jerusalem, Israel	Visiting Student
2012 September	New York University, Department of Psychology, USA	

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Advanced Bulgarian, Advanced in Macedonian, Basic in Russian

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Political psychology, emotion, emotion regulation, system justification, social status, social justice

SUPPORTS AND AWARDS

2014: International Society for Justice Research Conference, ISJR, Travel Award
2011-2012: Visiting student, New York University, Department of Psychology, USA, TÜBİTAK International PhD Fellowship Programme.
2007–2008 (6 months): Erasmus Exchange Student, Ruhr University, Psychology Faculty, Bochum, Germany.

PUBLICATIONS

Sümer, N., Solak, N., & Sümer, N. (2013). *İşsiz yaşam: İşsizliğin ve iş güvencesizliğinin birey ve aile üzerindeki etkileri*. Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul. [Effects of Unemployment and Job Insecurity on Individuals and Families. Koç University Press: İstanbul]

Solak, N., Jost, J. T., Sümer, N., & Clore, G. (2012). Rage against the machine: The case for system-level emotions. *Social Psychology and Personality Compass*, 6, 674-690.

Solak, N., & Göregenli, M. (2009). Yoksulluğa İlişkin Nedensel Atıflar Ölçeği'nin geliştirilmesi ve psikometrik özelliklerinin değerlendirilmesi. *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları*, 12 (24), 72-93. [Development and evaluation of the psychometric properties of Attributions for Poverty Scale, *Turkish Psychological Articles*, 12 (24), 72-93]

POSTERS AND PRESENTATIONS

Papers Presented

Solak, N., Jost, J. T., & Sümer, N. (2014). System justification undermines participation in collective action: The mediating role of system-level emotions. International Society of Political Psychology 37th Annual Scientific Meeting, Rome, Italy.

Solak, N., Jost, J. T., & Sümer, N. (2014). Effects of system justification on emotions in collective protests. 17th European Association of Social Psychology General Meeting, Amsterdam, Holland.

Solak, N., Jost, J. T., & Sümer, N. (2014). Effects of System Justification on Emotions in Collective Protests , 15th The Biennial Conference of the International Society for Justice Research, New York City, USA.

Solak, N., Jost J. T., & Sümer, N. (2013). Affective underpinnings of system justification and the characteristics of system-level emotions. International Society of Political Psychology 36th Annual Scientific Meeting, Herzliya, Israel.

Solak, N., Jost J. T., & Sümer, N. (2013). Affective underpinnings of system justification and the characteristics of system-level emotions. International Society of Political Psychology 36th Annual Scientific Meeting, Herzliya, Israel.

Solak, N., Jost J. T., & Sümer, N. (2013). Affective underpinnings of system justification and the characteristics of system-level emotions. International Society of Political Psychology 36th Annual Scientific Meeting, Herzliya, Israel.

Solak, N., Jost J. T., & Sümer, N. (2013). Affective underpinnings of system justification and the characteristics of system-level emotions. International Society of Political Psychology 36th Annual Scientific Meeting, Herzliya, Israel.

Hennes, E. P., Solak, N., Sürenkök, G., & Jost, J. T. (2012). For Allah and country: The impact of dual systems on women's rights in Turkey. Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues 2012 Biennial Conference, Charlotte, NC.

Hennes, E. P., Solak, N., Sürenkök, G., & Jost, J. T. (2012). For Allah and country: The impact of dual systems on women's rights in Turkey. International Society of political psychology 35th Annual Scientific Meeting, Chicago, IL.

Solak, N., Sümer, N., & Harma, N. (2011). The effects of unemployment and job insecurity on health and family relations. 12th European Congress of Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.

Solak, N., & Sümer, N. (2011). Familial stressors as risk factors for attachment anxiety and avoidance. 12th European Congress of Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.

Türkeş, M., Solak, N., & Öztürk, F. (2009). The study topics of social sciences in yesterday, today, and future. XII. National Social Science Congress, Ankara, Turkey.

Solak, N., & Göregenli, M. (2008). The effects of socioeconomic status and sociopolitical ideologies on the evaluations of poverty. XV. National Psychology Congress, Istanbul, Turkey.

Göregenli, M., Solak, N., & İyilikci, O. (2008). Exploring the attitudes towards accession of Turkey to the European Union in the framework of intergroup relations. XV. National Psychology Congress, Istanbul, Turkey.

Solak, N. (2007). Causal attributions for poverty in Turkey. First Graduate Psychology Students Congress, Izmir, Turkey.

Solak, N. (2006). Irresistible lightness of believing in a just world: Belief in a just world in social psychology. II. Meeting of Graduate Students, Muğla, Turkey.

Poster Presentations

Solak, N., Sümer, N., & Harma, M. (2012). Unemployment and life satisfaction: Moderating effects of perceived employability and social support. 2012 The Society for Personality and Social Psychology Thirteen Annual Meeting, San Diego, California, USA.

Hennes, E., Solak, N., Sürenkök, G., & Jost, J. T. (2012). For Allah and country: The impact of dual systems on women's rights in Turkey. 2012 The Society for Personality and Social Psychology Thirteen Annual Meeting, San Diego, California, USA.

Tüzer, M., Karaşar, A., Özcan, S., Bozkurt, İ., & Solak, N. (2007). The evaluations of wealth and wealthy. First Graduate Psychology Students Congress, Izmir, Turkey.

Pinarligil, B., & Solak, N. (2006). Social representation of cancer illness. XIV. National Psychology Congress, Ankara, Turkey.

Solak, N., & Karakuş, P. (2006). Social psychological background of homophobia. XIV. National Psychology Congress, Ankara, Turkey.

Appendix D

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : SOLAK NEVİN

Bölümü : PSYCHOLOGY

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : THE ROLE OF EMOTIONS AND EMOTION
REGULATION IN THE SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION PROCESS

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐

Doktora ☒

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: