AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology:
Attitudes and Social Cognition

ISSN: 0022-3514

https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000456

Savvy or Savage? How Worldviews Shape Appraisals of Antagonistic Leaders

Christine Q. Nguyen and Daniel R. Ames
Columbia Business School, Columbia University

Existing theories present a mixed account of how perceivers' views of a target person's antagonism relate to their perceptions of the target's general competence and leadership effectiveness. We argue that, rather than being universal, the relationship between these perceptions varies according to perceivers' idiosyncratic worldviews. In particular, we theorize and find across seven studies (total $N = 2{,}065$) that competitive worldview (CWV) serves as a lens through which perceivers interpret and evaluate others' antagonistic behavior. Our studies reveal that those who see the social world as a competitive jungle (i.e., high CWV) have more positive views of the competence and leadership of antagonistic individuals than those who see the social world as cooperative and benign (i.e., low CWV). We also find that CWV shapes the antagonism that perceivers attribute, post hoc, to successful leaders during their rise to the top. Finally, we consider workplace implications, finding that CWV moderates the relationship between managers' antagonistic behavior and a range of employee outcomes, including motivation and job satisfaction. Overall, we argue that individuals' folk theories of the social world (and CWV in particular) can help scholars more fully understand how basic dimensions of social perception relate to one another across perceivers. Practically, worldview-dependent social perception might help explain how and why potentially antagonistic leaders might be excused, tolerated, or even endorsed by the people around them.

Statement of Limitations

The current research is not without shortcomings. First, our studies relied primarily on online samples. Second, our studies relied primarily on U.S. samples; it is possible that results differ in other populations. Third, all our studies used survey measures; we did not include measures of behavior. Fourth, we focused primarily on workplace contexts and perceptions of organizational leaders and did not assess other contexts.

Keywords: person perception, impression formation, folk theories, competitive worldview, leadership appraisal

Supplemental materials: https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000456.supp

Not long ago, a manager at an Olive Garden restaurant in Kansas was alarmed by the number of workers canceling shifts or not showing up. In response, the manager broadcast a sharply worded message, warning employees that "if you call off, you might as well go out and look for another job. We are no longer tolerating ANY excuse," and noting that "Us, collectively as a management team have had enough. If you don't want to work here, don't." The message was picked up and circulated by news outlets across the country, evoking a range of reactions. Some individuals were appalled by the manager's harshness; others applauded the message. One observer commented, "This manager doesn't know what he's doing." Another swooned, "I wish there were more managers like this."[1]

What explains the diversity of reactions to the manager's behavior? Why did some people take this antagonistic message as a sign of ineptitude, whereas others saw it as an exemplar of savvy leadership? Behind these questions lurks a larger matter that has engaged generations of social scientists: How do perceptions of a

[1] Sample comments from our pilot data.

Xi Zou served as action editor.

Christine Q. Nguyen https://orcid.org/0009-0003-2618-0185
Daniel R. Ames https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4630-5956

Preregistrations, study materials, data sets, and R scripts are made available on ResearchBox at https://researchbox.org/2201&PEER_REVIEW_passcode=GQRZDC. No published work currently exists using the same data (in whole or in part).

The authors thank David Daniels, Jon Freeman, Tory Higgins, Polly Kang, and Eric Knowles for their helpful comments on this research and article.

Christine Q. Nguyen played a lead role in data curation, formal analysis, investigation, validation, visualization, and writing–original draft and an equal role in conceptualization, methodology, project administration, and writing–review and editing. Daniel R. Ames played a lead role in funding acquisition and supervision and an equal role in conceptualization, methodology, project administration, and writing–review and editing.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Christine Q. Nguyen, Columbia Business School, Columbia University, Kravis 390, 665 West 130th Street, New York, NY 10027, United States. Email: cqn2101@columbia.edu

target person's antagonistic behavior shape evaluations of their competence and effectiveness?

Scholarly answers vary. Some traditions of work view judgments of antagonism and competence as largely unrelated. Others posit a positive link—or a negative one. We argue that past work has overlooked an important piece of the puzzle: perceivers' idiosyncratic worldviews. We propose that those who see the social world as a "competitive jungle" tend to attach greater value to antagonism, responding with heightened tolerance or even appreciation for leaders who show it. Those who see the world as collaborative and caring, on the other hand, may often view antagonistic leaders as hopelessly misguided and ineffective.

In this article, we present novel evidence that idiosyncratic worldviews shape how perceptions of antagonism translate into perceptions of (in)competence. Using naturally existing variance in beliefs as well as experimentally manipulated attitudes, we show evidence of "worldview moderation" effects in a range of contexts, including reactions to experimentally controlled scenarios, judgments of celebrated CEOs, participants' attitudes about their own real-world managers—and evaluations of the Olive Garden manager. Our findings may help explain how and why antagonistic leaders might be endured, excused, or even celebrated by those who work with or under them, allowing them to attain and remain in positions of influence. More broadly, our sociofunctional account invites a new look at how general views of the social world may serve as lenses for the perception and evaluation of specific behavior and individuals.

Antagonism/Affiliation as a Broad Spectrum of Behavior

Antagonistic behaviors inhabit one end of a spectrum portrayed by a number of scholarly traditions as a "fundamental" dimension of social judgment (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007). On that end of the spectrum are behaviors and people variously seen as mean, tough, forceful, coercive, intimidating, aggressive, and disagreeable. On the other end are acts and individuals seen as affiliative, kind, agreeable, nice, communal, and tender-minded (e.g., Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Fiske et al., 2002, 2007; Gebauer et al., 2013; Jeong et al., 2019; John & Srivastava, 1999; Wiggins, 1979).

Across various traditions in social/personality psychology and organizational behavior, similar conceptualizations of this antagonism–affiliation dimension have emerged. Noting the substantial overlap among these various terms, here we take a broad and inclusive view of *antagonism*, conceptualizing it as coercive, harsh, intimidating behavior enacted in an attempt to advance some instrumental goal. Antagonistic individuals deal forcefully with others to get their desired outcomes. We use *affiliation*, on the other hand, to refer to behaviors that are warm, communal, friendly, and sympathetic. While different traditions have different labels for the behavior space we consider here, we believe they all suggest the presence of an antagonism–affiliation dimension reflecting everyday perceptions of how a person relates to those around them. We put this dimension in the context of other related constructs, such as assertiveness, dominance, and incivility, in the Appendix (see Table A1).

The Perceived Relationship Between Antagonism/Affiliation and Effectiveness

Although people readily perceive behaviors and individuals along an antagonism–affiliation spectrum, it is less well understood how evaluations on this dimension affect other social judgments, particularly perceptions of effectiveness. This is the primary focus of the present research, which we consider in the context of the workplace.[2] Specifically, we examine people's perceptions of the general competence, as well as the leadership effectiveness, of managers and leaders in organizations who display various levels of antagonism.[3] This allows us to position our claims and evidence in the context of prior scholarship on everyday person perception as well as on organizational behavior and leadership evaluations. Past work offers an incomplete and sometimes seemingly contradictory portrait. We briefly address three "main effect" possibilities before detailing our own account, which revolves around a novel moderator: social worldviews.

Some scholars have argued that perceptions of antagonism and competence are largely *unrelated* to one another, each following its own distinct inferential path. Some work finds no correlation between ratings of warmth/communion and competence/agency, suggesting orthogonal dimensions (e.g., Cuddy et al., 2009; Fiske et al., 2002; Wojciszke, 2005; see Abele & Wojciszke, 2014, for a review). A number of studies on perceptions of leaders have also found no link between agreeableness and leadership emergence, leadership effectiveness, or elevated status or power (Anderson et al., 2001, 2020; Judge et al., 2002). Thus, perceived affiliation or antagonism may be unrelated to both perceived general competence and perceived leadership effectiveness.

On the other hand, as early as Rosenberg et al.'s (1968) seminal work on the structure of personality impressions, perceived antagonism has been posited to be negatively related to perceived competence. Another possibility, then, is an *antagonism penalty*, such that antagonistic individuals are seen as less competent and effective than affiliative ones. Consistent with this possibility, some social perception research has found positive correlations between agency/competence and communion/warmth (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014; Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). One mechanism could be shared valence: People evaluate both high communion/warmth and high agency/competence favorably. This "halo effect" is consistent with work that has focused on liking and popularity, finding that people generally like and prefer warm and affiliative others (Abele & Brack, 2013; Casciaro & Lobo, 2008; Cheng et al., 2013; Frimer et al., 2015; Laustsen & Petersen, 2015). Likewise, some research suggests that agreeable individuals are more likely to emerge as leaders and be perceived as leaderlike (Blake et al., 2022; Wilmot & Ones, 2022). There is also evidence that antagonistic behaviors may diminish perceptions of competence and effectiveness (e.g., Anderson & Kilduff, 2009a) and that "hard" influence tactics such as pressure may beget resistance (e.g., Falbe & Yukl, 1992). In short, a number of research streams offer evidence suggesting that perceived affiliation behaviors support ascriptions of competence, effectiveness, and leadership—and that perceived antagonistic behaviors might undercut those inferences.

Other streams of work point in a seemingly opposite direction, suggesting a potential *antagonism advantage*, such that more antagonistic people are perceived to be more competent and capable.

[2] This article's focus is on everyday perceptions, not the "actual" relationship between behavior and effectiveness or competence.

[3] We focus on the antagonistic extreme of this range because we expect such behaviors lend themselves to divergent evaluations (see Ames, 2008, for a similar argument). We also explore perceptions of affiliation, aiming to better understand perceptions across the antagonism–affiliation spectrum.

Some work shows that, after controlling for valence, the correlations between agentic and communal personality traits become negative, suggesting that the underlying link between perceived antagonism and perceived competence may be positive (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, 2014; Suitner & Maass, 2008). Additionally, work on "compensatory" effects between warmth/communion and competence/agency suggests that high ratings on one dimension can prompt lower ratings on the other (Cuddy et al., 2011; Judd et al., 2005; Kervyn et al., 2008). Some evidence indicates a similar pattern in the leadership domain, such that leaders who seem considerate and interpersonally oriented may be perceived as less competent and effective in task performance (Gartzia & Baniandrés, 2016).

More generally, perceivers may use antagonism as a signal of competence and intelligence (Amabile, 1983; Anderson & Kilduff, 2009b; Stavrova & Ehlebracht, 2019)—akin to what some scholars have referred to as the "evil genius hypothesis" (Stellar & Willer, 2018). The appearance of competence that these individuals convey in turn may lead them to attain influence and social rank (whereas likeability may not; Anderson & Kilduff, 2009b; Cheng et al., 2013). Consistent with this, some work has found that people tend to view those who make negative and critical remarks as more powerful and better leaders (Chou, 2018). It has also been found that, under conditions of uncertainty, threat, and conflict, people tend to prefer dominant and punitive leaders (Gedik et al., 2023; Kakkar & Sivanathan, 2017; Laustsen & Petersen, 2017; Petersen & Laustsen, 2020; van Kleef et al., 2021; but see Hasty & Maner, 2025).

Moderated Perceptions: A Sociofunctional Account

In sum, past work presents a mixed and even contradictory picture of how perceptions of antagonism relate to perceptions of competence, with accounts variously suggesting a positive effect, a negative effect, or no systematic effect. In this article, we pursue a new approach, presenting an account revolving around a novel moderator rooted in perceivers' idiosyncratic worldviews. This sociofunctional account posits that perceivers evaluate other individuals and behaviors through the lens of how they (the perceivers) think the social world operates. We suggest that perceivers generally assume that competent others will recognize, and act on, what they think "works" in the social world and how they think the "game" of the social world operates. For example, if a perceiver believes the world requires and rewards antagonism, they will tend to assume someone acting that way is competent—and that someone acting in an affiliative way is naïve or foolish.

To test our account, we sought a construct that would capture perceivers' broad views of both the "game" and the "players" of the social world. Some constructs, such as generalized trust or cynicism, focus on beliefs about the players, describing views of human nature and what people are like. Other constructs, such as zero-sum beliefs (ZSB), focus on beliefs about the nature or rules of the game of the social world. While such dimensions are relevant, we searched for a broader construct that encapsulated beliefs about both the nature of the game of the social world and the players participating in it. We describe our choice in the following section.

Competitive Worldview

To capture individual differences relevant to whether antagonism and affiliation are effective strategies in the social world, we turned to *competitive worldview* (CWV). CWV represents a stance that the social world is "a competitive jungle characterized by a ruthless, amoral struggle for resources and power" (Duckitt et al., 2002, p. 78). Those high in CWV believe the social world to be competitive and cutthroat, whereas those low in CWV see it as cooperative and harmonious (Perry et al., 2013). In this way, CWV is conceptualized as a stable, coherent set of beliefs about both the social world and the people who inhabit it (Duckitt & Fisher, 2003; Ross, 1993). It provides a framework through which people interpret and respond to each other's actions.

We draw on CWV as part of a class of worldviews and folk theories, akin to primal world beliefs (Clifton et al., 2019), and perhaps upstream of more specific belief structures such as theories of power and mental models of conflict (Belmi & Laurin, 2016; Halevy et al., 2014; ten Brinke & Keltner, 2022), that capture people's idiosyncratic representations of how the social world works. (We describe CWV's relation to these and other related constructs in the Appendix; see Table A2). We suggest that CWV influences the types of behaviors that people consider to be appropriate and effective (though we note that CWV is not specific to social hierarchy, leadership/management, or the workplace). If one views the world as a place of competition and struggle, relatively antagonistic behaviors may be seen as adaptive or even necessary. Conversely, if one views the world as a place of mutually beneficial cooperation, then affiliative behaviors are likely to be effective—and antagonistic ones may be a sign of incompetence.

Predictions

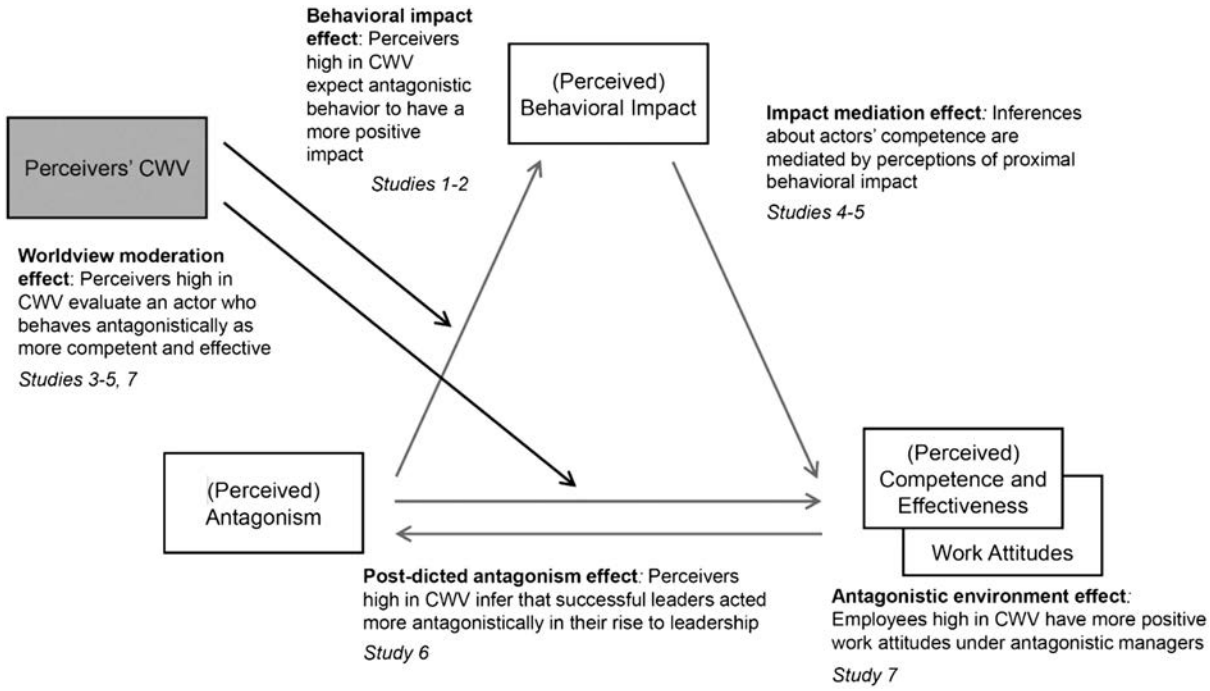
Our sociofunctional perspective yields five predictions that we subject to empirical test (see Figure 1). We begin with an underpinning regarding perceptions of behavioral impact: We predict that perceivers high in CWV evaluate antagonistic behavior as having a more positive impact (likely to produce the actor's desired outcome) than perceivers low in CWV (a *behavioral impact* effect). Our second prediction shifts to perceptions of individuals' competence: We expect that perceivers high in CWV, compared to those low in CWV, evaluate an actor who behaves antagonistically as more competent and effective (a *worldview moderation* effect). This effect, which appears not to have been documented previously, is our central claim.

Third, we posit that these inferences about actors' competence are mediated by perceptions of behavioral impact (an *impact mediation* effect). We also explore a possible alternative mediator: Participants high in CWV may simply have a more positive impression overall of antagonistic actors, leading to more positive competence evaluations (a *general halo mediation* alternative).

Fourth, we anticipate that the inferential path described above can run in the opposite direction, not just from observed behavior to intuited effectiveness but also from observed effectiveness to intuited (prior) behavior. We predict that perceivers high (compared to low) in CWV are more likely to infer that a successful leader more frequently acted antagonistically in their rise to leadership ("If they got this far, they must have been tough along the way"), and that antagonistic behavior had a more positive impact on their success ("It is *because* they were tough that they got this far"; a *post-dicted antagonism* effect).

Last, we expect that employees' reactions to their own leaders' antagonistic behavior vary according to the employees' worldviews. We predict that employees high in CWV have more positive work

Figure 1
Overview of Theoretical Pathways and Studies



Note. CWV = competitive worldview.

attitudes, such as motivation and job satisfaction, under antagonistic managers than employees low in CWV (an *antagonistic environment* effect). We also explore whether CWV moderates the link between manager behavior and employees' reported likelihood of choosing their manager or staying in the job.

Overview of Studies

Studies 1 and 2 captured participants' ratings of the impact of a range of antagonistic behaviors. These studies established a foundation for our remaining work by providing correlational (Study 1) and experimental (Study 2) evidence for the *behavioral impact* effect. Additionally, Study 1 tested whether CWV has a distinct effect above and beyond a host of theoretically similar or related constructs. In Studies 3 and 4, participants were shown vignettes about a manager who exhibited antagonistic or affiliative behavior and asked to rate the manager's general competence and leadership effectiveness. Study 3 examined our core *worldview moderation* effect; Study 4 replicated that effect and tested for mechanisms (the *impact mediation* effect and *general halo mediation* alternative). Study 5 tested for these effects in the context of a real-world instance of antagonistic managerial behavior. Study 6 evaluated the *post-dicted antagonism* effect by measuring participants' inferences about the behavior of widely lauded CEOs. Finally, Study 7 examined the *antagonistic environment* effect by asking working participants about their own managers and work experiences.

Across our studies, our primary focus was on antagonistic behaviors. In most studies (except Study 5), we also explored affiliative behaviors alongside antagonistic behaviors to gauge whether perceivers high (vs. low) in CWV had more negative reactions to such behavior. As exploratory analyses, we also measured cold behaviors in selected studies, the results for which we report in the Supplemental Material. Unless otherwise noted, we used measures that we developed for this research.

Alternatives and Potential Contributions

Three alternatives to our account strike us as most apparent. First, echoing past work on orthogonality, people may simply base their competence judgments on competence-related behavior, and not intuit competence from antagonistic or affiliative behaviors. Second, there may be a main effect of antagonistic or affiliative behavior that is overwhelmingly strong, leaving little room for moderation. Third, it could be that folk theories of "what works" matter to social perception, but that CWV is an ineffective operationalization of these beliefs.

In contrast to these alternative accounts, we argue here that social worldviews, as operationalized by CWV, serve as a meaningful moderator in social perception, potentially shedding light on the disparate effects we reviewed above. If this is the case, we believe our work would offer three main contributions. First, we present a general sociofunctional account of person perception, showcasing the effect of worldviews as lenses for social judgment. This type of account could be extended to other forms of behavior, perceptions, and worldviews. Second, and more specifically, we connect the literature on CWV with the literatures on person and leader perception, which so far seem to have developed relatively independently. Finally, our claims are distinct from, though compatible

with, work on situational moderators of leader preferences (e.g., Petersen & Laustsen, 2020), which suggests that followers may have heightened preferences for antagonistic or dominant leaders in times of conflict. Our results could be integrated with this vein of work, suggesting that perceivers who are dispositionally high (or low) in CWV may be disposed to see conflict as pervasive (or rare)—that, to these perceivers, most (or few) situations are ones that would benefit from an antagonistic leader.

Transparency and Openness

We report how we determined our sample size, all data exclusions (if any), all manipulations, and all measures in the following studies. Ethical approval for data collection was obtained from the institutional review board of a large northeastern U.S. private university. All participants were recruited from Prolific, Amazon Mechanical Turk using the MTurk Toolkit by CloudResearch, Connect by CloudResearch, or the university behavioral research lab. (We describe the data quality features and filters we used in the Supplemental Material.) Data were analyzed using R, Version 4.0.2 (R Core Team, 2020). Mediation analyses were conducted using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro, simple slopes analyses were conducted using the *emmeans* package (Lenth et al., 2024), and multilevel analyses were conducted using the *lme4* and *lmerTest* packages (Bates et al., 2015; Kuznetsova et al., 2017). All studies' hypotheses, designs, and analysis plans were preregistered. Preregistrations, study materials, data, and analysis scripts for all studies have been made publicly available on ResearchBox and can be accessed at https://researchbox.org/2201&PEER_REVIEW_passcode=GQRZDC (Nguyen & Ames, 2025).

Study 1

Our first study used a correlational approach to examine the *behavioral impact* effect. We also sought to assess whether the positive association between CWV and ratings of antagonistic behavior would remain when controlling for a range of related constructs, such as social dominance orientation (SDO) and theories of power.

Method

Participants

Four hundred participants living in the United States were recruited from the survey platform Connect. An effective sample size of 292 was determined by a power analysis of a linear multiple regression with a small-to-medium effect size $f^2 = 0.08$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .90, and 13 predictors (participant CWV and 12 other constructs, described below). As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our five attention checks or who entered a Connect ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL, leaving us with a sample size of 350 (49.7% female; M_{age} = 39.0 years, SD = 12.5; 67.4% White, 14.3% African American, 10.9% Asian, 5.7% Hispanic or Latino/a, and 1.7% other).

Procedure

Participants rated the impact of 16 behaviors, including various antagonistic behaviors. They then completed a measure of CWV, as well as an array of related constructs, such as SDO. The self-report measures were presented in random order.

Measures

Behavioral Impact. Participants were presented with 16 behaviors and indicated the "typical impact" of each behavior "on a person's ability to get things done when they're interacting and working with other people," using a 5-point scale (1 = *would greatly decrease their ability to get things done*, 5 = *would greatly increase their ability to get things done*). The list of behavior items was informed by behavioral descriptions from the literature on warmth (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007) and assertiveness (e.g., Ames & Flynn, 2007). Our main analyses concerned 10 antagonistic behaviors (e.g., "being abrasive and blunt toward others," "calling out and blaming people," "making threats or ultimatums"; $\alpha = .92$).

For our secondary analyses, we also included three affiliative behaviors (e.g., "acting in a nice, caring way"; $\alpha = .76$). We predicted that CWV would negatively covary with impact ratings of affiliative behavior. Finally, for our exploratory analyses, we included three cold and passive behaviors (e.g., "acting in a cold, unfriendly way toward others"; $\alpha = .66$). We expected and found that CWV positively covaried with impact ratings of cold behavior; these results are reported in the Supplemental Material. The order in which behaviors were presented was randomized across participants. The full list can be found in the Supplemental Material.

CWV. Participants completed a 10-item measure of CWV (e.g., "It is a dog-eat-dog world where you have to be ruthless at times," "My knowledge and experience tell me that the social world we live in is basically a competitive 'jungle' in which the fittest survive and succeed, in which power, wealth, and winning are everything, and might is right," "Life is not governed by the 'survival of the fittest.' We should let compassion and moral laws be our guide," reverse-scored; Perry et al., 2013).[4] Participants responded on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .84$; $M = 2.74$, $SD = 0.96$).

Other General Worldviews. Participants completed the following measures: cynicism (Cook & Medley, 1954; Greenglass & Julkunen, 1989; $\alpha = .91$), generalized trust (using the "standard" question wording; Nannestad, 2008), cooperative primal (Clifton et al., 2019; $\alpha = .86$), best and worst strategy beliefs (Halevy et al., 2014), and ZSB (Różycka-Tran et al., 2015; $\alpha = .83$).

Adjacent Constructs. Participants completed an eight-item measure of SDO (Ho et al., 2015; $\alpha = .92$) and a 15-item version of Altemeyer's (1998) right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale (Zakrisson, 2005; $\alpha = .90$), and a 10-item measure of dangerous worldview (DWV; Duckitt et al., 2002; $\alpha = .89$).

Leadership Theories. Participants completed the tyranny dimension of implicit leadership theories (ILTs; Epitropaki & Martin, 2004; $\alpha = .91$) and an eight-item version of theories of power (ten Brinke & Keltner, 2022, Study 3b; $\alpha_{coercive} = .83$; $\alpha_{collaborative} = .79$).

We further describe the individual difference measures and their relation to CWV in the Appendix (see Table A2). See Table 1 for means and correlations among these measures.

[4] We note that there is no reference in any of the CWV items to leadership, management, hierarchy, organizations, or work.

Table 1
Correlations for Individual Difference Measures (Study 1)

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. CWV	2.74	0.96	—												
2. Cynicism	3.95	1.28	.63***	—											
3. Generalized trust	3.70	1.66	−.50***	−.69***	—										
4. Cooperative primal	4.21	1.38	−.59***	−.66***	.52***	—									
5. Best strategy beliefs	1.91	0.29	−.38***	−.20***	.14*	.11*	—								
6. Worst strategy beliefs	1.37	0.48	−.09	−.08	.07	.09	.01	—							
7. ZSB	3.86	0.94	.42***	.50***	−.40***	−.45***	−.06	−.03	—						
8. SDO	2.61	1.32	.41***	.22***	−.19***	−.26***	−.25***	−.09	−.02	—					
9. RWA	3.09	1.11	.27***	.24***	−.27***	−.36***	−.11*	−.10	−.05	.63***	—				
10. DWV	3.83	1.19	.32***	.49***	−.50***	−.58***	−.05	−.04	.24***	.34***	.60***	—			
11. Tyranny ILT	2.18	0.92	.38***	.37***	−.30***	−.40***	−.19***	−.07	.28***	.15**	.17**	.19***	—		
12. Coercive TOP	4.02	1.33	.51***	.52***	−.37***	−.49***	−.18***	−.05	.51***	.18***	.11*	.25***	.44***	—	
13. Collaborative TOP	4.65	1.25	−.27***	−.16**	.20***	.24***	.12*	−.02	−.30***	.02	.14**	−.09	−.15**	−.51***	—

Note. Computed correlation used Pearson method with pairwise deletion. CWV = competitive worldview; ZSB = zero-sum beliefs; SDO = social dominance orientation; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; DWV = dangerous worldview; ILT = implicit leadership theories; TOP = theories of power.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Results

Linear regressions were conducted predicting impact ratings with participant CWV. Consistent with our *behavioral impact* prediction, participant CWV positively covaried with participants' ratings of antagonistic behavior (see Figure 2 and Table 2).

As secondary analyses, we also examined the relationship between participant CWV and ratings of the impact of affiliative behaviors. CWV negatively covaried with impact ratings of affiliative behaviors (see Figure 2 and Table 2).

Notably, there was also a substantial main effect of behavior type, such that affiliative behaviors were rated more effective ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 0.64$) than antagonistic behaviors, $M = 1.75$, $SD = 0.71$; $t(349) = 39.87$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 2).

Next, we repeated our main analyses, including cynicism, generalized trust, cooperative primal, best and worst strategy beliefs, ZSB, SDO, RWA, DWV, the tyranny dimension of ILTs, and theories of power as simultaneous predictors alongside CWV (see Table 1 for means and correlations).[5] Consistent with our expectations, the regression results revealed that, even when including a dozen related constructs as covariates, CWV continued to be significantly and negatively related to participants' ratings of antagonistic behavior (see Table 3). A parallel exploratory analysis predicting ratings of affiliative behavior found a marginal association with CWV. Other than CWV, best strategy beliefs (specifically, believing that mutual cooperation results in the best outcomes in conflict; Halevy et al., 2014) and a coercive theory of power significantly covaried with ratings of antagonistic behavior; RWA also demonstrated a marginal association. Additionally, other than CWV, best strategy beliefs and a collaborative theory of power significantly covaried with ratings of affiliative behavior; the tyranny dimension of ILT also demonstrated a marginal association. All effects remained when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

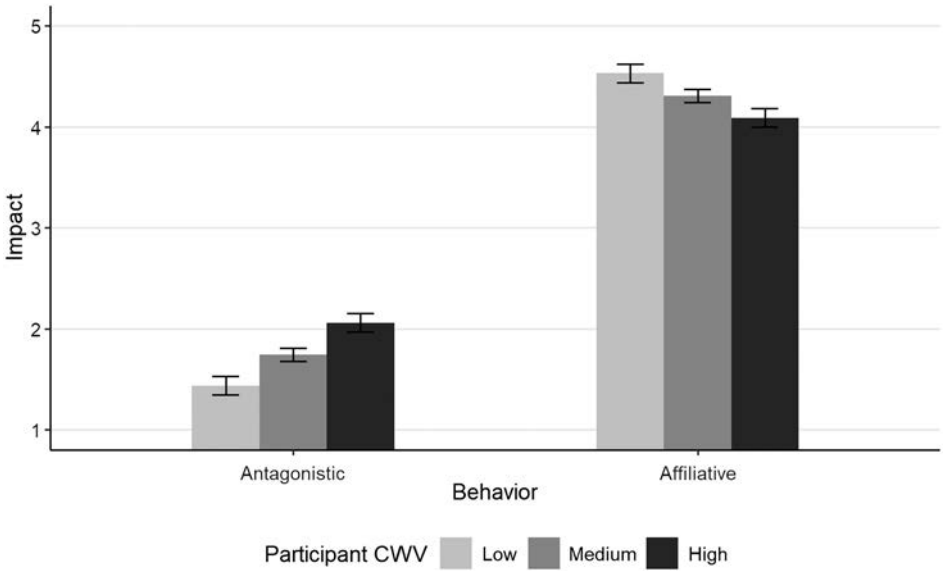
Consistent with our hypothesized *behavioral impact* effect, perceivers who were high in CWV evaluated antagonistic behaviors as having a less negative impact (and affiliative behaviors as having a less positive impact) than perceivers low in CWV. Perhaps unsurprisingly, our expected worldview effects emerged alongside an *antagonism penalty* main effect.

Notably, CWV did not change the type of behavior that perceivers considered to be most effective, but the type of behavior that perceivers considered to be permissible. In other words, high-CWV perceivers seemed to think that antagonistic behavior should at least be available in one's behavioral repertoire, whereas low-CWV perceivers tended to think antagonism should be ruled out completely.

Finally, the relationship between CWV and ratings of behavioral impact of antagonism remained significant even when accounting for a host of related individual differences, such as SDO, cynicism, and theories of power. These results affirm the distinctive predictive role of CWV over and above numerous other theoretically relevant constructs.

[5] As a precaution, we tested the regression models for multicollinearity; the variance inflation factors indicated that no evidence for multicollinearity (all variance inflation factors < 3.1) at standard cutoffs (≤5; Hair et al., 2019).

Figure 2
Predicted Values of Impact Ratings by Behavior Type and Participant CWV (Study 1)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

Study 2

In Study 2, we sought experimental evidence of the *behavioral impact* effect to supplement the correlational evidence from Study 1. While we see CWV as a stable and predictive individual mindset (Perry et al., 2013), we aimed to temporarily shift the salience and accessibility of a competitive or cooperative understanding of the world, using an experiential prime to manipulate CWV.

Method

Participants

Three hundred participants living in the United States were recruited from Prolific. For regression analyses, an effective sample size of 134 was determined by power analysis of a linear multiple regression with a small-to-medium effect size $f^2 = 0.08$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .90, and one predictor (CWV condition). As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our two attention checks or who entered a Prolific ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL. Additionally, we excluded participants who indicated that they wrote about a scenario that was mismatched with their condition (e.g., wrote in the high-CWV condition about a scenario in which they acted cooperatively), leaving us with a sample size of 268 (53.0% female; $M_{age} = 40.3$ years, $SD = 13.7$; 76.9% White, 6.0% African American, 7.5% Asian, 5.2% Hispanic or Latino/a, and 4.5% other).

Table 2
Rated Impact of Each Behavior Type as a Function of Participant CWV (Study 1)

Variable	Antagonistic	Affiliative
Constant	1.75*** (0.03)	4.31*** (0.03)
CWV	0.33*** (0.04)	−0.23*** (0.03)
Adjusted R^2	0.19	0.12

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
*** $p < .001$.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: low or high CWV. Our manipulation was designed as an experiential prime, following similar manipulations of constructs such as power and distrust (Galinsky et al., 2003; Kleiman et al., 2015; Weiss et al., 2018). Participants in the high- (low-) CWV condition were asked to think and write about a recent situation that had brought out their competitive (cooperative) side. The manipulation text read as follows:

High-CWV Condition.

> Think of a recent situation you have been in that brought out your *competitive* side. It could be a project, organization, job, or event where the situation caused you to feel highly *competitive*—where you and others around you were doing whatever you could to get ahead and beat others, rather than working together. This situation may have caused you to set aside fairness and generosity in favor of looking out for yourself and getting an edge on others. You may have felt like winning was everything—if you played nice and trusted others, you would end up on the bottom. If no such situation comes to mind, think of a situation that is closest to what is described here.

Low-CWV Condition.

> Think of a recent situation you have been in that brought out your *cooperative* side. It could be a project, organization, job, or event where

Table 3
Rated Impact of Each Behavior Type as a Function of Participant CWV and Related Constructs (Study 1)

Variable	Antagonistic	Affiliative
Constant	3.26*** (0.25)	3.48*** (0.25)
CWV	0.18*** (0.05)	−0.10† (0.05)
Cynicism	−0.05 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.04)
Generalized trust	−0.01 (0.03)	0.002 (0.03)
Cooperative primal	0.05 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.04)
Best strategy beliefs	−0.82*** (0.12)	0.43*** (0.12)
Worst strategy beliefs	0.04 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)
ZSB	0.04 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
SDO	0.03 (0.03)	−0.05 (0.03)
RWA	0.08† (0.05)	−0.05 (0.04)
DWV	−0.02 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Tyranny ILT	0.05 (0.04)	−0.07† (0.04)
Coercive TOP	0.09** (0.04)	−0.002 (0.03)
Collaborative TOP	0.04 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)
Adjusted R^2	0.33	0.18

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview; ZSB = zero-sum beliefs; SDO = social dominance orientation; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; DWV = dangerous worldview; ILT = implicit leadership theories; TOP = theories of power.
† $p < .1$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

> the situation caused you to feel highly *cooperative*—where you were working together with people, trusting them and being trusted by them, and acting with generosity and honesty. In this situation, you may have been working together with others toward a common goal; instead of being selfish, you all pulled together, helped each other, and trusted one another. In this episode or context, you and the people around you showed compassion and acted in harmony. If no such situation comes to mind, think of a situation that is closest to what is described here.

All participants wrote a few sentences describing the situation, a few sentences describing how they had behaved in a competitive (cooperative) way, and any other thoughts they had about the situation or their reactions to it.

Participants then completed a measure of their CWV as a manipulation check. Finally, participants rated the impact of a range of behaviors.

Measures

Recency of Primed Situation. As an additional control variable, participants indicated how recent the situation was that they wrote about, on a 5-point scale (1 = *within the past few months*, 5 = *more than 5 years ago*; $M = 1.78$, $SD = 1.20$).

CWV. This study used the same 10-item CWV scale used in Study 1 to measure participants' CWV following the CWV manipulation ($\alpha = .84$; $M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.90$).

Behavioral Impact. This study used the same 16 behaviors as Study 1: 10 antagonistic behaviors for our main analyses ($\alpha = .90$), three affiliative behaviors for our secondary analyses ($\alpha = .73$), and three cold behaviors ($\alpha = .67$) for our exploratory analyses.[6] In order to test a different measure of behavioral impact, we used optimal frequency as a measure of perceived positive behavioral impact (i.e., behaviors that "should" be done more often are seen as having a more positive impact). Participants indicated "how often" each behavior should be done for a person "to be effective in interacting and working with others," on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *nearly always*).

Results

First, as a manipulation check, we conducted *t* tests to confirm that participants' continuous CWV scores were significantly higher in the high-CWV condition ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 0.96$) than in the low-CWV condition, $M = 2.56$, $SD = 0.818$; $t(258.4) = 3.08$, $p = .002$.

Linear regressions were then conducted predicting impact ratings on a dummy variable indicating CWV condition (0 = low CWV, 1 = high CWV). As predicted, participants in the high-CWV condition rated antagonistic behavior as having a more positive impact than those in the low-CWV condition (see Figure 3 and Table 4).

As secondary analyses, we also examined ratings of affiliative behaviors. Participants in the high-CWV condition rated affiliative behavior as having a less positive impact than those low in the low-CWV condition (see Figure 3 and Table 4).

These effects remained when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level, as well as how recent the primed situation was (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

Study 2 provided experimental evidence consistent with our *behavioral impact* prediction. As expected, perceivers in the high-CWV condition evaluated antagonistic behaviors as having a more positive impact (i.e., believed an actor should act antagonistically more frequently in order to be interpersonally effective) than perceivers in the low-CWV condition. Given that the results from Study 2 confirm the causal role of CWV in shaping social judgment, in our subsequent studies, we shifted back to measuring existing individual differences in CWV.[7]

Study 3

Studies 1 and 2 established support for the predicted *behavioral impact* effect. In Study 3, we focused on our core *worldview moderation* effect, turning the focus from evaluations of behaviors to evaluations of actors in leadership roles. Using a vignette paradigm and a sample of participants with professional work experience, we captured judgments of leaders who enacted antagonistic or affiliative behaviors.[8]

Method

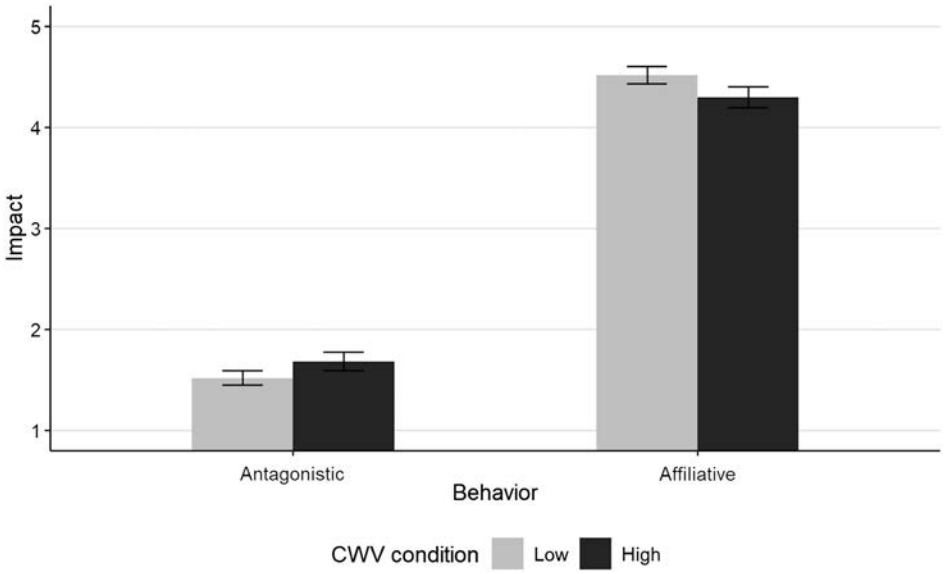
Study 3 involved eight conditions, each involving a unique vignette, in a 2 (antagonistic vs. affiliative) × 2 (target gender: male vs. female) × 2 (relative counterpart status: peer vs. subordinate) within-participants design. Participants were randomly assigned to be exposed to two of the eight vignettes, such that the two vignettes were opposite on each of the three dimensions, as further explained below. Target behavior was the key manipulation to test our

[6] As in Study 1, the results for the cold behaviors are reported in the Supplemental Materials.

[7] We also sought to replicate Study 2 using a narrower anchoring manipulation targeting descriptive, but not prescriptive, beliefs (see Supplemental Study S1). The results of this study suggest that both descriptive and prescriptive attitudes (as reflected in the attitudinal measure used in our other studies) play a role in our predicted effects.

[8] We also conducted a version of this study with nonleader targets, confirming that worldview moderation effects emerge for both leader targets and "ordinary people" (see Supplemental Study S2).

Figure 3
Mean Impact Ratings by Behavior Type and Experimental Condition (Study 2)



Note. Error bars represent 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

hypothesis, while target gender and relative counterpart status were varied for generalizability.

Participants

We sought to recruit 200 Executive Master of Business Administration (EMBA) and Master of Business Administration (MBA) students at a large northeastern business school through the school's behavioral research lab. An effective sample size of 182 was determined by a power analysis of a linear multiple regression with a small-to-medium effect size $f^2 = 0.08$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .90, and three predictors (target antagonism, participant CWV, and their interaction). Due to a recruitment system error, we ended up with more participants than expected, including 60 nonbusiness graduate students. We thus ended up with a total of 315 EMBA, MBA, and nonbusiness graduate students. As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our two attention checks, leaving us with a sample size of 229 EMBA and MBA students and 52 nonbusiness graduate students. Here, we report the results of the full EMBA and MBA sample ($N = 229$; 21.0% female; $M_{age} = 25.8$ years, $SD = 4.1$; 57.6% White, 30.6% African American, 5.7% Asian, 3.5% Hispanic or Latino/a, 1.7% American Indian or Alaska Native, and 0.9% other). In the Supplemental Material, we report the analyses of the first 200 responses collected, as well as the analyses of the full sample (which includes nonbusiness graduate students in addition to EMBA and MBA students); results with these samples replicate those reported here.

Table 4
Rated Impact of Each Behavior Type as a Function of CWV Condition (Study 2)

Variable	Antagonistic	Affiliative
Constant	1.52*** (0.04)	4.51*** (0.05)
CWV condition (1 = high CWV)	0.17** (0.06)	−0.22** (0.07)
Adjusted R^2	0.02	0.03

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Procedure

Participants were told that the survey would be asking them for their impressions of various situations and people. All participants read two vignettes of managers interacting with others in their company.

The first vignette depicted an operations manager who met with other managers in a company that had recently expanded its annual staffing budget. The purpose of the meeting was to "come up with a plan to allot this additional budget among their respective teams." One of the other managers proposed that his team receive the majority of the budget, and the focal manager pushed back on his request. The second vignette depicted the head of a sales group whose performance had recently been on the decline. The manager met with the sales team to address the situation.

The vignettes varied on three dimensions: the behavior of the manager (antagonistic vs. affiliative), the manager's gender (male vs. female), and the relative status of the manager's interaction counterparts (peers vs. subordinates). The two vignettes that a given participant was shown were always opposite each other on each of the dimensions; for example, a participant may have viewed an antagonistic woman addressing her subordinates in the first vignette and an affiliative man addressing his peers in the second vignette.

The antagonism of the manager was manipulated by varying the manager's actions and verbal behavior. For example, in the affiliative condition with peers, the manager "says gently, 'I really appreciate you taking the time to explain this to us. I have to be honest: your proposal is asking for too much.'" In the affiliative

condition with subordinates, the manager "opens with a friendly smile. 'This is a hard day for us all. By now, I'm sure you've seen the numbers. We're down 10%.'"

In contrast, in the antagonistic condition with peers, the manager "says sarcastically, 'Are you done? Because that proposal was an insult. You're asking for way too much. If anything, it should be my team getting that money.'" In the antagonistic condition with subordinates, the manager "opens with a scowl, 'This is a disaster. I'm sure by now you've seen the numbers. You're down 10%.'"

Manager gender was manipulated by varying the manager's name (Jennifer vs. Andrew) and the pronouns used to refer to them. Relative status of counterparts was manipulated by varying whether the manager was interacting with peers or subordinates. In the peer condition, the focal manager addressed other managers at the company; in the subordinate condition, the focal manager was the head of the sales team and called a meeting to address them. The orders of the behavior conditions, manager gender conditions, and relative counterpart status conditions were all randomized.

After reading each vignette, participants completed ratings of the target manager and a measure of their CWV.

Measures

General Competence. Participants rated two items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*): the extent to which the target was "competent, capable" and "intelligent, smart" ($\alpha = .91$).

Leadership Effectiveness. Participants rated three items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*): the extent to which the target was a good leader, a good negotiator, and a good problem-solver ($\alpha = .95$).

Additional Measures. As preregistered, we included additional ratings of the target (dominant, forceful, cold, assertive, socially skilled) for exploratory purposes. Though we do not report analyses of these measures here, these measures can be found in the Supplemental Material. The full study materials are also available on ResearchBox.

CWV. This study used the same 10-item CWV scale used in the previous studies ($\alpha = .89$; $M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.19$).

Results

To test the *worldview moderation* effect, we conducted a linear regression predicting evaluations of the target on a dummy variable indicating target behavior (0 = affiliative, 1 = antagonistic), participant CWV, their interaction, and a random factor for participant identity (given that each participant saw two vignettes). Because we found that the moderation results did not significantly differ across manager gender or relative counterpart status (see Supplemental Material),[9] we present results collapsing across manager gender and relative counterpart status.

Consistent with our central *worldview moderation* prediction, the interactions between target behavior and participant CWV were significant, with participants higher in CWV rating antagonistic targets more favorably, than did participants lower in CWV (see Figure 4 and Table 5). Specifically, simple slopes analyses, adjusting p value for false discovery rate (FDR; Benjamini & Hochberg, 1995; Benjamini & Yekutieli, 2001),[10] revealed that participants higher in CWV rated antagonistic targets as more generally competent, $b = 0.55$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.45, 0.65], $t(454) = 10.81$, $p < .001$, and more effective as leaders than did participants lower in CWV, $b = 0.53$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.43, 0.63], $t(454) = 10.81$, $p < .001$.

Inversely, our secondary simple slopes analyses for affiliative targets revealed that participants higher (vs. lower) in CWV also rated affiliative targets less favorably: They rated affiliative targets as less generally competent, $b = -0.36$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.46, −0.26], $t(454) = 7.09$, $p < .001$, and less effective as leaders, $b = -0.35$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.45, −0.25], $t(454) = 7.23$, $p < .001$. These effects remained when controlling for manager gender and relative counterpart status, as well as participant age, gender, race, and highest education level (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

Using vignettes of two leadership contexts, with participants who typically have had firsthand experience with managers themselves (Executive MBA and MBA students), we found support for our central *worldview moderation* prediction. Participants high in CWV viewed antagonistic managers as more generally competent and as more effective leaders than low-CWV participants; the reverse was true for affiliative managers.

Notably, a main effect of behavior emerged, consistent with a general *antagonism penalty* perspective, and resembling our results from Studies 1 and 2. What our moderation results indicate is not that CWV reverses this preference for affiliative managers, but that CWV attenuates it.

Study 4

Having found support for our predicted *worldview moderation* effect, we next sought to probe the underlying mechanisms, considering an *impact mediation* effect and an alternative *general halo mediation* effect.

Method

Study 4 adopted the same design as Study 3, except that it focused on the downwardly directed scenario (with a manager addressing subordinates), resulting in four conditions in a 2 (behavior: antagonistic vs. affiliative) × 2 (target gender: male vs. female) between-participants design. Participants were randomly assigned to be exposed to one of the four conditions. Target behavior was the key manipulation to test our hypothesis, while target gender was manipulated for generalizability. In addition to the measures from Study 3, Study 4 also measured anticipated behavioral impact and overall impressions as potential mediators.

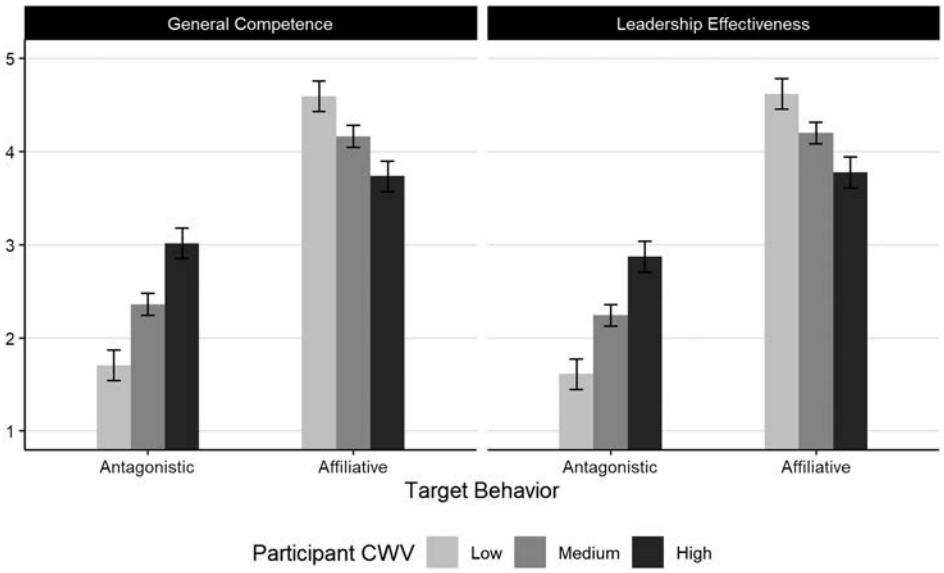
Participants

Four hundred participants living in the United States were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk. An effective sample size of 305–310

[9] Manager gender also did not moderate the main effect of antagonistic (vs. affiliative) behavior on competence and effectiveness evaluations of the manager. We found this surprising and discussed potential reasons in the Supplemental Material.

[10] The FDR criterion controls for the expected proportion of false positives to account for the higher possibility of Type I errors due to multiple comparisons. When probing all interactions, we used the FDR method to adjust the p values for the two tests (effect of CWV for each target behavior condition).

Figure 4
Predicted Values of Ratings by Target Behavior and Participant CWV (Study 3)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

was determined by a power analysis of a by Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects with one mediator, α = .05, power = .80, 1,000 replications, and 20,000 draws per rep (Schoemann et al., 2017).[11] As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our two attention checks or who entered an MTurk ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL, leaving us with a sample size of 381 (43.8% female; M_{age} = 39.4 years, *SD* = 11.6; 76.4% White, 11.3% African American, 5.8% Asian, 5.0% Hispanic or Latino/a, 1.6% other).

Procedure

Participants were told that the survey would be asking them for their impressions of various situations and people. All participants were shown the same vignette of a manager meeting with their sales team from Study 3. The vignette varied on two dimensions: the behavior of the manager (antagonistic vs. affiliative) and the manager's gender (male vs. female). The behavior and gender of the manager were manipulated in the same manner as in Study 3.

After reading each vignette, participants completed ratings of the target manager and a measure of their CWV.

Table 5
Target Ratings as a Function of Target Behavior and Participant CWV (Study 3)

Variable	General competence	Leadership effectiveness
Constant	4.19*** (0.06)	4.22*** (0.06)
Target behavior (1 = antagonistic)	−1.87*** (0.09)	−2.03*** (0.08)
CWV	−0.36*** (0.05)	−0.35*** (0.05)
Target Behavior × CWV	0.91*** (0.07)	0.88*** (0.07)

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
*** $p < .001$.

Measures

General Competence. The same general competence scale was used as in Study 3 (α = .91).

Leadership Effectiveness. The same leadership effectiveness scale was used as in Study 3 (α = .95).

General Positive Impression. Participants rated two items on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*): the extent to which they had a positive impression and a negative impression of the target (α = .96). They also rated the target on the same 5-point scale on the positive dimensions of the Big 5 personality traits (e.g., "warm, sympathetic," "dependable, self-disciplined"), from the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI; Gosling et al., 2003; α = .90). These two sets of ratings were examined separately as independent measures of general positive impression.

Proximal Behavioral Impact. Participants rated four items measuring the extent to which they saw the target's behavior as likely to produce the desired outcomes (e.g., raise the sales team's motivation and performance) on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*; α = .95).

Additional Measures. As preregistered, we included additional ratings of the target (dominant, forceful, cold, assertive, socially

[11] Standardized coefficients were estimated using the results from an exploratory mediation analysis from Study 3: *a* path = 0.16, *b* path = 0.52, c' = −0.36. Standard deviations were also estimated from Study 3: $SD_{behavior}$ = 0.05, $SD_{proximal\ impact}$ = 0.84, $SD_{competence}$ = 1.33.

skilled) for exploratory purposes. Results from these measures can be found in the Supplemental Material. All study materials are available on ResearchBox.

CWV. The same CWV scale was used as in all previous studies ($\alpha = .83$; $M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.92$).

Results

We first sought to replicate the *worldview moderation* effect, our central prediction. A linear regression was conducted predicting competence evaluations of the target on a dummy variable indicating target behavior (0 = affiliative, 1 = antagonistic), participant CWV, and their interaction. As expected, and replicating the results of Study 3, the interactions were significant (see Figure 5 and Table 6, Models 1 and 2). Simple slopes analyses, adjusting p value for FDR, revealed that participants higher in CWV rated antagonistic targets as more generally competent, $b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [0.07, 0.37], $t(377) = 2.90$, $p = .008$, and more effective as leaders, $b = 0.38$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [0.23, 0.53], $t(377) = 5.05$, $p < .001$, and rated affiliative targets as marginally less generally competent, $b = -0.15$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [−0.31, 0.004], $t(377) = 1.92$, $p = .056$, and directionally, but not significantly, less effective as leaders, $b = -0.12$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [−0.28, 0.03], $t(377) = 1.55$, $p = .123$, than did participants lower in CWV.

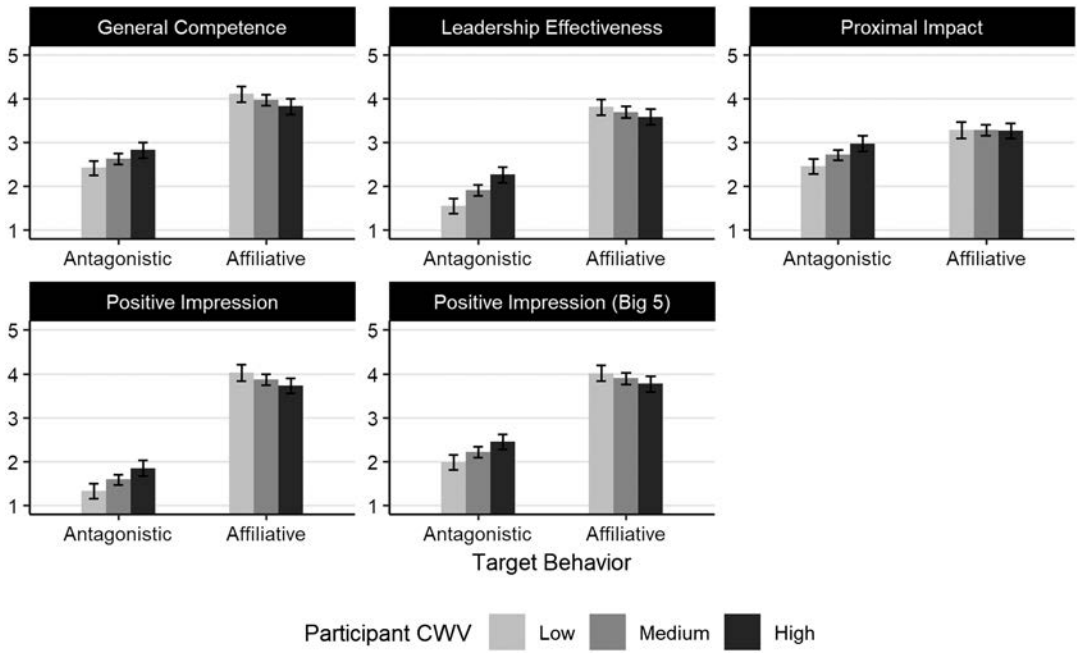
We next sought to test the *impact mediation* prediction that these inferences of competence were being driven at least in part by perceived proximal behavioral impact of the target's behavior. As expected, target behavior and participant CWV interacted to predict proximal behavioral impact, $b = 0.29$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% CI = [0.15, 0.43], $t(377) = 4.13$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 5). Participants higher in CWV rated antagonistic targets' behavior as having a more positive proximal impact than participants lower in CWV, $b = 0.28$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI = [0.19, 0.38], $t(377) = 5.78$, $p < .001$. Secondary simple slopes analyses for affiliative targets revealed that behavioral impact ratings of affiliative targets did not differ by participant CWV, $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI = [−0.11, 0.09], $t(377) = 0.15$, $p = .880$. Proximal behavioral impact positively predicted general competence and leadership effectiveness ratings of the target, even when target behavior, participants' CWV, and their interaction were accounted for (see Table 6, Models 3 and 4).

We also considered an alternative *general halo mediation* effect revolving around positive impressions. Target behavior and participant CWV interacted to predict both measures of positive impression of the target, positive impression: $b = 0.44$, $SE = 0.11$, 95% CI = [0.23, 0.65], $t(377) = 4.13$, $p < .001$; positive impression (TIPI): $b = 0.38$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI = [0.22, 0.55], $t(377) = 4.62$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 5). Positive impressions of the target positively predicted general competence and leadership effectiveness ratings (see Table 6, Models 5 to 8). Notably, the effect of proximal impact on target evaluations remained when controlling for positive impressions.

Proximal behavioral impact and positive impression were then simultaneously input into a bootstrapped mediation analysis with 5,000 iterations to test whether they each mediated the path, which was moderated by participants' CWV, from target behavior to general competence ratings (PROCESS Model 8; Hayes, 2013). Consistent with our prediction, the conditional indirect effect of target antagonism on evaluations through perceived proximal

Figure 5

Predicted Values of Ratings by Target Behavior and Participant CWV (Study 4)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

Table 6
Target Ratings as a Function of Target Behavior, Participant CWV, and Proposed Mediators (Proximal Impact and Positive Impression; Study 4)

Variable	General competence (1)	Leadership effectiveness (2)	General competence (3)	Leadership effectiveness (4)	General competence (5)	Leadership effectiveness (6)	General competence (7)	Leadership effectiveness (8)
Constant	3.96*** (0.07)	3.69*** (0.07)	3.69*** (0.06)	3.39*** (0.06)	3.32*** (0.07)	2.82*** (0.05)	3.19*** (0.06)	2.89*** (0.05)
Target behavior (1 = antagonistic)	−1.34*** (0.10)	−1.78*** (0.10)	−0.82*** (0.09)	−1.20*** (0.08)	−0.09 (0.12)	−0.08 (0.09)	0.15 (0.10)	−0.21* (0.09)
CWV	−0.15 (0.08)	−0.12 (0.08)	−0.14* (0.06)	−0.11 (0.06)	−0.08 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.04)	−0.04 (0.05)	−0.01 (0.05)
Target Behavior × CWV	0.37*** (0.11)	0.50*** (0.11)	0.10 (0.09)	0.20* (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.09 (0.06)	−0.02 (0.08)	0.07 (0.07)
Proximal impact			0.92*** (0.06)	1.04*** (0.06)	0.54*** (0.07)	0.46*** (0.06)	0.34*** (0.07)	0.45*** (0.06)
Positive impression					0.41*** (0.05)	0.63*** (0.04)		
Positive impression (Big 5)							0.78*** (0.06)	0.79*** (0.05)
Adjusted R^2	0.33	0.47	0.56	0.71	0.63	0.84	0.70	0.82

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

behavioral impact was strongest for participants with lower CWV and weakest for participants higher in CWV (see Table 7). The same pattern was observed for both measures of positive impression: The conditional indirect effect was strongest for participants with lower CWV and weakest in participants with higher CWV. The absence of zero in these 95% percentile bootstrap confidence intervals confirms the simultaneous mediating roles of both mediators.

Finally, the overall moderated mediation model was supported for both mediators. The absence of zero in these 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals indicates a significant moderating effect of CWV on the indirect effects via proximal behavioral impact and positive impression.

All effects remained when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

Consistent with our predicted *worldview moderation* effect, and replicating Study 3, the penalty in evaluations of antagonistic targets was attenuated among high-CWV participants. This difference seemed to implicate two mechanisms. First, supporting our predicted *impact mediation* effect, high-CWV participants expected antagonistic behavior to have a more positive impact than low-CWV participants. At the same time, antagonistic targets left high-CWV participants with a more positive impression overall, compared to low-CWV participants, suggesting the simultaneous operation of a *general halo* effect. Additionally, the parallel mediation indicates that judgments of behavioral impact factored into participants' final evaluations of the target, over and above their general impressions of the target. These two mechanisms led participants who were higher in CWV to see antagonistic targets as more generally competent and as more effective leaders than low-CWV participants.

Study 5

Studies 3 and 4 featured experimental manipulations of antagonistic and affiliative behavior. It is possible, though, that the fictional behavior featured in our vignettes is implausible, extreme, or unrepresentative of behavior in the "real world." In Study 5, we sought external validity, showcasing a real-world episode of behavior that was widely regarded as antagonistic: the Olive Garden manager incident described in the introduction. Although this single-cell design lacks a parallel affiliative behavior condition, it allows us to examine whether and how perceptions of real-world behavior are shaped by worldviews. We also recruited participants with experience working in the restaurant industry, who would have had personal experience with restaurant managers themselves (including one participant who shared that they "worked at Olive Garden for many years"). In this study, we sought to replicate our central *worldview moderation* effect, as well as the *impact mediation* effect and *general halo mediation* effect.

Method

Participants

We sought to recruit 200 participants living in the United States from Connect, with the survey advertised as targeted toward participants who have worked in the restaurant industry. An effective

Table 7
Conditional Indirect Effect of Mediators for High- and Low-CWV Participants (Study 4)

Mediator	General competence	Leadership effectiveness	General competence	Leadership effectiveness
Proximal impact (low CWV)	−0.45 (0.09) [−0.63, −0.30]	−0.38 (0.07) [−0.53, −0.25]	−0.28 (0.07) [−0.43, −0.15]	−0.37 (0.07) [−0.53, −0.24]
Proximal impact (medium CWV)	−0.31 (0.06) [−0.44, −0.20]	−0.26 (0.05) [−0.37, −0.17]	−0.19 (0.05) [−0.30, −0.10]	−0.25 (0.05) [−0.37, −0.16]
Proximal impact (high CWV)	−0.15 (0.07) [−0.29, −0.03]	−0.13 (0.06) [−0.25, −0.03]	−0.09 (0.04) [−0.19, −0.02]	−0.12 (0.06) [−0.25, −0.03]
Proximal impact (index of moderated mediation)	0.16 (0.05) [0.07, 0.27]	0.13 (0.04) [0.06, 0.22]	0.10 (0.04) [0.04, 0.18]	0.13 (0.04) [0.06, 0.22]
Positive impression (low CWV)	−1.11 (0.15) [−1.40, −0.83]	−1.71 (0.15) [−2.01, −1.43]		
Positive impression (medium CWV)	−0.95 (0.13) [−1.21, −0.70]	−1.46 (0.13) [−1.71, −1.22]		
Positive impression (high CWV)	−0.76 (0.13) [−1.02, −0.53]	−1.18 (0.14) [−1.46, −0.92]		
Positive impression (index of moderated mediation)	0.18 (0.05) [0.09, 0.28]	0.28 (0.07) [0.14, 0.42]		
Positive impression (Big 5; low CWV)			−1.58 (0.14) [−1.86, −1.30]	−1.60 (0.13) [−1.86, −1.34]
Positive impression (Big 5; medium CWV)			−1.31 (0.13) [−1.56, −1.06]	−1.33 (0.11) [−1.55, −1.11]
Positive impression (Big 5; high CWV)			−1.01 (0.15) [−1.31, −0.72]	−1.03 (0.14) [−1.29, −0.76]
Positive impression (Big 5; index of moderated mediation)			0.30 (0.07) [0.16, 0.45]	0.30 (0.08) [0.16, 0.46]

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. Percentile bootstrap 95% confidence intervals in brackets. Low, medium, and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below, at, and one *SD* above the mean, respectively. CWV = competitive worldview.

sample size of 95–100 was determined by a power analysis of a by Monte Carlo power analysis for indirect effects with one mediator, $\alpha = .05$, power = .80, 1,000 replications, and 20,000 draws per rep (Schoemann et al., 2017).[12] Due to a recruitment error, we ended up with 208 participants who reported having restaurant work experience. As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our two attention checks or who entered a Connect ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL, leaving us with a sample size of 195 (54.0% female; $M_{age} = 38.1$ years, $SD = 12.9$; 73.8% White, 11.3% African American, 8.2% Hispanic or Latino/a, 4.6% Asian, 2.1% other).

Procedure

Participants were told that the survey would be asking them for their impressions of various situations and people. All participants were shown excerpts from a message (generally portrayed in subsequent media coverage as antagonistic) sent to employees by a real-world restaurant manager, "who was concerned about employees canceling or not showing up for their scheduled shifts":

> Our call offs are occurring at a staggering rate. From now on, if you call off, you might as well go out and look for another job. We are no longer tolerating ANY excuse for calling off. … Do you know in my 11.5 years at Darden how many days I called off? Zero. I came in sick. I got in a wreck literally on my [way] to work one time, airbags went off and my car was totaled, but you know what, I made it to work, ON TIME! There are no more excuses. Us, collectively as a management team have had enough. If you don't want to work here, don't. It's as simple as that. If you're here and want to work, then work. … You're in the restaurant business. Do you think I want to be here until midnight on Friday and Saturday? No. I'd much rather be at home … going to the movies or seeing family. But I don't, I'm dedicated to being here. As should you. No more excuses or complaints.
>
> I hope you choose to continue to work here and I think we (management) make it as easy as we can on y'all. Thank you for your time and thank you to those who come in every day on time and work hard. I wish there were more like you.

After reading the message, participants completed ratings of the manager and a measure of their CWV. Participants were also asked whether they had heard of the story before and about their experience working in the restaurant industry.

Measures

General Competence. The same general competence scale was used as in Studies 3 and 4 ($\alpha = .91$).

Leadership Effectiveness. The same leadership effectiveness scale was used as in Studies 3 and 4 ($\alpha = .95$).

General Positive Impression. Participants rated the extent to which they had a positive impression and negative impression of the manager ($\alpha = .93$), in addition to rating the manager on the positive dimensions of the TIPI ($\alpha = .82$), all on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly*

[12] Standardized coefficients were estimated using the results from the antagonistic condition in Study 4, with CWV as the independent variable, general competence as the dependent variable, and adaptiveness as the mediator: *a* path = 0.28, *b* path = 0.86, c' = 0.22. Standard deviations were also estimated from the antagonistic condition in Study 4: $SD_{CWV} = 0.93$, $SD_{adaptiveness} = 0.69$, $SD_{competence} = 1.09$.

disagree, 5 = *strongly agree*). As in Study 4, these two sets of ratings were examined separately as independent measures of general positive impression.

Proximal Impact. Participants rated two items capturing the extent to which they saw the manager's communication as likely to produce the desired outcomes (raise the "motivation and work ethic of the restaurant staffers," cause the restaurant staffers to "be more likely to work their scheduled shifts") on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .80$).

Familiarity. Participants rated whether they had heard of the story before (1 = *I knew the details of what happened in this story*, 2 = *I had heard of the story, but did not know the details of what happened*, 3 = *I had never heard of this happening before*). The majority of participants (88.2%) had not heard of the story before.

CWV. The same CWV scale was used as in all previous studies ($\alpha = .80$; $M = 2.72$, $SD = 0.79$).

Other Measures. Participants were also asked how many years they have worked in the restaurant industry (or if they had never worked in the restaurant industry; 1 = *for less than 1 year*, 3 = *for 2 to 5 years*, 5 = *for over 10 years*, 6 = *I have not worked in the restaurant industry;* $M = 3.28$, $SD = 1.29$).[13] They were also asked if they currently work in the restaurant industry (1 = *no*, 2 = *yes*).[14] About a third of participants (35.4%) reported that they were currently working in the restaurant industry. The other two thirds were asked how long ago they worked in the restaurant industry (1 = *within the past year*, 3 = *2 to 5 years ago*, 5 = *over 10 years ago*; $M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.29$).

Results

To replicate our central *worldview moderation* effect, a linear regression was conducted predicting competence evaluations of the manager on participant CWV. As expected, participants higher in CWV rated the manager as more generally competent and more effective as a leader than did participants lower in CWV (see Figure 6 and Table 8, Models 1 and 2).

We next tested the *impact mediation* prediction that these competence evaluations were driven by the perceived proximal behavioral impact of the manager's (antagonistic) behavior. As expected, participant CWV predicted adaptiveness such that participants higher in CWV rated the manager's behavior as having a more positive impact than participants lower in CWV, $b = 0.40$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI = [0.20, 0.59], $t(193) = 4.04$, $p < .001$ (see Figure 6). Proximal behavioral impact positively predicted ratings of the manager's general competence and leadership effectiveness, even when participant CWV was accounted for (see Table 8, Models 3 and 4).

As in Study 4, we also considered the alternative *general halo mediation effect* revolving around positive impressions. Participant CWV predicted both measures of positive impression of the manager, positive impression: $b = 0.30$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI = [0.10, 0.51], $t(193) = 2.99$, $p = .003$; positive impression (TIPI): $b = 0.20$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI = [0.04, 0.36], $t(193) = 2.51$, $p = .013$ (see Figure 6). Positive impressions of the manager positively predicted ratings of the manager's general competence and leadership effectiveness (see Table 8, Models 5 to 8). Still, the effect of adaptiveness on evaluations of the manager remained when controlling for positive impressions of the manager, replicating Study 4.

Proximal behavioral impact and positive impression were then simultaneously input into a bootstrapped mediation analysis with 5,000 iterations to test whether they each mediated the path from participant CWV to general competence ratings (Hayes, 2013). As expected, the indirect effect of target antagonism on evaluations was significant through perceived proximal impact, as well as through both measures of positive impression (see Table 9). The absence of zero in these 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals confirms the simultaneous mediating roles of both mediators.

All effects remained when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level (see Supplemental Material).

Next, we repeated the above analyses while excluding participants who had heard of the story before taking the survey ($N = 23$), as preregistered (see Supplemental Material). The effect of CWV on ratings of the manager's general competence was marginal with this sample. All other effects remained significant.

Discussion

Study 5 replicated our effects using a vivid example of real-world antagonistic behavior, as well as a sample of people who would have had firsthand experience with restaurant managers themselves. Consistent with our predictions, perceivers who were high in CWV viewed the antagonistic manager as more competent and effective as a leader than low-CWV perceivers. Study 5 also replicated the mediation results from Study 4, providing additional evidence that both the *behavioral impact* and *general halo* mechanisms may be operating beneath the *worldview moderation* effect.

Study 6

Our first five studies have shown that CWV shapes perceptions of antagonistic behaviors and of antagonistic leaders. In Study 6, as in Study 5, we sought evidence for these effects in evaluations of real-world leaders. Here, we reversed the sequence of inferences we examined in Studies 3 to 5: Instead of presenting antagonistic leaders and asking participants to judge their effectiveness, we presented effective leaders and asked participants to speculate about their past antagonistic behavior. This allowed us to test our anticipated *post-dicted antagonism* effect.

Method

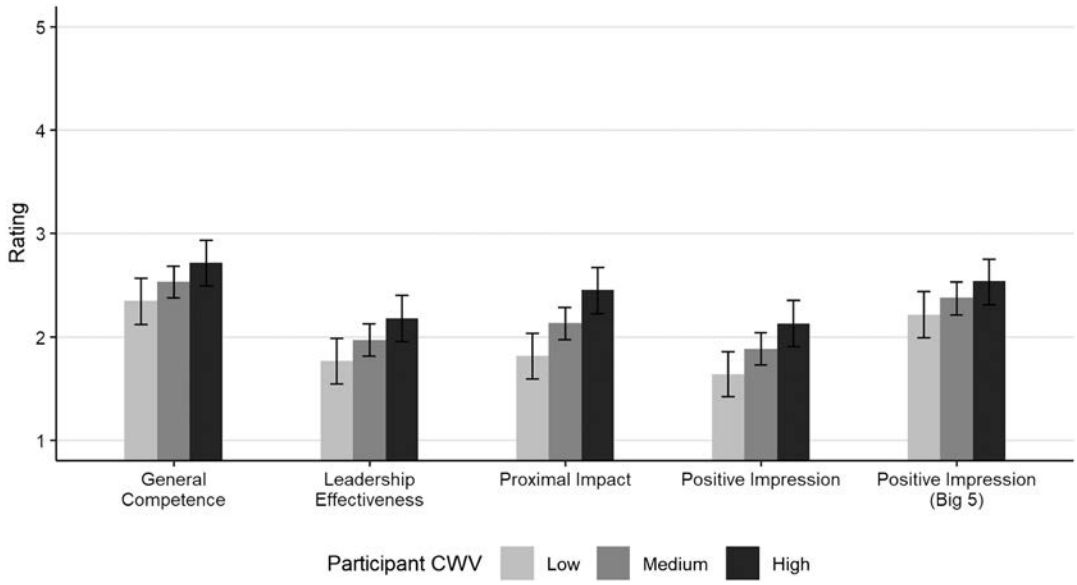
Participants

Three hundred participants living in the United States were recruited from Connect. An effective sample size of 134 was determined by a power analysis of a linear multiple regression with a small-to-medium effect size $f^2 = 0.08$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .90, and one predictor (participant CWV). As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our two attention checks or who entered a Connect ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL, leaving us with a sample size of 286 (53.8% female; M_{age} = 38.7 years, $SD = 12.2$; 68.9% White, 12.2% African American, 7.7% Asian, 7.0% Hispanic or Latino/a, 1.4% American Indian or Alaska Native, 1.0% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and 1.4% other).

[13] No participants who passed our screener answered that they have not worked in the restaurant industry.

[14] Participants were told that their answers to these questions would not affect their compensation for participating in the study.

Figure 6
Predicted Values of Ratings by Participant CWV (Study 5)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

Procedure

Participants were first presented with a list of 10 real-world CEOs, which included each CEO's company and company's industry: Mary Barra (General Motors), Marc Benioff (Salesforce), Brian Chesky (Airbnb), Tim Cook (Apple), Larry Fink (BlackRock), Jane Fraser (Citigroup), Bob Iger (Walt Disney), Karen Lynch (CVS Health), Sundar Pichai (Google and Alphabet), and Lisa Su (Advanced Micro Devices). We did not expect our results to vary across targets. As we conveyed to our participants, we chose these executives because they are "often on lists of the 'best' and 'most powerful' CEOs and leaders in American business"; the choice of these CEOs, spanning industries and demographics, also served to establish generalizability. Participants selected the CEO with which they were most familiar. Next, participants rated their familiarity with the CEO they had selected. Then they were asked to rate the frequency and impact of a range of behaviors in which the CEO might have engaged. Finally, participants completed a measure of their CWV.

Measures

Familiarity. Participants rated how familiar they were with the CEO (1 = *not familiar with this person*, 5 = *very familiar with this person*; $M = 3.09$, $SD = 1.02$).

Behavior Frequency. This study used 11 of the behaviors used in Studies 1 and 2: five antagonistic behaviors (e.g., "Be abrasive and blunt toward others"; $\alpha = .87$) for our main analyses, three affiliative behaviors ("Act in a nice, caring way"; $\alpha = .79$) for secondary analyses, and three cold behaviors (e.g., "Act in a cold, unfriendly way toward others"; $\alpha = .75$) for exploratory analyses. Participants rated how often they thought the CEO engaged in each behavior "over the course of [her/his] 'rise to the top' in [her/his] career," on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*).

Behavior Impact. Participants rated the extent to which the same antagonistic ($\alpha = .90$), affiliative ($\alpha = .91$), and cold ($\alpha = .80$) behaviors "helped [her/him] 'rise to the top' in [her/his] organization when [she/he] did them," on a 5-point scale (1 = *did not help [her/him] rise to the top*, 5 = *definitely helped [her/him] rise to the top*).[15]

CWV. The same CWV scale was used as in all previous studies ($\alpha = .83$; $M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.94$).

Results

To test our *post-dicted antagonism* hypothesis, we conducted linear regressions predicting ratings of the CEO's antagonism on participant CWV, controlling for the specific CEO and participants' familiarity with the CEO. As predicted, participants higher in CWV rated the CEO's historical antagonistic behavior as more frequent, and as having a more positive impact on the CEO's success, than those low in CWV (see Figure 7 and Table 10, Models 1 and 2).

As secondary analyses, we also examined ratings of affiliative behaviors. Unlike in our other studies, the effect of CWV on the rated frequency and impact of affiliative behavior was not significant (see Figure 7 and Table 10, Models 3 and 4).

As preregistered, we also repeated these analyses with participants who answered at the scale midpoint (3) or above for their familiarity with the CEO. These effects remained with this sample,

[15] As in previous studies, the results for the cold behaviors are reported in the Supplemental Materials.

Table 8
Manager Ratings as a Function of Participant CWV and Proposed Mediators (Proximal Impact and Positive Impression; Study 5)

Variable	General competence (1)	Leadership effectiveness (2)	General competence (3)	Leadership effectiveness (4)	General competence (5)	Leadership effectiveness (6)	General competence (7)	Leadership effectiveness (8)
Constant	2.53*** (0.09)	1.97*** (0.08)	2.53*** (0.07)	1.97*** (0.05)	2.53*** (0.06)	1.97*** (0.04)	2.53*** (0.05)	1.97*** (0.05)
CWV	0.23* (0.11)	0.26* (0.11)	−0.05 (0.09)	−0.06 (0.07)	−0.05 (0.08)	−0.07 (0.05)	−0.03 (0.07)	−0.05 (0.06)
Proximal impact			0.70*** (0.06)	0.80*** (0.05)	0.28*** (0.08)	0.30*** (0.05)	0.19** (0.07)	0.44*** (0.06)
Positive impression					0.57*** (0.08)	0.67*** (0.05)		
Positive impression (Big 5)							0.93*** (0.08)	0.66*** (0.07)
Adjusted R^2	0.02	0.03	0.39	0.58	0.52	0.78	0.63	0.71

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

as well as when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

Study 6 considered evaluations of specific successful CEOs, confirming our expected *post-dicted antagonism* effect. Those who see the world as cutthroat (vs. cooperative) tend to assume that leaders who have succeeded in it are more likely to have acted antagonistically—and are more likely to perceive such behavior as contributing to those leaders' success.[16]

Study 7

Study 6 considered perceptions of real-world leaders, though our respondents likely had no personal acquaintance with these targets. In Study 7, we examined employees' evaluations of their own managers. We expected to replicate our central *worldview moderation* effect, as well as to extend it with other measures of participants' appraisals of their managers, such as respect. Study 7 also allowed us to test the *antagonistic environment* effect. Finally, Study 7 included exploratory measures capturing attraction and attrition by employees. We expected that employees high (vs. low) in CWV would be more likely to select to work for antagonistic managers, more likely to stay in jobs under antagonistic managers, and less likely to leave such jobs. To test our claims and capture evaluations of a wide range of managerial behavior, we asked participants to report on the most antagonistic as well as the most affiliative managers that they had worked for.

Method

We recruited participants who had worked for multiple managers. In a within-participants design, each participant called to mind the most antagonistic manager and the most affiliative manager for whom they have worked.

Participants

Four hundred participants living in the United States were recruited from Prolific, with the survey advertised as targeted toward participants who have worked for at least three managers.[17] An effective sample size of 182 was determined by a power analysis of a linear multiple regression with a small-to-medium effect size $f^2 = 0.08$, $\alpha = .05$, power = .90, and three predictors (manager condition, participant CWV, and their interaction). As preregistered, we excluded participants who incorrectly answered any of our five attention checks or who entered a Prolific ID that did not match the participant ID pulled from their URL. This left us with a sample size of 356 (49.1% female; $M_{age} = 41.6$ years, $SD = 15.0$; 68.8% White, 13.2% African American, 6.2% Asian, 6.5% Hispanic or Latino/a, 1.8% American Indian or Alaska Native, and 5.3% other).

[16] While we controlled for CEO and familiarity in these analyses, we wanted to ensure that our results were not driven by any particular CEO. To this end, we conducted a version of this study in which the target CEO was randomly assigned (see Supplemental Study S3). This study replicated the effects of Study 6.

[17] We report our results using the full sample of participants but also confirm that our results replicate while excluding those participants who do not meet the criteria of having worked for at least three managers ($N = 25$), as preregistered. We report these results in the Supplemental Material.

Table 9
Indirect Effect of Mediators (Behavioral Adaptiveness and Positive Impression; Study 5)

Mediator	General competence	Leadership effectiveness	General competence	Leadership effectiveness
Proximal impact	0.11 (0.04)	0.12 (0.04)	0.08 (0.04)	0.18 (0.05)
	[0.04, 0.21]	[0.05, 0.21]	[0.02, 0.15]	[0.08, 0.29]
Positive impression	0.18 (0.06)	0.21 (0.07)		
	[0.07, 0.29]	[0.08, 0.35]		
Positive impression (Big 5)			0.19 (0.08)	0.13 (0.06)
			[0.04, 0.35]	[0.02, 0.25]

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. 95% confidence intervals in brackets.

Procedure

Each participant called to mind their most antagonistic manager and their most affiliative manager, in randomized order.[18] Participants in the antagonistic (affiliative) manager condition were asked to think about "the most tough and antagonistic (warm and friendly) manager/leader/supervisor" they "have ever worked for." Participants first wrote a short open-ended description of that manager. They then completed ratings of their manager and various workplace attitudes. Participants answered these questions separately for the two managers that they called to mind. Afterward, their CWV was also measured.

Measures

Manager Behavior. This study used three antagonistic behaviors, selected based on a factor analysis from a previous pilot study of the 10 antagonistic behaviors used in Study 1 ("Act in a way that intimidates others," "Use harsh, critical language," "Be ready to upset other people or bruise their feelings"; $\alpha = .94$). We also included three affiliative behaviors ("Act in a nice, caring way," "Behave politely toward others," "Show concern and sympathy for others"; $\alpha = .95$) from the previous studies for our secondary analyses. Participants rated how often their manager did each specific behavior, on a 5-point scale (1 = *never*, 5 = *always [e.g., most/all days of the week]*).

General Competence. The same general competence scale was used as in Studies 3–5 ($\alpha = .90$).

Leadership Effectiveness. The same leadership effectiveness scale was used as in Studies 3–5 ($\alpha = .91$).

Other Manager Appraisals. Participants rated on a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) two items regarding their appraisal of their manager: the extent to which they respected their manager and would recommend someone else to work for their manager.

Workplace Attitudes. On a 5-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*), participants rated two items regarding their workplace attitudes: the extent to which they felt motivated by their manager and were satisfied with their job.

CWV. The same CWV scale was used as in all previous studies ($\alpha = .78$; $M = 2.70$, $SD = 0.87$).

Other Measures. Participants were also asked how many managers they had ever worked for (or if they had never worked for a manager; 1 = *one*, 3 = *three to four*, 5 = *more than six*, 6 = *I have never had a job with a manager/leader/supervisor that I report to*; $M = 3.99$, $SD = 1.04$).[19] For the manager that they were reporting on, participants indicated if that manager was their current or former manager and for how long they worked for that manager (1 = *for less than 1 year*, 3 = *for 2 to 5 years*, 5 = *for over 10 years*; $M = 2.30$, $SD = 1.04$). The majority of managers reported on (85.5%) were former managers. Participants who were reporting on former managers also indicated how long ago they worked for that manager (1 = *within the past year*, 3 = *2–5 years ago*, 5 = *over 10 years ago*; $M = 3.65$, $SD = 1.21$).

For further exploratory analyses, we also considered attraction and attrition by employees. To examine attraction, we asked participants how their manager's behavior with people would have affected their own choice to work for their manager, "knowing what [they] know now" about how their manager behaves. Participants responded on a 5-point scale (1 = *would greatly decrease my odds of choosing to work for them*, 5 = *would greatly increase my odds of choosing to work for them*). To examine employee attrition, we asked participants how their manager's behavior with people affected their intentions to leave the job and to stay in the job, on a 5-point scale (1 = *greatly decreases/decreased my intentions to leave/stay*, 5 = *greatly increases/increased my intentions to leave/stay*). These two items were aggregated to form a measure of turnover intentions, with intention to stay reverse-coded ($\alpha = .92$).

Correlations among these measures are reported in the Supplemental Material.

Results

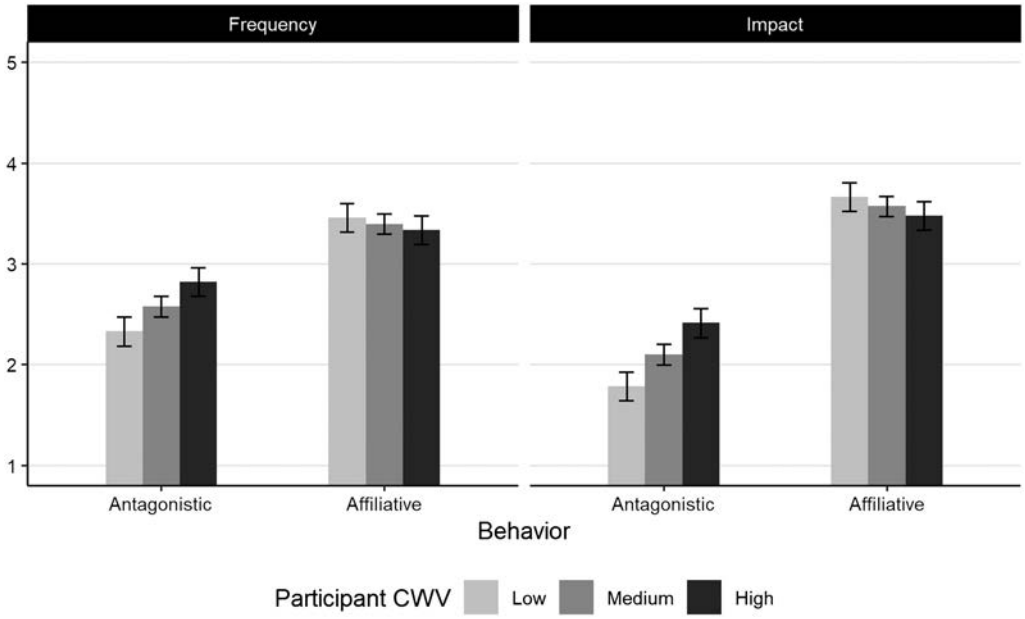
First, as a manipulation check, we conducted paired *t* tests to confirm the effect of the manager condition on reported manager antagonism and manager affiliation. As expected, participants reported that their most antagonistic managers were more antagonistic, $M_{\text{antagonistic manager}} = 3.86$, $SD_{\text{antagonistic manager}} = 0.87$, $M_{\text{affiliative manager}} = 1.44$, $SD_{\text{affiliative manager}} = 0.65$; mean difference = 2.42, 95% CI [2.30, 2.53]; $t(355) = 40.85$, $p < .001$, and less affiliative, $M_{\text{antagonistic manager}} = 2.33$, $SD_{\text{antagonistic manager}} = 0.87$, $M_{\text{affiliative manager}} = 4.62$, $SD_{\text{affiliative manager}} = 0.50$; mean difference =

[18] In piloting, when we asked participants about their current managers, we observed a correlation between participant CWV and current manager antagonism. We thus worried that asking participants to report on a single "current" manager could lead to managerial antagonism levels that are systematically skewed based on participant CWV, hampering our ability to evaluate our expected effects. To test our predictions, we sought to capture perceptions from low-, medium-, and high-CWV participants of both affiliative and antagonistic managers (rather than, say, perceptions from low-CWV participants of affiliative managers and perceptions from high-CWV participants of antagonistic managers). We return to the question of "current" manager antagonism and consider its association with employee CWV and what that might imply about attraction and attrition, in the Discussion and General Discussion sections.

[19] Only one participant reported never having worked for a manager; the reported mean and standard deviation exclude their rating.

Figure 7

Predicted Values of Ratings of Behavior Frequency and Impact by Behavior Type and Participant CWV (Study 6)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

2.28, 95% CI [2.18, 2.39], $t(355) = 43.42$, $p < .001$, than their most affiliative managers.

General Competence and Leadership Effectiveness

In all linear regressions following, a random factor for participant identity was also included (given that each participant evaluated two managers). The main independent variables in our analyses were manager condition, participant CWV, and their interaction. First, linear regressions were conducted using these independent variables to predict manager competence and effectiveness evaluations. Consistent with our prior findings of the *worldview moderation* effect, the interaction was significant for leadership effectiveness (see Figure 8 and Table 11, Model 2). Unexpectedly, the effect of the interaction on general competence was not significant (see Figure 8 and Table 11, Model 1). Simple slopes analyses with FDR-adjusted *p* values revealed that, as expected, participants higher in CWV rated their antagonistic managers as more effective leaders, $b = 0.13$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.24], $t(708) = 2.54$, $p = .023$, than did participants lower in CWV.

Other Manager Appraisals

We also repeated this test with two additional measures of manager appraisal. Specifically, we used the same independent variables to predict the extent to which participants respected their manager and would recommend someone else to work for their manager. As predicted, the interaction between manager condition and participant CWV had significant effects (see Figure 8 and Table 11, Models 3 and 4). Participants higher in CWV respected, $b = 0.29$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.18, 0.41], $t(708) = 5.02$, $p < .001$, and recommended, $b = 0.32$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.22, 0.42], $t(708) = 6.14$, $p < .001$, their antagonistic managers more and recommended their affiliative managers less, $b = -0.19$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.30, −0.09], $t(708) = 3.76$, $p < .001$, than did participants lower in CWV.

Table 10

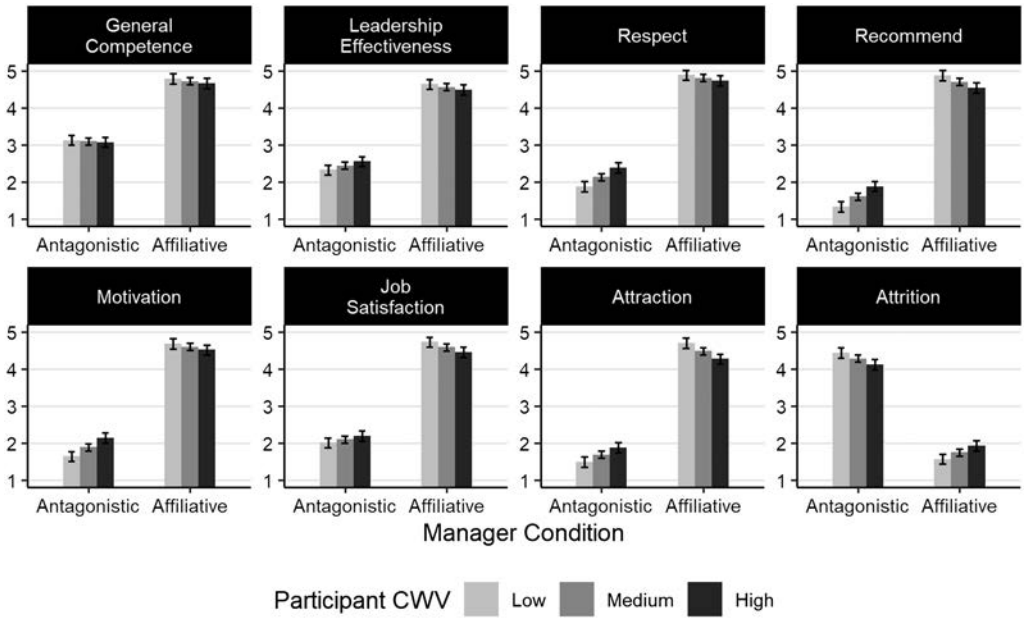
Ratings of Frequency and Impact of Each Behavior Type as a Function of Participant CWV (Study 6)

Variable	Antagonistic frequency (1)	Antagonistic impact (2)	Affiliative frequency (3)	Affiliative impact (4)
Constant	2.66*** (0.08)	2.24*** (0.10)	3.66*** (0.11)	3.33*** (0.08)
CWV	0.25*** (0.05)	0.31*** (0.06)	−0.10 (0.07)	−0.07 (0.05)
Familiar	0.02 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)	0.09 (0.06)	0.09* (0.04)
CEO	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Adjusted R^2	0.12	0.14	0.04	0.05

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview; CEO = chief executive officer.
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 8

Predicted Values of Ratings by Manager Antagonism Condition and Participant CWV (Study 7)



Note. Low and high participant CWV represent one *SD* below and above the mean, respectively; medium participant CWV represents the mean. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. CWV = competitive worldview.

Workplace Attitudes

We next tested for our expected *antagonistic environment effects* using our measures of workplace attitudes. Linear regressions were conducted with the same independent variables predicting the extent to which participants felt motivated by their manager and were satisfied with their job. As predicted, the interaction between manager condition and participant CWV had significant effects (see Figure 8 and Table 11, Models 5 and 6). Simple slopes analyses revealed that participants higher in CWV reported more motivation with their antagonistic managers, $b = 0.29$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [0.17, 0.40], $t(708) = 4.97$, $p < .001$, and lower job satisfaction with their affiliative managers, $b = -0.16$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [−0.28, −0.03], $t(708) = 2.44$, $p = .030$, than did participants lower in CWV. The effect of participant CWV on job satisfaction with antagonistic managers was not significant but in the expected direction, $b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.02, 0.23], $t(708) = 1.64$, $p = .102$, as was the effect of participant CWV on motivation with affiliative managers, $b = -0.09$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.22, 0.04], $t(708) = 1.60$, $p = .109$. All effects remained when controlling for participant age, gender, race, and highest education level, as well as how many managers participants had worked for, whether participants were reporting on their current or former manager, and for how long they worked for that manager (see Supplemental Material).

Effect of Reported Manager Behavior

Next, we shifted from our categorical measure of manager behavior (most antagonistic vs. most affiliative) to continuous participant ratings of how often their manager acted antagonistically or affiliatively. First focusing on antagonistic behavior, we ran linear regressions with the same set dependent variables predicted by rated manager antagonism, participant CWV, and an interaction term of these two independent terms, controlling for manager condition and including a random factor for participant identity. For all outcomes except for general competence, the interaction was significant, suggesting that the negative effect of antagonistic manager behavior, as rated by participants, was weakened for high- (vs. low-) CWV participants (see Supplemental Material).

As secondary analyses, we turned to affiliative behavior, running the same linear regressions swapping out manager antagonism for manager affiliation. While manager affiliation had a positive effect on all outcomes, this effect was significantly weakened among participants higher (vs. lower) in CWV for certain outcomes: the extent to which participants respected their manager, would recommend someone else to work for their manager, and were motivated by their manager (see Supplemental Material).

Exploratory Analyses: Attraction and Attrition

Having analyzed various measures of manager appraisal and workplace attitudes, we next considered attraction and attrition by employees as further exploratory analyses. The interaction between manager condition and participant CWV had a significant effect on participants' choice to work for their manager and their turnover intentions (see Figure 8 and Table 11, Models 7 and 8). Relative to low-CWV participants, participants higher in CWV reported that their antagonistic manager's behavior increased their own odds of choosing to work for them, $b = 0.23$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [0.11, 0.34], $t(708) = 3.98$, $p < .001$, and decreased their intentions to leave, $b = -0.19$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [−0.20, −0.08], $t(708) = 3.42$, $p < .001$. Inversely, high-CWV participants reported that their affiliative

Table 11
Outcomes as a Function of Manager Condition and Participant CWV (Study 7)

Variable	General competence (1)	Leadership effectiveness (2)	Respect (3)	Recommend (4)	Motivation (5)	Job satisfaction (6)	Attraction (7)	Attrition (8)
Constant	4.73*** (0.05)	4.57*** (0.05)	4.81*** (0.05)	4.71*** (0.04)	4.60*** (0.05)	4.59*** (0.06)	4.49*** (0.05)	1.74*** (0.05)
Manager condition (1 = antagonistic)	−1.63*** (0.07)	−2.13*** (0.06)	−2.68*** (0.07)	−3.11*** (0.06)	−2.72*** (0.07)	−2.50*** (0.08)	−2.81*** (0.07)	2.54*** (0.07)
CWV	−0.07 (0.06)	−0.09 (0.05)	−0.09 (0.06)	−0.19*** (0.05)	−0.09 (0.06)	−0.16* (0.06)	−0.25*** (0.06)	0.21*** (0.05)
Manager Condition × CWV	0.04 (0.08)	0.22** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.08)	0.51*** (0.07)	0.38*** (0.08)	0.26** (0.09)	0.47*** (0.08)	−0.39*** (0.08)

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. CWV = competitive worldview.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

manager's behavior decreased their own odds of choosing to work for them, $b = -0.25$, $SE = 0.06$, 95% CI [−0.36, −0.13], $t(708) = 4.33$, $p < .001$, and increased their intentions to leave, $b = 0.21$, $SE = 0.05$, 95% CI [0.10, 0.31], $t(708) = 3.86$, $p < .001$, relative to participants lower in CWV. Additionally, when controlling for manager condition, the interactions between antagonistic manager behavior (as rated by participants) and participant CWV were significant, as were the interactions between affiliative manager behavior (as rated by participants) and participant CWV (see Supplemental Material).

Discussion

Study 7 sought evidence for our predictions in the context of real-world, first-hand employee–manager relationships. We replicated our predicted *worldview moderation* effects, which, as in our prior studies, emerged above and beyond an *antagonism penalty* main effect. Participants who were higher (vs. lower) in CWV evaluated their most antagonistic manager as a more effective leader, respected their manager more, and were more likely to recommend someone else to work for their manager. They also reported less of a difference between their antagonistic managers and affiliative managers in terms of motivation and job satisfaction, relative to low-CWV participants, supporting an *antagonistic environment* effect. While CWV did not moderate perceptions of general competence in this study, the overall pattern of results in participants' ratings of their managers and workplace attitudes, as well as the consistency with which CWV moderated evaluations of general competence in our previous studies, leaves us confident in our *worldview moderation* effect.

Exploratory analyses also revealed suggestive evidence for attraction and attrition effects. Participants higher in CWV reported being more likely to choose and stay with, and less likely to leave, antagonistic managers, than those lower in CWV; they reported the reverse for affiliative managers. This pattern led us to suspect that high-CWV participants tend to work for more antagonistic managers. To probe this possibility further, we asked participants to rate the behavior of their current managers, using the same behavior items used in Studies 1 and 2 (see Supplemental Study S4). Participants higher in CWV indeed reported having more antagonistic and less affiliative managers compared to those lower in CWV.[20]

General Discussion

We began this article with the example of a harshly worded message from a manager to their employees, followed by a range of reactions. Our aim in the current work was to address a larger question lurking behind those divergent reactions: How do perceivers' evaluations of a leader's competence and effectiveness relate to their observations of that leader's antagonistic behavior? We proposed that

[20] One concern might be that high- (vs. low-) CWV employees simply expect and perceive more antagonism from others. If this is the case, then it may not be true that high-CWV participants work for more antagonistic managers; they may simply be rating similarly behaving managers as more antagonistic. We address this concern by leveraging exploratory measures of perceived antagonism included in Studies 3 and 4 (see Supplemental Material). In both studies, holding behavior constant, targets were perceived as similarly antagonistic by perceivers regardless of perceiver CWV. Thus, we can be more confident that the relationship between rated manager antagonism and employee CWV in Study 7 and Supplemental Study S4 is driven not simply by differing employee perceptions of similar manager behavior but by actual differences in manager antagonism.

the degree to which a perceiver generally believes the world to be a cutthroat, competitive jungle or a place of cooperation and collaboration would act as a lens through which they would interpret and evaluate others' (and leaders') antagonistic behavior.

Across seven studies, we largely confirmed our expectations. Study 1 demonstrated our *behavioral impact* effect, showing that people high (vs. low) in CWV considered antagonistic behavior as having a more positive impact (and affiliative behavior as having a less positive impact). Study 1 also demonstrated that the effect of CWV emerged over and above an array of related individual differences, such as SDO, cynicism, and theories of power. Study 2 replicated this basic effect with an experimental manipulation of worldviews. Study 3 tested our central *worldview moderation* prediction, demonstrating that CWV moderated inferences of a manager's competence and effectiveness from observations of the manager's antagonistic behavior. Study 4 replicated the moderation effect and supported our predicted mechanism of perceptions of behavioral impact, which appeared to mediate alongside the halo effect of a general positive impression. Study 5 demonstrated that the moderating effect of CWV and *impact mediation* effect emerged in the context of a real-world instance of managerial antagonism. Study 6 reversed the direction of inferences, showing evidence for our anticipated *post-dicted antagonism* effect: Perceivers high (vs. low) in CWV inferred that successful real-world CEOs had acted antagonistically more frequently on their "rise to the top" and that such antagonistic behavior had a greater positive impact on their success. Finally, Study 7 considered other workplace implications, confirming our predicted *antagonistic environment* effect: Employees' CWV moderated the relationship between managers' behavior and a range of employees' workplace attitudes, including motivation and job satisfaction, as well as their reported likelihood of choosing their manager or staying in the job. Importantly, we do not believe or find that perceivers high in CWV embrace antagonism over affiliation or generally prefer antagonistic others to affiliative others; rather, our argument and evidence point to an *antagonism penalty* main effect that is moderated by CWV, such that nearly all perceivers may penalize antagonism relative to affiliation in their evaluations, but those high in CWV seemingly penalize it less and tolerate it more.

Our account of social perception spotlights perceivers' general understanding of the social world as a backdrop to their specific social judgments. In the studies considered here, CWV appears to effectively capture at least some individual variance in worldviews that shapes not just political attitudes (as has been amply demonstrated elsewhere) but also basic processes of social perception (where we believe the current evidence is the first of its kind). Our work is also the first that we are aware of to make the connection between CWV and leadership judgments. Further research in this area might further explore how, when, and why CWV acts as a lens in the evaluation of leaders, as well as how CWV might govern not only leadership perception but also leadership behavior.

Limitations and Future Directions

These studies are not without their shortcomings. In the present research, we focused on workplace contexts and perceptions of organizational leaders. Future work may consider whether the attributions and evaluations we observed would extend to other contexts, such as within friendship networks, which may be less instrumental.

Table 12 summarizes additional limitations of the present work.

We want to stress that the sociofunctional approach to social inference we have outlined is not restricted to or synonymous with CWV, nor is it restricted to perceptions of affiliation–antagonism or evaluations of competence and effectiveness. We encourage future research to investigate other distinct sociofunctional mechanisms in social perception. We hope our account of social perception may provide a template for analogous accounts that consider the perceived relationship between certain traits and how that relationship may be moderated by a particular worldview. Best strategy beliefs (Halevy et al., 2014), primal world beliefs (Clifton et al., 2019), and lay theories of power (Belmi & Laurin, 2016; ten Brinke & Keltner, 2022) are some examples of lenses that may prove fruitful for shedding further light on social perception.

Organizational Implications

Finally, we believe that there are important organizational implications of the moderating effects of worldview in social perception. For instance, stakeholders and organizational members who endorse a high-CWV lens—where "assholery" is "key to success" (Rogers, 2022)—may cause antagonistic behavior to become selected, supported, and embedded into an organizational community, through their recruitment, promotion, and financial backing decisions. Popular media indicates that this worldview is not uncommon among organizational decision-makers: "a core conviction of many executives [is] sometimes to get shit done you have to be a dick," (Lepore, 2023, para. 19) whereas "[p]olite and velvety leaders, who take care to avoid bruising others, are generally not as effective," according to this mindset (Isaacson, 2011, p. 565).

Just as high-CWV stakeholders may elevate antagonistic leaders, employees high in CWV may be better able or more willing to remain with such antagonistic leadership, whereas low-CWV employees may find antagonism "harder to take" and subsequently exit—leaving behind the subset of those who are more tolerant, and even approving, of managerial antagonism (Schneider, 1987). Indeed, our results suggest that high-CWV participants may select to work for more antagonistic managers at higher rates and exit out of jobs under antagonistic managers at lower rates, than low-CWV participants. Additionally, managers may also be selectively hiring employees whose worldviews are congruent with their own behavioral style. Specifically, antagonistic managers may be favoring employees who understand the world to be characterized by power and might—and who would thus react more positively, or at least be less resistant, to an antagonistic management style. In this way, antagonistic managers may be both buttressed by external stakeholders and licensed by their subordinates.

Through their behavior, such managers may go on to instill or reinforce competitive mindsets in their employees and even encourage them to behave antagonistically themselves, which could feed back into and reinforce the competitive beliefs that caused such behavior. This is consistent with work finding that antagonistic or dominant leaders tend to increase the zero-sum mindsets of their subordinates (Kakkar & Sivanathan, 2022). Thus, social worldviews may be not only self-sustaining but also contagious. Future research might consider how social worldviews are maintained, enacted, and codified in organizations.

Table 12
Assessment of Limitations

Dimension	Assessment
Internal validity	
Is the phenomenon diagnosed with experimental methods?	CWV was manipulated in Study 2. Additionally, we manipulated target behavior (antagonistic vs. affiliative) within-participants in Studies 3 and 4. In Study 7, we manipulated, within-participants, whether an antagonistic or affiliative manager was recalled.
Is the phenomenon diagnosed with longitudinal methods?	No
Were the manipulations validated with manipulation checks, pretest data, or outcome data?	Manipulation checks were used in Studies 2 and 7.
What possible artifacts were ruled out?	We ruled out the possibility that our results were due to some other underlying variable rather than CWV. We also ruled out the possibility that our results were entirely driven by a *halo* effect moderated by CWV, rather than by *behavioral impact* beliefs. Finally, we ruled out the possibility that any one particular vignette or target individual produced our results.
Statistical validity	
Was the statistical power at least 80%?	Yes
Was the reliability of the dependent measure established in this publication or elsewhere in the literature?	Yes, all α were >.80 for the main dependent variables in this article.
If covariates are used, have the researchers ensured they are not affected by the experimental manipulation before including them in comparisons across experimental groups?	Not applicable
Generalizability to different methods	
Were different experimental manipulations used?	In Study 2, we used an experiential prime to manipulate CWV, aiming to temporarily shift the salience and accessibility of a competitive or cooperative understanding of the world. In Supplemental Study S1, we sought to use a different manipulation of CWV. In this study, we attempted to anchor perceptions of societal competitiveness with suggestions that the number of people who would be competitive is either high or low. Additionally, in order to manipulate target behavior, Studies 3 and 4 used vignettes. While it did not include an experimental manipulation of behavior, Study 5 used a different (real-world) set of antagonistic behavior.
Generalizability to field settings	
Was the phenomenon assessed in a field setting?	Study 7 asked participants to report on their actual managers and work experiences, although it featured an online participant sample.
Are the methods artificial?	All our studies used survey measures. We did not use measures of behavior. Studies 1, 2, 6, and 7 asked questions about behaviors which were derived from past literature. Studies 3 and 4 used fictional vignettes. Several of our studies featured real-world behavior and actual leaders as targets. Study 5 used a description of a real-world episode and used a sample of participants for whom the episode would hold particular relevance. In Study 6, participants considered real-world, widely lauded CEOs. Study 7 asked participants about their own managers and work experiences. Our studies did not capture interdependence in the workplace. Except in Study 7, participants did not have repeated interactions with the targets they were evaluating; their judgments did not affect any ongoing relationships. Study 7 began to address this limitation by asking participants about their real-world managers. However, the majority of managers that were called to mind were former managers. Future research might find it valuable to examine participants' evaluations of current managers. The present studies also relied on self-report measures of CWV, which makes it possible that socially desirable responding may have influenced our results. The mean levels of CWV measured in our studies were consistently below the midpoint of the scale, as has been typically found in other studies (e.g., Duckitt et al., 2002; Perry et al., 2013; Sibley & Duckitt, 2013). These relatively low levels suggest either that the participants in our studies did not subscribe strongly to CWV on average or that responses were suppressed by a social desirability bias. It is possible that the restricted range of CWV that we observe might underestimate the true moderating effect of CWV, making our studies a conservative test of our argument. (We thank a reviewer for raising this point.) Future research could supplement self-reports of CWV with other measures, such as observer ratings or implicit associations.
Generalizability to times and populations	
Are the results generalizable to different years and historic periods?	Given the stability of social worldviews such as CWV, even during periods of systemic instability (e.g., a global financial crisis; Sibley & Duckitt, 2013; Sibley et al., 2007), results may be similar for other years and historic periods. However, this was not tested.

(*table continues*)

Table 12 (*continued*)

Dimension	Assessment
Are the results generalizable across populations (e.g., different ages, cultures, or nationalities)?	This was not tested, but, given that all studies but one relied on U.S. samples, results may differ in other populations. The exception is Study 3, which sampled from a population (business students at a large northeastern university) that includes a large proportion of international citizens, as well as a minority of students with a U.S. origin. The results of this study are supportive of our broader claims. However, business students may also differ from the general population. The majority of our surveys employed online research samples, which have been found to be a useful source for collecting survey data from diverse samples of the general public (Buhrmester et al., 2018; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014; Peer et al., 2017, 2022). We employed these samples with the aim of capturing variance in our focal variable of CWV. That said, it would be useful to confirm the generalizability of these effects beyond online samples. We sought to complement our online samples with a set of participants who typically have had firsthand experience with managers themselves (business students); we also aimed to complement our scenario methods with reports from our participants about their real-world managers. Nonetheless, it might be valuable to examine these effects using a field or organizational sample, for instance.

Note. CWV = competitive worldview.

Conclusion

How people react to an actor's traits and behaviors critically depends on how they think the world works, with implications not only for interpersonal relationships but also for workplace environments and management. Our various reactions to the actors around us may depend not only on the actors themselves but also on our theories of the wider social world and our idiosyncratic understanding of how it operates, what it requires, and what it rewards.

References

Abele, A. E., & Brack, S. (2013). Preference for other persons' traits is dependent on the kind of social relationship. *Social Psychology*, *44*(2), Article 84. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-9335/a000138

Abele, A. E., Cuddy, A. J. C., Judd, C. M., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2008). Fundamental dimensions of social judgment. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*(7), 1063–1065. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.574

Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2007). Agency and communion from the perspective of self versus others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*(5), 751–763. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.751

Abele, A. E., & Wojciszke, B. (2014). Chapter four—Communal and agentic content in social cognition: A dual perspective model. In J. M. Olson & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 50, pp. 195–255). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-800284-1.00004-7

Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other "authoritarian personality." In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 30. pp. 47–92). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60382-2

Amabile, T. M. (1983). Brilliant but cruel: Perceptions of negative evaluators. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *19*(2), 146–156. https://doi.org/10.1016/0022-1031(83)90034-3

Ames, D. R. (2008). Assertiveness expectancies: How hard people push depends on the consequences they predict. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *95*(6), 1541–1557. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013334

Ames, D. R., & Flynn, F. J. (2007). What breaks a leader: The curvilinear relation between assertiveness and leadership. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(2), 307–324. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.2.307

Anderson, C., John, O. P., Keltner, D., & Kring, A. M. (2001). Who attains social status? Effects of personality and physical attractiveness in social groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *81*(1), 116–132. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.1.116

Anderson, C., & Kilduff, G. J. (2009a). The pursuit of status in social groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *18*(5), 295–298. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01655.x

Anderson, C., & Kilduff, G. J. (2009b). Why do dominant personalities attain influence in face-to-face groups? The competence-signaling effects of trait dominance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*(2), 491–503. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0014201

Anderson, C., Sharps, D. L., Soto, C. J., & John, O. P. (2020). People with disagreeable personalities (selfish, combative, and manipulative) do not have an advantage in pursuing power at work. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *117*(37), 22780–22786. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2005088117

Andersson, L. M., & Pearson, C. M. (1999). Tit for tat? The spiraling effect of incivility in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, *24*(3), 452–471. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.1999.2202131

Bates, D., Mächler, M., Bolker, B., & Walker, S. (2015). Fitting linear mixed-effects models using lme4. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *67*, 1–48. https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v067.i01

Belmi, P., & Laurin, K. (2016). Who wants to get to the top? Class and lay theories about power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *111*(4), 505–529. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000060

Benjamini, Y., & Hochberg, Y. (1995). Controlling the false discovery rate: A practical and powerful approach to multiple testing. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series B Methodological*, *57*(1), 289–300. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2517-6161.1995.tb02031.x

Benjamini, Y., & Yekutieli, D. (2001). The control of the false discovery rate in multiple testing under dependency. *The Annals of Statistics*, *29*(4), 1165–1188. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2674075

Blake, A. B., Luu, V. H., Petrenko, O. V., Gardner, W. L., Moergen, K. J. N., & Ezerins, M. E. (2022). Let's agree about nice leaders: A literature review and meta-analysis of agreeableness and its relationship with leadership outcomes. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *33*(1), Article 101593. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2021.101593

Blau, G., & Andersson, L. (2005). Testing a measure of instigated workplace incivility. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *78*(4), 595–614. https://doi.org/10.1348/096317905X26822

Buhrmester, M. D., Talaifar, S., & Gosling, S. D. (2018). An evaluation of Amazon's Mechanical Turk, its rapid rise, and its effective use. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *13*(2), 149–154. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617706516

Casciaro, T., & Lobo, M. S. (2008). When competence is irrelevant: The role of interpersonal affect in task-related ties. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *53*(4), 655–684. https://doi.org/10.2189/asqu.53.4.655

Cheng, J. T., Tracy, J. L., Foulsham, T., Kingstone, A., & Henrich, J. (2013). Two ways to the top: Evidence that dominance and prestige are distinct yet viable avenues to social rank and influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *104*(1), 103–125. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030398

Chou, E. Y. (2018). Naysaying and negativity promote initial power establishment and leadership endorsement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *115*(4), 638–656. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000135

Clifton, J. D. W., Baker, J. D., Park, C. L., Yaden, D. B., Clifton, A. B. W., Terni, P., Miller, J. L., Zeng, G., Giorgi, S., Schwartz, H. A., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2019). Primal world beliefs. *Psychological Assessment*, *31*(1), 82–99. https://doi.org/10.1037/pas0000639

Cook, W. W., & Medley, D. M. (1954). Proposed hostility and Pharisaic-virtue scales for the MMPI. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *38*(6), 414–418. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0060667

Cowie, H., Naylor, P., Rivers, I., Smith, P. K., & Pereira, B. (2002). Measuring workplace bullying. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, *7*(1), 33–51. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1359-1789(00)00034-3

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., Kwan, V. S. Y., Glick, P., Demoulin, S., Leyens, J.-P., Bond, M. H., Croizet, J.-C., Ellemers, N., Sleebos, E., Htun, T. T., Kim, H.-J., Maio, G., Perry, J., Petkova, K., Todorov, V., Rodríguez-Bailón, R., Morales, E., Moya, M., … Ziegler, R. (2009). Stereotype content model across cultures: Towards universal similarities and some differences. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *48*(1), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X314935

Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Beninger, A. (2011). The dynamics of warmth and competence judgments, and their outcomes in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *31*, 73–98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2011.10.004

Davidai, S., & Tepper, S. J. (2023). The psychology of zero-sum beliefs. *Nature Reviews Psychology*, *2*(8), 472–482. https://doi.org/10.1038/s44159-023-00194-9

Delhey, J., & Newton, K. (2005). Predicting cross-national levels of social trust: Global pattern or nordic exceptionalism? *European Sociological Review*, *21*(4), 311–327. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jci022

Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual-process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 33, pp. 41–113). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(01)80004-6

Duckitt, J., & Fisher, K. (2003). The impact of social threat on worldview and ideological attitudes. *Political Psychology*, *24*(1), 199–222. https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00322

Duckitt, J., Wagner, C., du Plessis, I., & Birum, I. (2002). The psychological bases of ideology and prejudice: Testing a dual process model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *83*(1), 75–93. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.1.75

Eagly, A. H., Nater, C., Miller, D. I., Kaufmann, M., & Sczesny, S. (2020). Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of U.S. public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018. *American Psychologist*, *75*(3), 301–315. https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000494

Epitropaki, O., & Martin, R. (2004). Implicit leadership theories in applied settings: Factor structure, generalizability, and stability over time. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *89*(2), 293–310. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.89.2.293

Falbe, C. M., & Yukl, G. (1992). Consequences for managers of using single influence tactics and combinations of tactics. *Academy of Management Journal*, *35*(3), 638–652. https://doi.org/10.5465/256490

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*(2), 77–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2006.11.005

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Frimer, J. A., Aquino, K., Gebauer, J. E., Zhu, L., & Oakes, H. (2015). A decline in prosocial language helps explain public disapproval of the US congress. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *112*(21), 6591–6594. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1500355112

Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(3), 453–466. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.3.453

Gartzia, L., & Baniandrés, J. (2016). Are people-oriented leaders perceived as less effective in task performance? Surprising results from two experimental studies. *Journal of Business Research*, *69*(2), 508–516. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.05.008

Gebauer, J. E., Maio, G. R., & Pakizeh, A. (2013). Feeling torn when everything seems right: Semantic incongruence causes felt ambivalence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *39*(6), 777–791. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213481679

Gedik, Y., Rink, F. A., Walter, F., & Van der Vegt, G. S. (2023). A contingency model of the dominance route to influence in work teams: The moderating role of team competition. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *26*(7), 1413–1435. https://doi.org/10.1177/13684302221135075

Gosling, S. D., Rentfrow, P. J., & Swann, W. B. (2003). A very brief measure of the Big-Five personality domains. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *37*(6), 504–528. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00046-1

Greenglass, E. R., & Julkunen, J. (1989). Construct validity and sex differences in Cook-Medley hostility. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *10*(2), 209–218. https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-8869(89)90206-7

Hair, J. F., Babin, B. J., Black, W. C., & Anderson, R. E. (2019). *Multivariate data analysis* (8th ed.). Cengage. https://books.google.com/books?id=0R9ZswEACAAJ

Halevy, N., Cohen, T. R., Chou, E. Y., Katz, J. J., & Panter, A. T. (2014). Mental models at work: Cognitive causes and consequences of conflict in organizations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *40*(1), 92–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213506468

Hasty, C. R., & Maner, J. K. (2025). Dominance, prestige, and intergroup conflict: How and why leadership preferences change in response to social context. *Evolutionary Behavioral Sciences*, *19*(1), 85–113. https://doi.org/10.1037/ebs0000336

Hayes, A. F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis, second edition: A regression-based approach*. Guilford Press.

Hershcovis, M. S., Turner, N., Barling, J., Arnold, K. A., Dupré, K. E., Inness, M., LeBlanc, M. M., & Sivanathan, N. (2007). Predicting workplace aggression: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *92*(1), 228–238. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.92.1.228

Ho, A. K., Sidanius, J., Kteily, N., Sheehy-Skeffington, J., Pratto, F., Henkel, K. E., Foels, R., & Stewart, A. L. (2015). The nature of social dominance orientation: Theorizing and measuring preferences for intergroup inequality using the new SDO_7; Scale. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *109*(6), 1003–1028. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000033

Isaacson, W. (2011). *Steve jobs* (1st ed.). Simon & Schuster.

Jeong, M., Minson, J., Yeomans, M., & Gino, F. (2019). Communicating with warmth in distributive negotiations is surprisingly counterproductive. *Management Science*, *65*(12), 5813–5837. https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2018.3199

John, O. P., & Srivastava, S. (1999). The Big-Five trait taxonomy: History, measurement, and theoretical perspectives. In O. P. John & L. A. Pervin (Eds.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research* (pp. 102–138). Guilford Press.

Judd, C. M., James-Hawkins, L., Yzerbyt, V., & Kashima, Y. (2005). Fundamental dimensions of social judgment: Understanding the relations between judgments of competence and warmth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *89*(6), 899–913. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.6.899

Judge, T. A., Bono, J. E., Ilies, R., & Gerhardt, M. W. (2002). Personality and leadership: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*(4), 765–780. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.4.765

Kakkar, H., & Sivanathan, N. (2017). When the appeal of a dominant leader is greater than a prestige leader. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *114*(26), 6734–6739. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1617711114

Kakkar, H., & Sivanathan, N. (2022). The impact of leader dominance on employees' zero-sum mindset and helping behavior. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *107*(10), 1706–1724. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000980

Keller, T. (1999). Images of the familiar: Individual differences and implicit leadership theories. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *10*(4), 589–607. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1048-9843(99)00033-8

Kervyn, N., Yzerbyt, V. Y., Demoulin, S., & Judd, C. M. (2008). Competence and warmth in context: The compensatory nature of stereotypic views of national groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*(7), 1175–1183. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.526

Kleiman, T., Sher, N., Elster, A., & Mayo, R. (2015). Accessibility is a matter of trust: Dispositional and contextual distrust blocks accessibility effects. *Cognition*, *142*, 333–344. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2015.06.001

Kuznetsova, A., Brockhoff, P. B., & Christensen, R. H. B. (2017). lmerTest package: Tests in linear mixed effects models. *Journal of Statistical Software*, *82*, 1–26. https://doi.org/10.18637/jss.v082.i13

Laustsen, L., & Petersen, M. B. (2015). Does a competent leader make a good friend? Conflict, ideology and the psychologies of friendship and followership. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *36*(4), 286–293. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2015.01.001

Laustsen, L., & Petersen, M. B. (2017). Perceived conflict and leader dominance: Individual and contextual factors behind preferences for dominant leaders. *Political Psychology*, *38*(6), 1083–1101. https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12403

Lenth, R. V., Bolker, B., Buerkner, P., Giné-Vázquez, I., Herve, M., Jung, M., Love, J., Miguez, F., Piaskowski, J., Riebl, H., & Singmann, H. (2024). *emmeans: Estimated marginal means, aka least-squares means* (Version 1.10.4) [Computer software]. https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/emmeans/index.html

Lepore, J. (2023, September 11). How Elon Musk went from superhero to supervillain. *The New Yorker*. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2023/09/18/elon-musk-walter-isaacson-book-review

Lord, R. G., Foti, R. J., & De Vader, C. L. (1984). A test of leadership categorization theory: Internal structure, information processing, and leadership perceptions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, *34*(3), 343–378. https://doi.org/10.1016/0030-5073(84)90043-6

Maner, J. K. (2017). Dominance and prestige: A tale of two hierarchies. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *26*(6), 526–531. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721417714323

Maner, J. K., & Case, C. R. (2016). Chapter three—Dominance and prestige: Dual strategies for navigating social hierarchies. In J. M. Olson & M. P. Zanna (Eds.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 54, pp. 129–180). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2016.02.001

Nannestad, P. (2008). What have we learned about generalized trust, if anything? *Annual Review of Political Science*, *11*(11), 413–436. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135412

Nguyen, C. Q., & Ames, D. R. (2025). *Savvy or savage? How worldviews shape appraisals of antagonistic leaders*. ResearchBox. https://researchbox.org/2201?

Offermann, L. R., Kennedy, J. K., & Wirtz, P. W. (1994). Implicit leadership theories: Content, structure, and generalizability. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *5*(1), 43–58. https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843(94)90005-1

Paolacci, G., & Chandler, J. (2014). Inside the turk: Understanding mechanical turk as a participant pool. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *23*(3), 184–188. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721414531598

Peer, E., Brandimarte, L., Samat, S., & Acquisti, A. (2017). Beyond the turk: Alternative platforms for crowdsourcing behavioral research. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *70*, 153–163. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2017.01.006

Peer, E., Rothschild, D., Gordon, A., Evernden, Z., & Damer, E. (2022). Data quality of platforms and panels for online behavioral research. *Behavior Research Methods*, *54*(4), 1643–1662. https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-021-01694-3

Perry, R., Sibley, C. G., & Duckitt, J. (2013). Dangerous and competitive worldviews: A meta-analysis of their associations with social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *47*(1), 116–127. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2012.10.004

Petersen, M. B., & Laustsen, L. (2020). Dominant leaders and the political psychology of followership. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *33*, 136–141. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2019.07.005

Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *67*(4), 741–763. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.67.4.741

R Core Team. (2020). *R: A language and environment for statistical computing* [Computer software]. R Foundation for Statistical Computing. https://www.R-project.org/

Rogers, A. (2022, October 4). I binge-listened to tech podcasts for a week, and what I learned about Silicon Valley is kind of scary. *Business Insider*. https://www.businessinsider.com/tech-podcasts-silicon-valley-ideology-andreessen-horowitz-calacanis-palihapitiya-2022-9

Rosenberg, S., Nelson, C., & Vivekananthan, P. S. (1968). A multidimensional approach to the structure of personality impressions. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *9*(4), 283–294. https://doi.org/10.1037/h0026086

Rosette, A. S., Koval, C. Z., Ma, A., & Livingston, R. (2016). Race matters for women leaders: Intersectional effects on agentic deficiencies and penalties. *The Leadership Quarterly*, *27*(3), 429–445. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2016.01.008

Ross, M. H. (1993). *The culture of conflict: Interpretations and interests in comparative perspective*. Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1xp3vn1

Różycka-Tran, J., Boski, P., & Wojciszke, B. (2015). Belief in a zero-sum game as a social axiom: A 37-nation study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *46*(4), 525–548. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115572226

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 743–762. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00239

Schneider, B. (1987). The people make the place. *Personnel Psychology*, *40*(3), 437–453. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.1987.tb00609.x

Schoemann, A. M., Boulton, A. J., & Short, S. D. (2017). Determining power and sample size for simple and complex mediation models. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *8*(4), 379–386. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617715068

Sibley, C. G., & Duckitt, J. (2013). The dual process model of ideology and prejudice: A longitudinal test during a global recession. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *153*(4), 448–466. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2012.757544

Sibley, C. G., Wilson, M. S., & Duckitt, J. (2007). Effects of dangerous and competitive worldviews on right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation over a five-month period. *Political Psychology*, *28*(3), 357–371. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00572.x

Stavrova, O., & Ehlebracht, D. (2019). The cynical genius illusion: Exploring and debunking lay beliefs about cynicism and competence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *45*(2), 254–269. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218783195

Stellar, J. E., & Willer, R. (2018). Unethical and inept? The influence of moral information on perceptions of competence. *Journal of Personality*

and Social Psychology, *114*(2), 195–210. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000097

Suitner, C., & Maass, A. (2008). The role of valence in the perception of agency and communion. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*(7), 1073–1082. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.525

ten Brinke, L., & Keltner, D. (2022). Theories of power: Perceived strategies for gaining and maintaining power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *122*(1), 53–72. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000345

Tepper, B. J. (2000). Consequences of abusive supervision. *Academy of Management Journal*, *43*(2), 178–190. https://doi.org/10.5465/1556375

van Kleef, G. A., Heerdink, M. W., Cheshin, A., Stamkou, E., Wanders, F., Koning, L. F., Fang, X., & Georgeac, O. A. M. (2021). No guts, no glory? How risk-taking shapes dominance, prestige, and leadership endorsement. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *106*(11), 1673–1694. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000868

Vilanova, F., Milfont, T. L., & Costa, A. B. (2022). A dual process social psychological model of corrupt intention and attitudes toward corrupt people. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *123*(4), 854–883. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000414

Weiss, A., Burgmer, P., & Mussweiler, T. (2018). Two-faced morality: Distrust promotes divergent moral standards for the self versus others. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *44*(12), 1712–1724. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218775693

Wiggins, J. S. (1979). A psychological taxonomy of trait-descriptive terms: The interpersonal domain. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *37*, 395–412. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.37.3.395

Wilmot, M. P., & Ones, D. S. (2022). Agreeableness and its consequences: A quantitative review of meta-analytic findings. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *26*(3), 242–280. https://doi.org/10.1177/10888683211073007

Wojciszke, B. (2005). Morality and competence in person- and self-perception. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *16*(1), 155–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280500229619

Wojciszke, B., & Abele, A. E. (2008). The primacy of communion over agency and its reversals in evaluations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *38*(7), 1139–1147. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.549

Zakrisson, I. (2005). Construction of a short version of the Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *39*(5), 863–872. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2005.02.026

(*Appendix follows*)

Appendix

Antagonism/Affiliation, CWV, and Related Constructs

Table A1

Relation of Antagonism/Affiliation to Existing Theories and Constructs

Construct (literature)	Description	Relation to antagonism/affiliation
Competence/agency and warmth/communion (self-, other-, and group-perception literature)	• Two foundational dimensions of social judgment (e.g., Abele & Wojciszke, 2007; Fiske et al., 2002) • Agency can be separated into two components: competence and dominance (Abele et al., 2008; Eagly et al., 2020; Rosette et al., 2016) • Dominance dimension of agency: forcefulness, directiveness, assertiveness • Dominance may be incompatible with communality/warmth or affiliation (e.g., Rudman & Glick, 2001)	• Antagonism: combination of low communality/warmth and high agentic dominance • Affiliation: combination of high communality/warmth and low agentic dominance
Assertiveness (leadership and negotiation literature)	Tendency to speak up for, defend, and act in the interest of themselves and one's own values, preferences, and goals (Ames & Flynn, 2007)	• Antagonism: high assertiveness, belligerent pursuit of goals • Affiliation: low assertiveness, deference
Dominance (social hierarchy literature)	Propensity toward forceful, assertive, and aggressive behaviors; the induction of fear, through intimidation and coercion, to attain social rank (Cheng et al., 2013; Maner, 2017; Maner & Case, 2016)	• Similarity with antagonism: forcefulness, assertiveness, aggressiveness, intimidation, and coercion • Difference ◦ Dominance: enacted with the aim of establishing one's place in a hierarchy or attaining social rank ◦ Antagonism: broader, includes behaviors enacted in the pursuit of some goal or desired outcome besides social rank
Incivility (deviant workplace behavior literature)	Low-intensity deviant workplace behavior with an ambiguous intent to harm (Andersson & Pearson, 1999)	• Similarity with antagonism: rudeness, discourtesy, disregard for others • Difference ◦ Incivility: low-intensity behavior (e.g., excluding a colleague from social conversations; Blau & Andersson, 2005), not necessarily instrumental or goal-oriented ◦ Antagonism: includes stronger, sharper forms; enacted in the pursuit achieve some instrumental goal
Workplace aggression (deviant workplace behavior literature)	Behavior that is intended to harm an individual within their organization or the organization itself and that the target is motivated to avoid (Hershcovis et al., 2007)	• Similarity: hostile behavior • Difference: ◦ Workplace aggression: intended to cause harm to the target ◦ Antagonism: not necessarily intended to cause harm (although it may often end up doing so)
Bullying (deviant workplace behavior literature)	Subset of aggressive behavior, in which the aggression is repeated and in which there is an imbalance of power such that it is difficult for the victim to defend him/herself (Cowie et al., 2002)	• Similarity: hostile behavior • Difference: ◦ Bullying: repeated, intended to cause harm to the target, imbalance of power ◦ Antagonism: not necessarily repeated or intended to cause harm (although it may often end up doing so), may be displayed upward or toward peers
Abusive supervision (deviant workplace behavior literature)	(Subordinates' perceptions of) the extent to which supervisors engage in the sustained display of hostile verbal and nonverbal behaviors, excluding physical contact (Tepper, 2000)	• Similarity: hostile, may be enacted for a purpose other than causing harm (e.g., supervisors may be abusive or antagonistic toward their subordinates in an effort to improve subordinate performance or discourage mistakes; Tepper, 2000) • Difference: ◦ Abusive supervision: sustained, directed downward ◦ Antagonism: not necessarily sustained, may be displayed upward or toward peers

Note. Antagonism refers to behaviors that are assertive, forceful, domineering, intimidating, coercive, and enacted to accomplish some objective. Affiliation refers to behaviors that are warm, communal, friendly, kind, sympathetic, and selfless.

(*Appendix continues*)

Table A2
Relation Between CWV and Alternative Constructs

Construct	Definition	Correlation with CWV in Study 1	Similarity/relation to CWV	Difference with CWV
Thematically similar worldviews				
Cynicism	Negative appraisal of human nature with regard to other people's motives and intentions; belief that self-interest is the ultimate motive guiding human behavior (Stavrova & Ehlebracht, 2019)	0.63	Negative beliefs about others	Focuses on beliefs about the "players" of the social world, human nature, what people are like
Generalized trust	"Thin" or impersonal trust between strangers and acquaintance (Delhey & Newton, 2005)	−0.50	Beliefs about how trustworthy people are	Focuses on beliefs about the "players" of the social world, human nature, what people are like
Cooperative primal (Clifton et al., 2019)	Belief in a cooperative world, the fundamental belief that the world as a whole is cooperative (vs. competitive)	−0.59	Correlated with, though distinct from, CWV (Clifton et al., 2019)	Focuses on beliefs about the nature, structure, or rules of the "game" of the social world
Best and worst strategy beliefs (Halevy et al., 2014)	Actions that people associate with attaining their best and worst outcomes in conflict	−0.38 (best), −0.09 (worst)	Have been found to predict experiences of hostility and conflict at work (Halevy et al., 2014)	Focuses on beliefs about the nature, structure, or rules of the "game" of the social world
Zero-sum beliefs	Belief that one party's gain is possible only at another's expense	0.42	Has been shown to have consequences for factors such as interpersonal trust and intergroup conflict (see Davidai & Tepper, 2023, for a recent review)	Focuses on beliefs about the nature, structure, or rules of the "game" of the social world
Adjacent constructs				
SDO (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt et al., 2002; Pratto et al., 1994)	Social attitude reflecting a preference for hierarchical versus equal intergroup relations	0.41	CWV was introduced as a psychological precursor underlying SDO. The link between CWV and SDO can be found in the motivational goals that CWV makes salient (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt et al., 2002). High SDO expresses the motivational goals activated by high CWV: power, dominance, and superiority. Conversely, low SDO expresses the motivational goals that low CWV makes salient: cooperation and altruism.	We believe CWV captures perceivers' more basic beliefs about the social world. Like the scale's authors, we see these attitudes about individuals as underlying and preceding more "political" ideologies about how social groups do and should relate to one another (the focus of SDO; Duckitt, 2001; Sibley et al., 2007). Additionally, CWV has occasionally been found to be more central than SDO in predicting behaviors in situations that do not involve the direct exploitation of subordinate groups (e.g., Vilanova et al., 2022).
RWA (Altemeyer, 1998)	Social attitude capturing three covarying attributes of conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission	0.27	Has been identified alongside SDO as a powerful predictor of prejudice in Duckitt et al.'s (2002) dual process model	
Dangerous worldview (Duckitt et al., 2002)	View of the world as dangerous and threatening	0.32	Another worldview operating in parallel to CWV in Duckitt et al.'s (2002) dual process model, serving as a predictor of RWA	
Leadership theories				
Implicit leadership theories (Keller, 1999; Lord et al., 1984; Offermann et al., 1994)	Qualities with which people characterize a prototypical or idealized leader	0.38 (tyranny)	Tyranny dimension captures the extent to which people characterize a leader as "domineering" and "pushy"	CWV is broader, capturing beliefs about the social world more widely

(*table continues*)

(*Appendix continues*)

Table A2 (*continued*)

Construct	Definition	Correlation with CWV in Study 1	Similarity/relation to CWV	Difference with CWV
Theories of power (ten Brinke & Keltner, 2022)	Beliefs about two different ways power is gained and maintained; people who adopt a collaborative theory of power believe that social coordination and concern for the welfare of others are means for gaining power, whereas people who adopt a coercive theory of power believe that coercion and intimidation are required to gain power	0.51 (coercive), −0.27 (collaborative)	Fundamental assumptions that people develop about their social environment; lenses through which people see the world, guiding their perceptions, and potentially their behaviors and outcomes	CWV is broader, capturing beliefs about the social world more widely. CWV is a schema not only about power acquisition and maintenance, but about the nature of the social world and the people in it (Duckitt et al., 2002). In addition, theories of power are conceptualized as descriptive, not prescriptive, whereas CWV involves both descriptive and prescriptive elements.

Note. We sought a construct that would capture perceivers' broad views of the "game" of the social world, encapsulating beliefs about both the nature of the game of the social world and the players participating in it. CWV represents a stance that the social world is "a competitive jungle characterized by a ruthless, amoral struggle for resources and power" (Duckitt et al., 2002, p. 78). CWV = competitive worldview; SDO = social dominance orientation; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism.

Received January 15, 2024
Revision received April 1, 2025
Accepted April 17, 2025 ■