Bridging the Social Class Capital Gap: A Psychological Intervention in the Newcomer Adjustment Context

Grace J. H. Lim*

Nanyang Technological University

Marko Pitesa

Singapore Management University

Author Note

Grace J. H. Lim https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0394-7959
Marko Pitesa https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1056-151X
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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Grace J. H. Lim, Nanyang Business School, Nanyang Technological University, 91 Nanyang Avenue, Singapore 639956. Email: grace.limjh@ntu.edu.sg

Abstract

Motivated by observations that workers from lower social class backgrounds often experience lower career outcomes even after securing desirable jobs, we adopted an abductive approach—combining theory (the newcomer personal capital framework) with qualitative evidence from open-ended accounts (Study 1)—to identify three challenges these workers face after joining organizations as newcomers: limited cultural capital (i.e., institutional knowledge), lower social capital (i.e., social self-efficacy), and lower psychological capital (i.e., distress tolerance). Furthermore, in Study 1, we developed and tested a psychological intervention targeting these challenges and found that it effectively addressed them. In Studies 2 and 3, both preregistered field experiments, we deductively tested whether addressing these challenges would enhance key downstream outcomes. Indeed, for newcomers from lower social class backgrounds, the intervention improved both the experience of the work itself (job engagement) and the organizational social environment (social integration), which, in turn, led to better job performance—although it did not reduce turnover intentions. The intervention offers a scalable, low-cost method to promote the adjustment and career success of upwardly mobile workers from lower social class backgrounds. We discuss implications for understanding sources of class achievement gaps and for the importance of the newcomer adjustment process in promoting socioeconomic mobility in organizations.

Keywords: social class; newcomer adjustment; psychological intervention; inclusion

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Despite extensive research and widespread initiatives aimed at making workplaces inclusive, workers from lower social class backgrounds[1] who successfully attain a high level of education and enter higher-status occupations face persistent disadvantages in achieving long-term career success (Laurison & Friedman, 2016; Pfeffer, 1977a, 1977b). Most previous work has focused on uncovering potential discrimination in the hiring process, finding either no or only small effects (e.g., Koppman, 2016; Rivera, 2012), which suggests that the problem more likely emerges *after* entry into organizations. Indeed, Laurison and Friedman (2016) noted that "even when people who are from working-class backgrounds are successful in entering high-status occupations, they earn 17 percent less, on average, than individuals from privileged backgrounds" (p. 668).

Persistent career disparities among workers from lower social class backgrounds, even after they have navigated the hiring process, present an intriguing puzzle: Which factors might organizational research have overlooked that could explain—and potentially mitigate—these persistent class-based achievement gaps? To investigate this question, we adopted an abductive research approach—particularly suited for addressing surprising empirical observations that current theories do not fully explain, and guided by a practical orientation toward actionable insights (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). We conjectured that internal factors related to newcomers themselves might offer an actionable path forward. Investigating this possibility offered the potential to foster socioeconomic mobility among lower social class newcomers while shifting organizational research on social class from a predominant focus on external structural barriers to empowering workers directly.

[1] Following Côté's (2011) definition, as well as recent organizational research on social class (DeOrtentiis et al., 2022; R. T. Fang & Saks, 2021; R. T. Fang & Tilcsik, 2022), we conceptualize social class as a higher-level construct that encompasses an individual's access to objective resources, most notably financial resources and education, and subjective perceptions of where they rank in the social hierarchy.

We began our abductive inquiry by synthesizing relevant literature and identifying a potentially powerful yet underutilized theoretical lens: the newcomer personal capital framework (Bauer & Erdogan, 2014). This framework aligns closely with our research orientation by explicitly focusing on newcomers themselves and emphasizing personal resources and competencies that newcomers possess—or notably lack—as they join new organizations. Integrating insights from social class research with this framework, we formulated our initial best possible explanation, theorizing that lower social class newcomers face specific deficits in cultural capital (institutional knowledge), social capital (social self-efficacy), and psychological capital (distress tolerance), all critical for effective newcomer adjustment (Bauer et al., 2007; Saks & Gruman, 2018).

In Study 1, we pursued this initial explanation abductively by first qualitatively exploring whether these theorized deficits would naturally arise in the open-ended narratives of individuals preparing to enter higher-status jobs. Without imposing our theoretical lens prematurely, we assessed if these newcomer capital deficits spontaneously emerged as salient concerns among participants. This exploratory approach showed evidence of the organic relevance of our proposed explanatory factors. Besides validating these factors, we developed and tested an intervention designed explicitly to enhance these forms of newcomer capital, finding promising initial evidence of its effectiveness. In Studies 2 and 3, preregistered field experiments, we deductively tested the effectiveness of our intervention in real-world organizational settings, evaluating its potential to enhance key adjustment outcomes and thereby reduce the documented class-based career attainment gaps.

Our use of a newcomer-centered intervention to boost the outcomes of a disadvantaged group represents a novel approach in the organizational literature. Organizational research on inclusion and equality of opportunity has predominantly focused on documenting achievement gaps, examining the role of discrimination, and occasionally

proposing strategies for combating bias (Hebl et al., 2020; Whitley & Kite, 2006). Although important, this exclusive emphasis on organizational factors has overlooked the possibility that internal, newcomer-centered solutions might play a significant role. By demonstrating that newcomer-centered factors can be quickly and sustainably improved via targeted psychological interventions, our research highlights the theoretical importance of attending to newcomers themselves. In doing so, we offer a practical tool for addressing persistent class-based disparities and underscore an underexplored explanatory domain, inviting future research to broaden the theoretical landscape around socioeconomic inclusion.

We also contribute to the newcomer adjustment literature by integrating research on social class with the newcomer personal capital framework and by examining how workers from different social class backgrounds with varying levels of newcomer personal capital fare in terms of adjustment outcomes. Prior newcomer adjustment research has rarely considered how social class background might shape the adjustment process or, more broadly, how differential adjustment experiences could contribute to documented career achievement gaps. Yet, adjusting to a new organization is not only a key career juncture with major downstream implications for career achievement (Bauer et al., 2007, 2025; Bauer & Erdogan, 2014), but also a major challenge for many workers, with newcomers commonly experiencing a sense of "shock" (Louis, 1980). Thus, by explicitly examining social class-related adjustment challenges through the lens of the newcomer personal capital framework, our research positions the newcomer adjustment context as a theoretically significant and practically relevant setting for addressing persistent career achievement gaps.

Literature Search: Newcomer Personal Capital

We began by synthesizing the literature to identify newcomer-related factors that could explain the challenges faced by workers from lower social class backgrounds and that are amenable to intervention. We conducted a thorough review of the social class literature

spanning psychology, sociology, education, and other fields to identify a tractable number of actionable factors[2] likely to be relevant based on the newcomer personal capital framework (Bauer & Erdogan, 2014). We followed the recommendations for conducting a comprehensive literature review by Schweinsberg et al. (2023) (see Additional Online Material pp. 2–4), ultimately focusing on three factors representing the most compelling potential explanations. Below, we discuss relevant social class research indicating that these factors may be shaped by social class background, and we review corresponding evidence from the newcomer personal capital framework suggesting their relevance for newcomers' post-entry success. Consistent with our abductive approach, for each factor, we begin by formulating propositions (rather than hypotheses), reflecting our best possible theoretical explanations based on our synthesis of literature, empirical exploration, and theoretical refinement.

Institutional Knowledge (Cultural Capital)

The first factor we conjectured might be relevant to explaining the challenges faced by workers from lower social class backgrounds after entering higher-status occupations is their relative lack of the general knowledge needed to navigate unstructured institutional environments—within which modern higher-status work tends to take place. Although many organizations attempt to structure the socialization process for new employees (Liu et al., 2024), successful adjustment frequently depends on newcomers' own ability to manage uncertainty and adapt to work settings (Allen et al., 2017).

Unlike lower-status occupations, typically characterized by clear procedures, close supervision, and routinized tasks (Kohn & Schooler, 1969), higher-status occupations afford

[2] Based on the criterion of actionability, we did not consider human capital factors (typically proxied by educational attainment). These are already the focus of educational efforts and require drastically longer periods to impact. Thus, in line with the phenomenon that motivated our research, we focus on workers who attained higher education and are starting in higher-status jobs, but who vary naturally in their social class backgrounds, and we examine factors beyond human capital that may be productively impacted through a brief intervention.

greater discretion and autonomy in performing tasks (Grant & Ashford, 2008; Hackman & Oldham, 1976). Successfully adapting to such roles requires a nuanced understanding of informal norms, expectations, and strategies to navigate these unstructured organizational settings (Lareau, 2002, 2015). Individuals from lower social class backgrounds, however, may have fewer opportunities to acquire such institutional knowledge due to differences in early-life socialization and exposure to higher-status occupational environments.

Research in sociology shows that individuals from lower social class backgrounds are often socialized into values of respect for authority and conformity that are typical of lower-status occupations held by their parents (Kohn & Schooler, 1969). Thus, they are less likely to internalize the proactive agency and independence valued in higher-status occupations (Kohn, 1959; Pearlin & Kohn, 1966). For example, in a long-term qualitative study, Lareau (2015) found that young adults from higher social class backgrounds had more extensive and actionable knowledge of institutional "rules of the game," enabling them to have their needs met by institutions. In contrast, those from lower social class backgrounds, lacking this tacit institutional knowledge, encountered more frustrations and fewer accommodations.

Even after higher education and entry into higher-status jobs, individuals from lower social class backgrounds might continue to experience challenges due to gaps in institutional knowledge required to navigate higher-status occupational contexts. Although direct empirical evidence documenting the persistence of these challenges post-entry is limited, suggestive evidence from pre-entry contexts indicates this possibility. For instance, R. T. Fang and Saks (2021) showed that individuals from lower social class backgrounds adopted more haphazard and less structured job search strategies when attempting to secure higher-status employment—strategies characterized by limited direction and effectiveness. Also, Sharps and Anderson (2021) found that lower social class individuals approaching higher-status opportunities exhibited behavioral patterns reflecting norms typical of lower-status

occupations, such as lower assertiveness and proactive engagement. These findings suggest the possibility that deficits in navigating institutional norms and expectations, evident in pre-entry contexts, may continue to hinder lower social class newcomers after organizational entry, a critical juncture that has thus far received limited attention in the literature.

The newcomer personal capital framework suggests that the knowledge required to navigate unstructured institutional environments can be thought of as a form of "cultural capital" that entails "the insights and knowledge that one learns growing up in different parts of the world, at different socioeconomic levels, or at different periods of time" (Bauer & Erdogan, 2014, p. 447). Bourdieu (1986) conceptualized cultural capital as consisting, in important part[3], of an understanding of the norms and expectations characterizing higher-status occupations (see also Lareau, 2015, p. 21). Newcomer adjustment research provides evidence for the relevance of such institutional knowledge for adjustment when newcomers enter higher-status occupations. Studies have found that occupational, industry, or pre-entry knowledge is positively associated with adjustment outcomes (Bauer & Green, 1994; Chao et al., 1994; Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). For instance, Bauer et al. (2021) showed that organizational knowledge (whether the newcomer had previously worked in the same or a similar organization) was positively related to role clarity and task mastery, both of which are crucial for shaping how newcomers experience their work and fostering job engagement (Bauer et al., 2007). Thus, integrating insights from sociology, pre-entry employment, and educational contexts, we posit that social class background is likely to influence newcomers'

[3] Some forms of cultural capital can also matter for how others respond to a person due to standard similarity-attraction dynamics (Byrne, 1961). Bourdieu (1986) noted that cues of familiarity with "high culture" may afford such benefits in certain contexts (Koppman, 2016; Rivera, 2012; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016). However, this form of cultural capital is not easily amenable to intervention, and it is not as positive a factor as the ones we consider. For example, while high culture cues might be positively received in some contexts, in other situations they may be seen as irrelevant to primary organizational task demands or even elicit negative responses such as impressions of pretentiousness, elitism, or arrogance (Bjornsdottir & Rule, 2020; Durante et al., 2017).

institutional knowledge at organizational entry—thereby shaping lower social class individuals' initial ability to navigate unstructured environments in higher-status occupations.

Proposition 1a: *Social class background is positively associated with institutional knowledge.*

Social Self-Efficacy (Social Capital)

The second factor we conjectured as potentially explaining the challenges faced by workers from lower social class backgrounds after entering higher-status occupations, and which may be particularly amenable to intervention, is their lower social self-efficacy, or concerns about one's ability to effectively navigate social interactions and "fit in" within a given context (Jury et al., 2017). Beyond having to learn the new organizational task-related landscape, a major challenge for newcomers is learning to navigate the social landscape of the organization. Because organizations fundamentally consist of people and people are inherently social beings (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), newcomers must learn to build relationships, interpret social cues, and establish rapport.

However, newcomers from lower social class backgrounds may find this especially difficult, given that higher-status workplaces tend to be dominated by norms and values shaped by middle- and upper-class experiences (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2010; Whitely et al., 1991). A fundamental finding in research on social interactions and relationship formation is that people who have more in common tend to feel more at ease with each other and establish relationships more readily (Eckel & Grossman, 2005; McPherson et al., 2001). Conversely, interactions with dissimilar others "evoke more anxiety, threat, and stress" (Piff et al., 2018, p. 93; Page-Gould et al., 2008). Consequently, when entering new organizational environments predominantly shaped by middle- and upper-class norms, newcomers from lower social class backgrounds are likely to experience reduced social self-efficacy.

Although direct evidence of such social self-efficacy deficits among organizational newcomers from lower social class backgrounds remains limited, research from analogous contexts provides suggestive evidence of this phenomenon. For example, evidence from the educational domain has shown that lower social class individuals exhibit lower social self-efficacy when they enter college—a social situation similar to joining higher-status organizations, where these individuals similarly represent a numerical minority (Jury et al., 2017). For instance, Stephens et al. (2012) found that college students from lower social class backgrounds experience a sense of social misfit because their habits and preferences tend to differ markedly from higher-class habits and preferences that dominate higher education settings. The dynamics of organizational entry for lower social class individuals may, to some extent, parallel these educational findings, likely resulting in reduced social self-efficacy due to perceived misfit (Harackiewicz et al., 2014; Ostrove & Long, 2007; Phillips et al., 2020).

Additional research from pre-entry employment contexts further supports this conjecture. For example, R. T. Fang and Saks (2021) demonstrated that social class background influences job search success partially through social capital differences, showing that upper-class job seekers benefit from more extensive, high-status networks. Similarly, Smith et al. (2012) demonstrated that individuals from lower-status backgrounds display more hesitation and less confidence in professional social interactions during job search processes. Belmi and Laurin (2016) further showed that lower social class individuals generally feel less capable of actively engaging in social networking and organizational politics, despite these behaviors being crucial for long-term career success (Ng et al., 2005). Collectively, these findings strongly imply that lower social class individuals' pre-entry social difficulties may persist or even intensify following organizational entry.

From the newcomer personal capital perspective, social self-efficacy can be understood as a form of potential social capital, that is, "potential resources that can be

accessed" through one's theoretical networks as a result of being comfortable with and willing to approach others in a new social environment (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998, p. 243). The conceptualization of social self-efficacy as an indicator of potential social capital aligns with Bourdieu's (1986) definition as well as recent work focusing on networking as a dynamic psychological construct (Porter & Woo, 2015), making it potentially amenable to change through a brief intervention. Newcomer adjustment research further provides evidence that social self-efficacy matters when adjusting to a new organization. For instance, Nifadkar and Bauer (2016) found that newcomers with greater social anxiety expected other members of the organization to respond less favorably to socially proactive behavior, ultimately discouraging behaviors that are essential for both one's social experience at work and effective primary task performance. Indeed, studies have shown that such social concerns (reflecting lower social self-efficacy) impact key downstream newcomer adjustment outcomes, including social integration and engagement at work (Bauer et al., 2007).

In sum, given the critical role of social self-efficacy in newcomer adjustment and evidence from educational and pre-entry employment contexts, we posit that social class background will influence social self-efficacy at organizational entry.

Proposition 1b*: Social class background is positively associated with social self-efficacy when entering higher-status occupations.*

Distress Tolerance (Psychological Capital)

A third factor we conjectured as relevant in explaining the challenges faced by workers from lower social class backgrounds in higher-status occupations, and amenable to intervention, is distress tolerance—the capacity to withstand emotional discomfort or stress without withdrawing from challenging situations (Simons & Gaher, 2005). Navigating unfamiliar task-related and social landscapes in a new organization is stressful, requiring

individuals to endure frustration, recover from setbacks, and persist in their efforts to learn and adapt (Brooks & DuBois, 1995; Huang et al., 2014; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2009).

Life history theory suggests that early environmental conditions shape individuals' stress-response systems in adaptive ways. Growing up in resource-scarce or unpredictable environments may lead individuals to develop heightened vigilance and emotional reactivity—an adaptive strategy for rapidly identifying and responding to immediate dangers or uncertainties (Frankenhuis et al., 2020; Mittal & Griskevicius, 2014). Conversely, individuals raised in resource-rich, stable environments typically develop threat response patterns characterized by greater self-reliance, independence, and reduced emotional reactivity—strategies optimized for environments characterized by predictability, stability, and an emphasis on long-term goal pursuit (Ellis et al., 2022; Griskevicius et al., 2011).

Thus, despite their adaptive value in harsh or unpredictable contexts, heightened emotional reactivity and vigilance to threats may become a source of disadvantage when individuals transition into higher-status occupational environments—settings that typically reward composure, agency, and self-assurance when encountering challenges or setbacks (B. J. Ellis et al., 2022). Indeed, when confronted with stressful or threatening situations, individuals from lower social class backgrounds tend to experience reduced feelings of control and elevated stress, an otherwise functional threat management strategy, but one that comes at the expense of the ability to engage fully with other work-related goals (Mittal & Griskevicius, 2014; Sirola, 2024). Conversely, higher social class individuals tend to perceive such situations as manageable, bolstering their sense of agency and engagement with long-term goals. This pattern highlights how stress-response tendencies formed in lower social class contexts may represent a "normative mismatch" (B. J. Ellis et al., 2022; Frankenhuis et al., 2020) with the psychological demands and norms characteristic of higher-status occupations.

Suggestive evidence from organizationally relevant contexts seems aligned with this conjecture. Exploratory analyses by R. T. Fang and Saks (2021) revealed that lower social class job seekers initially employed more haphazard job search strategies, indicative of lower distress tolerance; however, those with greater psychological resources gradually transitioned toward more structured and effective strategies. Complementing this finding, Sirola (2024) demonstrated that employees from lower social class backgrounds exhibited stronger negative emotional reactions and reduced engagement when confronted with stressful organizational changes, suggesting they have lower distress tolerance in handling workplace stressors. Collectively, these findings imply that distress tolerance deficits identified in pre-entry employment and organizational contexts may persist and negatively impact lower social class newcomers after organizational entry.

From the perspective of the newcomer personal capital framework, distress tolerance can be understood as a key aspect of *psychological capital*—a set of psychological resources that enable effective coping, adaptation, and growth in the face of uncertainty and challenges (Bauer & Erdogan, 2014; Luthans et al., 2008; Luthans & Youssef, 2007).[4] Newcomer adjustment research consistently highlights distress tolerance as critical for positive responses to challenges, shaping both social integration and engagement at work (Ali et al., 2003; Brooks & DuBois, 1995; Huang et al., 2014; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2009). Conversely, lower distress tolerance is associated with potentially counterproductive psychological approaches to challenges and setbacks, such as rumination (Jeffries et al., 2016). As a result, lower distress tolerance can amplify issues identified earlier, such as the lack of engagement brought on by uncertainty and lack of familiarity with institutional functioning (Wang et al.,

[4] While previous work has conceptualized psychological capital as optimism, resilience, self-efficacy, or hope (Luthans & Youssef, 2007), our focus on distress tolerance is informed by social class research highlighting its relevance. At the same time, other aspects (e.g., optimism, hope) appear less critical given null findings in existing literature (e.g., R. T. Fang & Saks, 2021), making our conceptualization of distress tolerance as an indicator of psychological capital consistent with our theoretical framework.

2023) and the lack of social integration that perception of social challenges and stressors can engender (Larrazabal et al., 2022; Nock & Mendes, 2008; Thomas & Brausch, 2022).

In sum, integrating reasoning drawn from life history theory and empirical cues from pre-entry employment and organizational contexts, we propose that social class background shapes newcomers' distress tolerance at organizational entry.

Proposition 1c: *Social class background is positively associated with distress tolerance.*

Intervention Design

Having identified three theoretically important forms of newcomer personal capital likely shaped by social class background—namely institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance—we next considered how these deficits could practically and sustainably be addressed. Our goal was explicitly action-oriented: to develop an intervention strategy capable of empowering newcomers themselves, leveraging a theoretically sound psychological mechanism to quickly boost these specific facets of newcomer capital. To this end, we turned to social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) as the foundational framework guiding our intervention approach. According to social learning theory, individuals acquire new behaviors and psychological strategies effectively through observational learning, particularly when they perceive observed models as relatable, credible, and relevant to their own circumstances (Bandura, 1986; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). Observational learning strategies have proven highly effective in recent psychological interventions aimed at shifting behaviors and improving individual outcomes such as academic performance and adaptive behaviors (Moss-Racusin et al., 2018; Walton & Cohen, 2011). Thus, by grounding our intervention in social learning theory, we sought to maximize psychological potency and practical applicability, directly targeting the newcomer personal capital gaps we identified.

Social learning theory posits that observational learning involves four distinct yet interconnected cognitive processes: attention, retention, reproduction, and motivation (Bandura, 1977). Accordingly, we carefully structured the *format* of our intervention to systematically facilitate each of these processes. To ensure sufficient attention, we presented role models who closely resembled the intervention recipients—recent university graduates navigating similar professional transitions. Perceived similarity increased perceived relevance and ensured high engagement with the intervention content (Buunk et al., 2007; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). To foster retention, role models explicitly articulated concrete strategies for overcoming common adjustment challenges. For example, they demonstrated how newcomers might proactively seek institutional knowledge, gradually build confidence in social interactions, and manage work-related stress effectively. To enhance reproduction, role models demonstrated behaviors and approaches that participants could readily enact in their own workplaces. For example, role models illustrated effective approaches to seeking feedback in ambiguous situations and building professional relationships. Finally, to boost motivation, role models clearly illustrated the tangible benefits derived from applying these strategies, thus reinforcing their perceived efficacy and value (Walton & Cohen, 2011).

Our intervention *content* specifically targeted each of the three personal capital deficits theorized to be more pronounced among newcomers from lower social class backgrounds. To enhance institutional knowledge, role models emphasized strategies for proactively navigating ambiguous organizational norms—such as actively seeking guidance and information from supervisors and colleagues. Furthermore, to address social self-efficacy, role models normalized initial uncertainty in building social connections and demonstrated gradual approaches to confidently integrating into organizational social contexts. Finally, to improve distress tolerance, role models explicitly validated common

newcomer stressors, reassuring participants that initial negative emotions are typical and manageable, and presented techniques for effectively coping with such experiences.

Importantly, while the intervention explicitly targeted deficits we theorized would disproportionately impact newcomers from lower social class backgrounds, it was presented in a deliberately class-neutral manner. This decision was intended to minimize demand or stereotype threat effects (Croizet & Claire, 1998) and enhance the intervention's scalability and applicability. Given their prior socialization experiences, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds were expected to have fewer deficits in these forms of personal capital, thereby deriving relatively less incremental benefit from the intervention. Conversely, the intervention strategies represented meaningful, new insights and valuable psychological tools specifically for those from lower social class backgrounds, who might lack these resources.

Transparency and Openness

We describe our sampling plans, data exclusions, manipulations, and measures in all studies, adhering to the *Journal of Applied Psychology* methodological checklist. All data, analysis code, research materials, preregistrations, and additional online material are available at the Open Science Framework (OSF) webpage associated with this project: https://osf.io/xuqfk/?view_only=13f068f0a070434db6ebe55a1aa8170c. Study 1 was not preregistered because it represented the initial exploratory phase of our abductive approach, designed to examine whether newcomer capital deficits emerged spontaneously among participants, and to preliminarily evaluate whether our intervention strategy was viable in targeting these mechanisms—thus inherently lacking hypotheses. Studies 2 and 3 were conducted in a deductive phase of intervention testing and were preregistered. The preregistrations included the study design, hypotheses (presented in the introductions to Studies 2 and 3), projected sample size, and analysis strategy. Data were analyzed in all studies using Stata SE version 18.5. The overall conceptual model and research strategy are

summarized in Figure 1. All three studies were approved by the Institutional Review Board at Singapore Management University (Protocol Number: IRB-19-003-A016(219); Title: Autonomous behavior and perceptions of industry).

Study 1

Study 1 was conceived as an exploratory, abductively guided inquiry into newcomer concerns. After integrating research on newcomer adjustment and social class, we theorized that early career individuals from lower social class backgrounds might lack certain personal capital facets—notably institutional knowledge (informal workplace know-how), social self-efficacy (confidence in forging new peer relationships), and distress tolerance (emotional resilience in coping with stress). However, rather than assume these themes outright, we designed Study 1 to probe what challenges *actually* loomed largest in newcomers' minds. We recruited individuals about to enter higher-status job roles and invited them to reflect, in an open-ended format, on the questions and anxieties they faced as incoming newcomers. This open-ended design allowed participants to raise any concerns salient to them, yielding the possibility of surprising observations beyond our initial theorizing. An abductive logic guided our approach: we looked for patterns or anomalies in newcomers' spontaneous concerns that might inform or challenge our theoretical framework.

Importantly, we concurrently sought to conduct a preliminary test of whether an intervention grounded in social learning principles could practically influence these theorized newcomer personal capital facets. Recognizing the exploratory nature of this initial inquiry, our goal was not definitive hypothesis testing, but rather to gauge the intervention's potential viability in enhancing institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance. Together, these dual exploratory efforts—naturalistic qualitative insights and initial intervention testing—provided tentative yet important early-stage validation of our theorizing and laid the groundwork for more rigorous, field-based testing in subsequent studies.

Method

Participants and Design

A total of 187[5] early-career workers in the U.S. (M_{age} = 22.81, SD_{age} = 1.69, 66 males) participated in this study via Prolific for USD 5 in 2021. All were university graduates, mostly aged 25 or younger. To maintain ecological relevance and timing consistency with actual job-entry experiences, we targeted individuals who recently applied for higher-status positions and had progressed to advanced recruitment stages where they anticipated job offers. Capturing this anticipatory stage allowed us to explore salient concerns naturally arising in newcomers' minds as they faced imminent organizational entry (De Vos et al., 2009). Such salience is crucial in abductive inquiry, facilitating the exploration of themes in an authentic rather than deductively constrained manner (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

Participants provided details about a specific job and organization where they expected to work soon. Each participant's prompts referenced their own anticipated workplace context, enhancing salience and relevance to their unique newcomer situations. Participants then completed demographic measures and were randomly assigned to one of the two intervention conditions: treatment (N = 89) or control (N = 98). They viewed intervention videos and responded to follow-up questions designed to gauge initial perceptions about their future work experiences, thus offering preliminary validation of intervention efficacy in an exploratory, abductive stage of inquiry.

Pre-Intervention Measures

Social Class Background. Following previous social class research, we operationalized social class background with an assessment of both objective material resources and subjective perceptions of social rank (Côté, 2011; DeOrtentiis et al., 2022). To

[5] We planned and recruited 200 participants for this study. We excluded 13 participants as they failed two attention checks (Please select 'Somewhat Disagree').

assess the objective aspect of social class background, we used indicators of parental income and parental education (Diemer et al., 2013). We measured *parental income* with two items from DeOrtentiis et al. (2022) (1 = *$0 to $10,000* to 15 = *$140,001 or more* [in USD]): "*On average, what was your first/second parent's annual income while you lived at home?*" We summed the scores for both parents to get a total score for parental income. We measured *parental education* with two items from Diemer et al. (2013) (1 = *Did not complete high school* to 7 = *Postgraduate degree*): "*What is the highest grade or year of school completed for your first/second parent?*" We summed the scores for both parents to get a total score for parental education. Finally, we adapted a widely used measure in social class research to assess subjective perceptions of parental resources as a proxy for social class. Participants rated five items adapted from Côté et al. (2013) (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 5 = *Strongly agree*). The five items were: "*I grew up in a relatively wealthy neighborhood*," "*My family had enough money to buy things I wanted*," "*My family did not worry too much about paying our bills*," "*I felt relatively wealthy compared to the other kids in my school*," and "*I felt relatively wealthy compared to others my age*" ($\alpha = 0.91$).

We created an aggregate score of social class background by standardizing the three scores and then averaging them. We present results for the aggregate variable in text and report results for the individual indicators in the Additional Online Material.

Newcomer Personal Capital (Pre-Intervention). We used an exploratory qualitative approach, employing open-ended prompts to assess which challenges spontaneously emerged as most salient to participants. This method has been commonly used in social psychology research investigating the salience of particular phenomena in people's minds (Caspi-Berkowitz et al., 2019; Chung & Pennebaker, 2008; Greenberg et al., 1994; Olcaysoy Okten & Moskowitz, 2018; Schimel et al., 1999). Rather than imposing our theoretical lens upfront, we deliberately chose broad yet thematically targeted prompts. These prompts allowed for the

factors specified in our propositions to be expressed to the extent that they were salient, thus minimizing potential demand effects (Harmon-Jones et al., 2019). Yet, they also allowed flexibility for participants to express a wide range of concerns, including those beyond our initial theorizing. This approach was analogous to conducting an exploratory factor analysis, where patterns naturally emerge and reveal their intrinsic salience, followed by confirmatory analyses to test theoretical alignment explicitly (Fabrigar et al., 1999).

Specifically, participants responded to two broad prompts pertaining to each of the following themes: their thoughts related to the new organization, thoughts related to people in the organization, and finally, thoughts related to participants themselves and their ability to adapt to the new environment. In relation to their new organization, participants were asked: "*When you think about joining [organization name] in general, what first comes to mind about the workplace?*" and "*How do you think you will feel during the first few weeks of work at [organization name]?*" In relation to people in the organization, participants were asked: "*When you think about the people at [organization name], what first comes to mind?*" and "*How do you think you will feel about the people at [organization name] during your first few weeks?*" In relation to themselves and their ability to adapt to the new environment, participants were asked: "*How would you manage yourself at [organization name]?*" and "*How would you cope with potential stressors at [organization name]?*"

Two research assistants, blind to hypotheses, independently coded responses. First, they coded for the spontaneous emergence of any newcomer concerns and noted frequencies of different themes. After an initial round of independent coding and discussion of discrepancies, the raters achieved 100% agreement on theme identification and categorization in the next coding round. Second, they coded explicitly for the extent participants expressed the three focal constructs (institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance) (1 = *Not at all* to 5 = *Extremely*) in their responses. Interrater reliability was strong (ICC

≥ .80 for all measures); so, we averaged the scores across the judges to create three composite scores. Table 1 presents quotes showing natural salience and participant cognitions about the newcomer capital facets.

Intervention

Treatment Condition. We used three real-life stories[6] to create a video that educated individuals about the adjustment process. This intervention approach leveraged components of social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and was consistent with previous work on interventions (McNatt & Judge, 2008; Moss-Racusin et al., 2018; Walton & Cohen, 2011). The video explained ways of developing and managing the three newcomer personal capital facets. The video was also designed with attention and scalability in mind, so we conducted multiple pretests and iterations to ensure effective delivery of the content. We ultimately organized the content into a relatively short video (7 minutes).

To increase institutional knowledge, we emphasized the importance of proactively seeking knowledge and support from other organizational members, based on research on effective newcomer adjustment (Bauer et al., 2007). One graduate shared that:

> *I had to be proactive on my end in seeking more information from people in order to ease my adjustment process. This information could be about my job scope, my workplace, and the people at work. This is a strategy that I would encourage future newcomers to use when they enter their first jobs. I was lucky enough to realize the usefulness of seeking various kinds of information early on in my job.*

To increase social self-efficacy, we drew on the literature and emphasized managing expectations as a newcomer, not feeling pressure to fit in immediately, and staying positive

[6] We recruited three university graduates to share their experiences with us, and we tailored their experiences to create scripts for the video. Professional actors, blind to our hypotheses, acted according to these scripts.

and proactive in terms of building social connections (Cranmer et al., 2019; A. M. Ellis et al., 2017; Nifadkar & Bauer, 2016). One graduate shared that:

> *With some practice and conversations with various people, I familiarized myself with the way things worked and managed to connect and learn from people around me. It was OK not to have formed any new contacts in the first few weeks, as long as one slowly worked toward it. I felt like I was slowly but surely fitting in.*

Finally, to increase distress tolerance, we highlighted that several negative emotions (e.g., anxiety, frustration) were commonly experienced by individuals in new environments and that those negative feelings would dissipate as one gathered information and social contacts in the workplace over time. This provided newcomers with the confidence that, although stressful negative events and the ensuing emotions were to be expected, they would be able to tolerate and even manage them as time passed. For instance, one graduate shared:

> *As a newcomer, I remember feeling extremely awkward and afraid to step out of my comfort zone. I realized that learning the appropriate time and place to speak and to introduce myself is a crucial skill to have.*

At the end of the video, we included a summary of the pointers that the three college graduates shared with the participants. Participants then summarized their own takeaways and reflected on how to apply the takeaways to their own work lives.

Control Condition. We exposed participants in the control condition to content similar to that in the treatment condition, but omitting the key intervention feature designed to educate participants on approaching future challenges differently. Participants viewed job pitches from three *candidates*, paralleling the three university graduates who shared their experiences in the treatment condition. The three candidates were in fact the same three actors used in the treatment condition. The candidates discussed their strengths and why they were good candidates for similar job positions, akin to a job pitch (e.g., discussing their fit

with the organization, how much of a team player they are, and their work ethic). This kept the content relatively standardized, except for the systematic attempt to positively influence participants' behavior in the treatment condition. All other details were consistent across the two conditions (e.g., order of appearance of candidates, duration of speech, etc.).[7]

Post-Intervention Measures

Newcomer Personal Capital (Post-Intervention). After the intervention, participants answered the same targeted prompts to assess the three constructs. Similarly, the same research assistants coded the responses provided by the participants on the same scales (1 = *Not at all* to 5 = *Extremely*). Interrater reliability was strong (ICC ≥ .83 for all measures); so, we averaged the scores across the judges to create three composite scores.

Control Variables

We controlled for participant gender, education, and work experience (in years). We note that our findings remained consistent with or without the inclusion of the control variables in the analyses. We report our analyses below with the control variables included.

Results and Discussion

Exploratory Results: Salient Newcomer Concerns (Thematic Analysis)

We began our analysis by assessing the spontaneous salience of newcomer concerns. The initial coding process yielded three clearly dominant thematic categories, and these aligned with the factors we conjectured to be key in this context: concerns about institutional knowledge (navigating unstructured workplace norms), social self-efficacy (building connections with colleagues), and distress tolerance (coping with performance-related and

[7] Following Yeager et al. (2016), we included intervention fidelity checks measuring participants' distraction level, level of interest in the materials, perceived realism of materials, and perceived learning from materials. Across all three studies, there were no differences between the groups except that participants in the treatment condition felt they learned more than those in the control group. See Additional Online Material (p. 12) for results. We also ran a separate study (Supplementary Study #1) and showed that the videos in both conditions did not significantly differ in terms of relevance, entertainment, and arousal. See Additional Online Material (p. 5) for results.

emotional stressors). These categories were the most prevalent, capturing approximately 86.1% of all coded concerns. Social self-efficacy concerns (72.2%) emerged as the most frequently mentioned. Participants worried about breaking the ice, forming relationships, or overcoming shyness (e.g., "*I feel as though I would not fit in well*"). Distress tolerance concerns (71.7%) were the second most salient. Participants anticipated anxiety about heavy expectations, early mistakes, or critical feedback (e.g., "*I have depression and anxiety, and it is pretty hard to manage my emotions, my physical reactions, and more*"). Institutional knowledge concerns also appeared as a major concern (43.9 %), centered on unwritten rules, opaque procedures, and unclear KPIs (e.g., "*Anxious about asking for help in a fast-paced environment without feeling like a bother to anyone*").

Beyond these core categories, there were three minor, distinct themes mentioned less frequently: career progression clarity (16.0%; e.g., "*It can be hard to advance. There can be a lot of bureaucracy*"), work-life balance concerns (15.5%; e.g., "*I would also try to maintain a balanced life so that I try to avoid the early burnout that many people in this area tend to have*"), and office politics concerns (15.0%; e.g., "*I imagine them to be friendly like any other workplace, but there may be some office politics*"). The lower frequency and limited elaboration of these minor themes suggest that they are peripheral concerns.

In sum, our exploratory thematic analysis identified the most salient newcomer concerns, and in subsequent analyses, we tested whether these core concerns were even more pronounced among newcomers from lower social class backgrounds.

Newcomer Personal Capital (Pre-Intervention)

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations among all quantitative variables.

Table 3 presents the regression results. Using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression, we regressed institutional knowledge on social class background and found a significant

positive effect, $b = 0.84$, $SE = 0.07$, $p < .001$. Individuals from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of knowledge of how to navigate their future workplace, supporting Proposition 1a. We regressed social self-efficacy on social class background and found a significant positive effect, $b = 0.76$, $SE = 0.09$, $p < .001$. Individuals from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of social self-efficacy, supporting Proposition 1b. Finally, we regressed distress tolerance on social class background and found a significant positive effect, $b = 0.58$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$. Individuals from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of distress tolerance, supporting Proposition 1c.

Newcomer Personal Capital (Post-Intervention)

We regressed institutional knowledge on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term. The interaction was significant, $b = –0.74$, $SE = 0.20$, $p < .001$ (see Table 4 and Figure 2). Simple slopes analyses showed that participants from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition reported significantly higher knowledge of how to navigate their future workplace compared to their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.94$, $SE = 0.25$, $p < .001$. By contrast, those from higher social class backgrounds in the treatment condition did not differ significantly from their counterparts in the control condition, $b = –0.37$, $SE = 0.25$, $p = .140$.

Next, we regressed social self-efficacy on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term. The interaction was significant, $b = –0.60$, $SE = 0.16$, $p < .001$ (see Table 4 and Figure 3). Simple slopes analyses showed that participants from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition reported significantly higher social self-efficacy compared to their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 1.08$, $SE = 0.20$, $p < .001$. By contrast, those from higher social class backgrounds in the treatment condition did not differ significantly from their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.20$, $p = .922$.

Finally, we regressed distress tolerance on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term. The interaction was significant, $b = –0.37$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .004$ (see Table 4 and Figure 4). Simple slopes analyses showed that participants from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition reported significantly higher distress tolerance compared to their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.68$, $SE = 0.16$, $p < .001$. By contrast, participants from higher social class backgrounds in the treatment condition did not differ significantly in terms of distress tolerance compared to their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.02$, $SE = 0.16$, $p = .901$.

In sum, individuals from lower social class backgrounds rated themselves as less knowledgeable about navigating their future workplace, had lower social self-efficacy, and were less able to tolerate stress. Our intervention was effective, as we observed improvements in lower social class participants' scores on the three facets of newcomer capital relative to those in the control condition.[8] Having documented both the predicted gaps in cultural, social, and psychological capital among lower social class newcomers and the intervention's potential to attenuate these gaps, we proceeded to test the intervention in the field.

Study 2

In Study 1, we established exploratory evidence for our abductive insights into newcomer adjustment challenges and tentatively confirmed that the psychological intervention developed through social learning theory could influence the identified newcomer capital deficits. With these promising preliminary findings, we turned our focus toward a practical evaluation of whether addressing these internal newcomer capital deficits could impact broader, practically meaningful adjustment outcomes in organizational contexts. We specifically focused on two key adjustment outcomes: job engagement (Rich et al., 2010)

[8] Figure S1 (Additional Online Material p. 22) shows the pre- and post-intervention scores for newcomer capital facets.

and social integration (Morrison, 1993). These outcomes are critical because they reflect how effectively newcomers engage with the tasks inherent in their roles and how successfully they establish social connections within the organization—both known predictors of longer-term career success (Bauer et al., 2007, 2021, 2025; Christian et al., 2011; Knight & Eisenkraft, 2015; Wang et al., 2023). Moreover, these outcomes were particularly relevant to our abductive theoretical integration because they map clearly onto the deficits we identified.

For instance, institutional knowledge reduces ambiguity around task expectations, thus facilitating greater job engagement (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004). Similarly, social self-efficacy provides newcomers with the confidence to proactively form interpersonal connections, impacting social integration (Nifadkar & Bauer, 2016). Finally, distress tolerance mitigates the tendency to disengage or withdraw socially under stress (Simons & Gaher, 2005), benefiting both task engagement and social integration. Thus, newcomers lacking institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, or distress tolerance may struggle to engage with their work tasks or to become accepted as part of the social fabric of the organization. By fortifying these newcomer capital facets via the intervention, we expected newcomers to be more psychologically engaged in their roles and better integrated with their colleagues during the early adjustment period.

In evaluating these outcomes, we acknowledge a well-documented finding in the newcomer adjustment literature—an initial "reality shock" (Louis, 1980)—where newcomers typically experience a temporary decline in positive work attitudes and outcomes as they grapple with new demands, uncertainty, and unfamiliar organizational cultures (Bauer et al., 2007; Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Wang et al., 2023). This pattern reflects the inherent challenges associated with entering a new organizational setting and suggests a general baseline against which intervention effectiveness can be assessed. We were agnostic about whether an absolute decline would occur for all newcomers in our specific research context;

rather, our primary theoretical interest was in whether the intervention could yield a relative improvement for lower social class newcomers by equipping them with psychological tools to better navigate this transition. Thus, our theoretical prediction is focused explicitly on relative differences. Because lower social class newcomers typically enter higher-status organizational contexts with less institutional knowledge, lower social self-efficacy, and lower distress tolerance (as evidenced in Study 1), we reasoned that these individuals would derive greater benefit from an intervention explicitly designed to strengthen these newcomer capital facets. In contrast, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds, who have already internalized these forms of capital through their early-life socialization, are less likely to see meaningful gains from such intervention efforts.

In sum, in Study 2, we transition from literature integration, empirical exploration, and theory refinement toward deductive theory testing, using a preregistered field experiment to test whether the intervention improves job engagement and social integration especially among lower social class newcomers. As such, we hypothesize:

> Hypothesis 1a (b): *There is a positive effect of the intervention on job engagement (social integration), and these effects are stronger for newcomers from lower social class backgrounds compared to those from higher social class backgrounds.*

Method

Participants and Design

A total of 247[9] newcomers who were recent university graduates from three Singapore public universities participated in this study for SGD 100 (≈ USD 73) between 2021 and 2022. We recruited participants employed in banks and consulting companies[10]

[9] We preregistered 250 participants, but three of them dropped out of the study after T1. All others passed two identical attention checks (Please select 'Somewhat Disagree') at all three time points.
[10] We selected these companies because the class gap in downstream career success has been particularly pronounced in such contexts (Laurison & Friedman, 2016; Pfeffer, 1977b).

with the assistance of a Singapore-based market research firm, which independently verified the identity and employment status of panel members.

Newcomers completed three surveys over the course of several months with approximately six-week interval between each time wave. This interval timing was chosen to capture the critical period when "reality shock" manifests, typically emerging within the first few months of organizational entry (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013). At Time 1 (T1), 250 newcomers (M_{age} = 24.10, SD_{age} = 1.30, 114 males) completed the pre-intervention survey during their early organizational tenure (ranging from one to six weeks post-entry). Given the coordination challenges inherent in field research across multiple organizations with different hiring cycles and onboarding schedules, this range represents a practical balance between methodological precision and real-world implementation constraints. Importantly, all participants were still within the early adjustment phase when baseline measures of newcomer experiences are typically assessed in the literature (Bauer et al., 2007). The baseline assessment included measures of demographics, newcomer personal capital, job engagement, and social integration. We included these measures at T1 so that we could examine the effect of social class background on these variables at baseline. At Time 2 (T2), 247 newcomers (M_{age} = 24.30, SD_{age} = 1.35, 113 males) were randomly assigned to one of the two intervention conditions: treatment (N = 127) or control (N = 120). They watched a video and completed follow-up questions. At Time 3 (T3), 247 newcomers completed a post-intervention survey that included measures of job engagement and social integration. A 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*) was used unless otherwise stated.

Pre-Intervention Measures (T1)

Social Class Background. As in Study 1, we assessed parental income (in SGD; 1 = *$0 to $10,000* to 15 = *$140,001 or more*) and parental education (1 = *Elementary school* to 7 = *Post-graduate degree*) with the same items. To assess perceptions of social class,

participants rated which class best indicated their parents' occupation, income level, way of life, influence, and overall background (Kluegel et al., 1977; 1 = *Lower class* to 5 = *Upper class*). We averaged the five items to generate a mean score (α = .97). As in Study 1, we created an aggregate score of social class background by standardizing the three scores and then averaging them. We present results for the aggregate variable in text and report results for the individual indicators in the Additional Online Material.

Newcomer Personal Capital. Having found support for Propositions 1a–1c using qualitative measures that assess the natural salience of the relevant newcomer personal capital facets in Study 1, we used self-report measures in the current field study to directly assess those facets. To assess institutional knowledge, participants responded to a five-item measure that we developed by integrating the definitions in Bauer and Erdogan (2014) and Chen and Miller (2012) and our findings from Study 1. The items were: "*I am aware of how to navigate this company*," "*I am familiar with the adjustment processes in this company*," "*I am confident of expressing myself well in front of others in this company,*" "*I am informed about the culture of this company,*" and "*If I needed help in this company, I would know whom to approach*" (α = .88).[11] To assess social self-efficacy, participants responded to a four-item measure adapted from Den Hartog et al. (2007). The items were: "*I would be concerned about fitting in immediately,*" "*I would be concerned as to whether I belonged here*," "*I would be concerned as to whether I felt connected to others here*," and "*I would have concerns about whether I am able to 'connect' with colleagues here*" (α = .91). We reversed the final scores so that a higher value on the scale indicated a higher level of social self-efficacy. Finally, to assess distress tolerance, participants responded to a 15-item scale from Simons and Gaher (2005). Sample items were: "*When I feel distressed or upset, all I*

[11] A content validation study (Supplementary Study #3) following Colquitt et al. (2019) established the content adequacy of our institutional knowledge measure. We observed satisfactory definitional correspondence of the construct and definitional distinctiveness relative to other constructs (see Additional Online Material p. 10).

can think about is how bad I feel," and "*Feeling distressed or upset is unbearable to me*" (α = .93). As this scale measures distress intolerance, we reversed-coded it so that higher scores reflected greater distress tolerance.

Job Engagement and Social Integration. We measured baseline *job engagement* with 18 items from Rich et al. (2010). Sample items were: "*I work with intensity on my job*," "*I am interested in my job*," and "*At work, I concentrate on my job*" (α = .94). We assessed baseline *social integration* with seven items from Morrison (1993). Sample items were: "*I feel accepted by my coworkers*" and "*I feel comfortable around my coworkers*" (α = .91).

Intervention (T2)

In the treatment condition, participants watched one video (same content as in Study 1) that included a summary of key takeaways. At the end of the session, they summarized their own takeaways and reflected on how to apply the takeaways to their workplaces. In the control condition, participants watched the same video content as in Study 1.

Post-Intervention Survey (T3)

Job Engagement and Social Integration. We used the same job engagement (α = .98) and social integration (α = .83) measures as in T1.

Control Variables

We controlled for participant gender, education, and tenure (in months). Our findings remained consistent whether or not these control variables were included in the analyses. We report our analyses below with the control variables included.

Results and Discussion

We first conducted confirmatory factor analyses. For the measures of distress tolerance, job engagement, and social integration, we used a parceling strategy (Landis et al., 2000; Little et al., 2002) to reduce the number of estimated factor loadings and improve the sample size to parameter ratio. This is because the ratio impacts the standard errors and

stability of the estimates. Following Landis et al.'s (2000, pp. 190, 196) recommendations, we created three parcels for each of these measures. For the remaining measures, we used all the original items in the analyses. Results indicated that an eight-factor model[12] fit the data well, $\chi^2(349) = 860.05$, $p < .001$, CFI = .91, TLI = .90, SRMR = .06, RMSEA = .08, with all factor loadings statistically significant, $p < .05$.

Newcomer Personal Capital

Table 5 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations among all variables.

Table 6 presents the regression results. Using OLS regression, we separately regressed institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance on social class background. We found that newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of institutional knowledge, $b = 0.44$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$, supporting Proposition 1a. Next, newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of social self-efficacy, $b = 0.28$, $SE = 0.11$, $p = .010$, supporting Proposition 1b. Finally, newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of distress tolerance, $b = 0.30$, $SE = 0.08$, $p < .001$, supporting Proposition 1c. Overall, these findings reveal a significant T1 gap in the three newcomer capital facets between those from lower and higher social class backgrounds, supporting our theory (and the intervention's potential impact) in this context.

Job Engagement and Social Integration

We regressed job engagement on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline job engagement. We found a significant two-way interaction, $b = -0.51$, $SE = 0.12$, $p < .001$ (see Table 7 and Figure 5). Simple slopes analyses showed that newcomers from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition reported significantly higher job engagement than their counterparts in the control

[12] When we collapsed the three capital types into one latent factor, results indicated that the six-factor model did not fit the data as well, $\Delta\chi^2 = 1185.96$, $\Delta df = 13$, $p < .001$, CFI = .71, TLI = .68, SRMR = .13, RMSEA = .14, supporting our operationalizations of the three types of newcomer personal capital.

condition, $b = 0.67$, $SE = 0.14$, $p < .001$. By contrast, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds in the treatment condition did not differ significantly from their counterparts in the control condition, $b = –0.21$, $SE = 0.14$, $p = .150$. Hypothesis 1a is supported.

Next, we regressed social integration on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline social integration. We found a significant two-way interaction, $b = –0.59$, $SE = 0.12$, $p < .001$ (see Table 7 and Figure 6). Simple slopes analyses showed that newcomers from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition scored significantly higher on social integration than their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.81$, $SE = 0.15$, $p < .001$. By contrast, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds did not differ significantly between the treatment and control conditions, $b = –0.20$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .175$. Hypothesis 1b is supported.

Overall, these results replicated Study 1's findings that lower social class newcomers had lower newcomer personal capital at T1. However, the intervention effectively addressed these gaps: lower social class newcomers who received it showed higher job engagement and social integration at T3 than their counterparts in the control group.[13]

Study 3

Having established support for our abductive framework in Study 1 and confirmed its relevance for key proximal adjustment outcomes (job engagement and social integration) in Study 2, our final study expands the scope to explicitly examine the downstream implications of these outcomes. The motivation behind our research has been to illuminate and mitigate persistent career attainment gaps experienced by those from lower social class backgrounds, who, despite securing positions in higher-status occupations, continue to experience lower long-term success (Laurison & Friedman, 2016). Thus, Study 3 replicates the examination of

[13] Figure S2 (Additional Online Material p. 22) shows the pre- and post-intervention scores for job engagement and social integration.

outcomes central to newcomer adjustment (job engagement and social integration) and introduces supervisor-rated job performance and turnover intentions as critical downstream indicators of newcomer career success and organizational achievement (Ng et al., 2005).

We introduce job performance as our first key downstream outcome because of its fundamental role in shaping career trajectories. One's performance at work is a primary driver of career advancement, influencing promotions, salary increases, and developmental opportunities (Ng et al., 2005). As such, newcomers from lower social class backgrounds who lag behind peers in early performance risk experiencing persistent career stagnation, compounding initial social class disparities over time (Laurison & Friedman, 2016). From this perspective, effective newcomer adjustment, captured by high job engagement and strong social integration, becomes crucial for performance (Bauer et al., 2007, 2021). Specifically, highly engaged newcomers deploy more cognitive and emotional resources, accelerating task mastery and enhancing overall effectiveness (Christian et al., 2011; Rich et al., 2010). Similarly, socially integrated newcomers benefit from critical informal resources, such as tacit organizational knowledge, support networks, and timely feedback, each directly bolstering job performance (R. Fang et al., 2011; Morrison, 1993). Thus, improved newcomer adjustment supports immediate well-being and facilitates superior long-term career outcomes via enhanced job performance (Christian et al., 2011; Li et al., 2011).

We also introduce turnover intentions as a second downstream outcome given its equally consequential implications for newcomer career trajectories. Turnover intentions consistently predict actual turnover (Hom et al., 2017), which poses particular risk for lower social class newcomers who have already overcome significant barriers to secure higher-status job roles. Premature turnover can disrupt career momentum, erode accumulated organizational-specific knowledge and force newcomers to restart the demanding adjustment process elsewhere (Wachter & Bender, 2006). From this standpoint, greater job engagement

and social integration serve as critical psychological and relational anchors that mitigate intentions to leave. Engagement fosters deeper task fulfillment and organizational commitment, while integration embeds newcomers within supportive social networks, significantly reducing motivations toward premature departure (Chong et al., 2024; Lee et al., 2014; Steffens et al., 2017). By promoting engagement and integration, our intervention can potentially buffer lower social class newcomers against career-damaging turnover intentions.

In sum, Study 3 comprehensively tests an abductively derived intervention model, examining how addressing newcomer personal capital deficits improves proximal adjustment outcomes (job engagement and social integration), which then enhance longer-term outcomes critical for career success (job performance and turnover intentions). By incorporating supervisor-reported performance data, we strengthen causal inference, address common method concerns, and demonstrate broader practical and theoretical implications of our newcomer-focused intervention. Our final hypotheses test this moderated mediation logic:

> Hypothesis 2a (b): *There is an indirect effect of the intervention on job performance (turnover intentions) via job engagement or social integration, and the positive indirect effects of the intervention are stronger for newcomers from lower social class backgrounds compared to those from higher social class backgrounds.*

Method

Participants and Design

A total of 418[14] supervisor-newcomer dyads (supervisors: M_{age} = 31.38, SD_{age} = 2.86, 269 males; newcomers: M_{age} = 24.54, SD_{age} = 2.48, 282 males) in finance and banking industries took part in this study in 2023. They were recruited with the assistance of a market research firm in India, an apt context given its stark class-related challenges, which verified

[14] We preregistered 400 dyads but retained all additional valid responses supplied by the firm. Every participant passed two identical attention checks (Please select ‘Somewhat Disagree’) at both time points.

their employment status and identity. We paid USD 10 per supervisor response and USD 8 per newcomer response.

At Time 1 (T1), newcomers completed the pre-intervention survey, which included measures of their demographics, newcomer personal capital, job engagement, and social integration. Next, they were randomly assigned to either treatment (N = 209) or control (N = 209) condition. Around one month later, at Time 2 (T2), we measured job engagement, social integration, job performance, and turnover intentions. A 7-point scale (1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*) was used unless otherwise stated.

Measures and Intervention (T1)

We measured parental income (1 = *Less than 10 lakhs* to 11 = *100 or more lakhs*) and parental education (1 = *10th pass* to 5 = *Post-graduate degree*) with the same items as in Studies 1 and 2. We used the same measure as in Study 2 to assess perceptions of social class (α = .85). As in the previous two studies, we created an aggregate score of social class background by standardizing the three scores and then averaging them. We present results for the aggregate variable in text and report results for the individual indicators in the Additional Online Material.

We used the same newcomer personal capital, job engagement, and social integration measures as in Study 2: institutional knowledge (α = .92), social self-efficacy (α = .88), distress tolerance (α = .94), job engagement (α = .95), and social integration (α = .89).

Intervention. Newcomers in the treatment condition watched a video (same content as in Studies 1 and 2). At the end of the session, newcomers summarized their own takeaways and reflected on how to apply the takeaways to their own workplaces. Similarly, newcomers in the control condition watched the same video content as in Studies 1 and 2.

Measures (T2)

Supervisors rated newcomer job engagement (α = .93) and social integration (α = .79) using the same measures as in T1. Supervisors rated newcomer job performance with four items from Williams and Anderson (1991) (α = .73). Newcomers rated turnover intentions using three items from Ballinger et al. (2010) (α = .74).

Control Variables

We controlled for newcomer gender, education, tenure (in months), current personal annual income (in INR), college GPA (grade point average). We also controlled for newcomer proactivity, negative and positive affect, and self-esteem to isolate the intervention effects relevant to our outcomes specifically.[15] All control variables were administered at T1.

Results and Discussion

We conducted confirmatory factor analyses on the newcomer-reported scales: subjective perceptions of social class, institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, distress tolerance, job engagement, social integration, and turnover intentions. We employed a parceling strategy using three parcels for the same variables as in Study 2. Results indicated that a seven-factor model[16] fit the data well, $\chi^2(278) = 1055.40$, $p < .001$, CFI = .91, TLI = .90, SRMR = .04, RMSEA = .08, with all factor loadings statistically significant, $p < .05$. We also conducted the same analyses on the supervisor-reported scales: job engagement, social integration, and turnover intentions. Using the same parceling strategy, results indicated that a three-factor model fit the data well, $\chi^2(32) = 24.59$, $p < .001$, CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.00, SRMR = .02, RMSEA = .00, with all factor loadings statistically significant, $p < .05$.

[15] We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting these controls. We measured proactivity using Seibert et al.'s (1999) 10-item scale (α = .92; e.g., "*I am constantly on the lookout for new ways to improve my life*"), negative (α = .89) and positive affect (α = .91) using PANAS (Watson et al., 1988; e.g., "*afraid*," "*excited*"), and self-esteem using Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item scale (α = .82; e.g., "*I feel that I'm a person of worth*").

[16] When we collapsed the three capital types into one latent factor, results indicated that the five-factor model did not fit the data as well, $\Delta\chi^2 = 302.78$, $\Delta df = 11$, $p < .001$, CFI = .88, TLI = .86, SRMR = .05, RMSEA = .09, supporting our operationalizations of the three types of newcomer personal capital.

Newcomer Capital

Table 8 presents the descriptive statistics and correlations among all variables.

Table 9 presents the regression results. Using OLS regression, we regressed institutional knowledge on social class background and found a significant positive effect, $b = 0.19$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .008$. Newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of institutional knowledge, supporting Proposition 1a. We regressed social self-efficacy on social class background and found a significant positive effect, $b = 0.24$, $SE = 0.08$, $p = .003$. Newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of social self-efficacy, supporting Proposition 1b. Finally, we regressed distress tolerance on social class background and found a significant positive effect, $b = 0.17$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .008$. Newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of distress tolerance, supporting Proposition 1c. These findings reveal a significant T1 gap in the three newcomer personal capital facets between newcomers from lower and higher social class backgrounds.

Job Engagement and Social Integration

We regressed job engagement on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline job engagement. We found a significant two-way interaction, $b = –0.32$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .027$ (see Table 10 and Figure 7). Simple slopes analyses showed that newcomers from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition reported significantly higher job engagement than their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.44$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .004$. By contrast, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds in the treatment condition did not differ significantly from their counterparts in the control condition, $b = –0.02$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = .870$. Thus, Hypothesis 1a is supported.

We also regressed social integration on social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline social integration. We found a significant two-way interaction, $b = –0.28$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .023$ (see Table 10 and Figure 8).

Simple slopes analyses showed that newcomers from lower social class backgrounds in the treatment condition scored significantly higher on social integration than their counterparts in the control condition, $b = 0.30$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .019$. By contrast, newcomers from higher social class backgrounds did not differ significantly between the treatment and control conditions, $b = –0.10$, $SE = 0.13$, $p = .423$. Hypothesis 1b is supported.

Job Performance and Turnover Intentions

To test Hypothesis 2a, we regressed job performance on job engagement, social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline job engagement. We found a significant positive effect of job engagement on job performance, $b = 0.82$, $SE = 0.03$, $p < .001$ (see Table 11). Moderated mediation analyses with bootstrapped confidence intervals on the basis of 5,000 samples revealed a significant overall index of moderated mediation, $b = –0.38$, $SE = 0.16$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.72, –0.06]. The indirect effect was stronger for newcomers from lower social class backgrounds, $b = 0.36$, $SE = 0.13$, $CI_{95\%}$ [0.10, 0.60], than for newcomers from higher social class backgrounds, $b = –0.02$, $SE = 0.12$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.25, 0.22].

Similarly, we regressed job performance on social integration, social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline social integration. We found a significant positive effect of social integration on job performance, $b = 0.37$, $SE = 0.06$, $p < .001$ (see Table 11). Moderated mediation analyses with bootstrapped confidence intervals on the basis of 5,000 samples revealed a significant overall index of moderated mediation, $b = –0.15$, $SE = 0.07$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.31, –0.03]. The indirect effect was stronger for newcomers from lower social class backgrounds, $b = 0.11$, $SE = 0.05$, $CI_{95\%}$ [0.02, 0.23], than for newcomers from higher social class backgrounds, $b = –0.04$, $SE = 0.05$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.14, 0.05]. Hypothesis 2a is supported.

To test Hypothesis 2b, we regressed turnover intentions on job engagement, social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline job engagement. The negative effect of job engagement on turnover intentions was not significant, $b = 0.06$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = .341$ (see Table 11), nor was the overall index of moderated mediation, $b = –0.03$, $SE = 0.03$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.12, 0.01]. Similarly, we regressed turnover intentions on social integration, social class background, the intervention variable, and their interaction term, controlling for baseline social integration. The negative effect of social integration on turnover intentions was not significant, $b = 0.003$, $SE = 0.07$, $p = .965$ (see Table 11), nor was the overall index of moderated mediation, $b = –0.001$, $SE = 0.03$, $CI_{95\%}$ [–0.07, 0.06]. Hypothesis 2b is not supported.

In sum, the findings from Study 3 replicated the results from the previous two studies. Newcomers from lower social class backgrounds reported lower levels of newcomer personal capital at T1. However, an intervention designed to address these challenges was effective in improving these newcomers' job engagement and social integration at T2, compared to their counterparts in the control condition.[17] The improvements in job engagement and social integration also led to better job performance, albeit without lowering turnover intentions.

General Discussion

Motivated by evidence that workers from lower social class backgrounds who enter higher-status occupations often struggle to achieve long-term career success, we adopted an abductive approach to develop and refine a psychological intervention aimed at improving the adjustment outcomes of these newcomers. Combining insights from social class and newcomer adjustment literatures with a qualitative exploration (Study 1), we conjectured and found that three newcomer capital facets could be enhanced to boost adjustment outcomes via

[17] Figure S3 (Additional Online Material p. 22) shows the pre- and post-intervention scores for job engagement and social integration.

a newcomer-centered intervention. We then conducted preregistered field experiments to deductively test this idea (Studies 2 and 3), finding support for the effectiveness of the intervention in improving key adjustment outcomes of newcomers from lower social class backgrounds. Our work highlights an actionable path to fostering socioeconomic mobility for these workers, and, in so doing, expands organizational research on social class from a predominant focus on external structural barriers to empowering individuals themselves.

Theoretical Implications

Our research introduces a novel perspective to organizational scholarship on social class and socioeconomic mobility by shifting the focus from external structural barriers to empowering individual workers directly. Although existing studies have provided valuable insights into the structural and organizational biases affecting workers from lower social class backgrounds (e.g., Koppman, 2016; Lim et al., 2023; Rivera, 2012; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016), we integrate insights from social class research with the newcomer personal capital framework to identify three critical personal resources—cultural capital (institutional knowledge), social capital (social self-efficacy), and psychological capital (distress tolerance)—that can be effectively boosted through targeted interventions during the critical adjustment phase, offering a practical pathway to narrowing class-based career disparities. This perspective that focuses on empowering workers themselves through targeted interventions may also provide valuable insights for other gateway organizational domains characterized by critical transitions and adjustment challenges, such as internal promotions, leadership succession, role transitions following organizational restructuring, and international assignments.

Our effort to identify factors that explain differences in workplace success between workers from lower versus higher social class backgrounds—institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance—also expands the theoretical terrain of the literature on

workers from lower social class backgrounds, which has thus far largely neglected these factors. Regarding institutional knowledge, there is a fundamental mismatch between occupational experiences transmitted by parents and the new, higher-status environments their upwardly mobile children encounter. Bernard Arnault's son famously noted that he did not need formal business education because regular interactions with his father provided abundant informal institutional knowledge (Kostov & Meichtry, 2023; McQueen, 2023); most individuals inevitably fall somewhere lower on this continuum. Our research explicitly surfaces this previously implicit logic, demonstrating how knowledge gaps in navigating complex, unstructured organizational settings systematically disadvantage lower social class newcomers. This perspective was central to our project's focus on newcomer adjustment—a critical juncture characterized by ambiguity and the need for unstructured navigation skills (Bauer et al., 2007; Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). Importantly, the same logic might help scholars explore tensions in other similarly unstructured situations where intergenerational knowledge transmission plays a key role, such as promotions, job changes, and other critical career transitions, all potentially reflecting downstream manifestations of institutional knowledge deficits that feed into broader socioeconomic achievement gaps.

Regarding social self-efficacy, our emphasis on (and confirmation of) its importance contributes meaningfully to both organizational and broader social science literatures on underrepresented groups, which lower social class individuals often become upon entering higher-status occupations (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 2010; Whitely et al., 1991). Existing research on stereotype threat has mostly highlighted how task anxiety among these groups might undermine actual task performance. However, this concern is less relevant in our context, which involved highly educated and competent individuals. In fact, not only did task anxiety not emerge as a salient newcomer concern in our open-ended qualitative coding in Study 1, but our intervention results in Study 3 indicate that gaps in task performance

diminish when other psychological factors—including, notably, *social* concerns—are addressed through a targeted intervention. The role of social self-efficacy, specifically, has received insufficient attention in the literature on underrepresented groups in organizations. Our findings suggest that social concerns (along with other salient factors like institutional knowledge and distress tolerance) should be more explicitly considered, as they might be equally impactful as traditionally emphasized mechanisms, although targeted theorizing specific to different social groups remains necessary (Shore et al., 2011).

Our conceptualization and empirical exploration of distress tolerance not only complement existing literature but challenge some untested assumptions prevalent in current research. For example, an important model in the social class literature suggests that growing up in a lower social class environment leaves a long-term psychological mark that makes people "tough, strong, and resilient" (Stephens et al., 2014, p. 614). Although coping with more insecurity and adversity may prepare people to face similar challenges in the future, our research suggests that it does not make them less reactive to threat. In fact, growing up in lower social class environments characterized by higher levels of threat and scarcity appears to make people *more* reactive to threats in general (Ayoub et al., 2018; B. J. Ellis & Del Giudice, 2019). This insight advances the understanding of the psychological imprint of social class origins, suggesting that what may be adaptive in one context (hypervigilance in resource-scarce environments) becomes maladaptive in higher-status occupational settings. This theoretical refinement offers a new lens for understanding persistent achievement gaps, shifting focus from simple discrimination narratives to more complex person-environment interactions that can be systematically addressed through targeted interventions.

Our adoption of the newcomer personal capital framework and our focus on understanding the challenges faced by a disadvantaged group during the key period of newcomer adjustment also contribute to research on members of disadvantaged groups more

broadly. As noted earlier, despite its key importance in shaping downstream career outcomes, the newcomer adjustment context has been largely overlooked in studies examining sources of disadvantage and improvement strategies for underrepresented groups. Similar to the approach adopted in our current research, the newcomer personal capital framework (Bauer & Erdogan, 2014) is useful in systematizing newcomer-centered factors relevant for different social groups and their success in organizations. For example, this perspective could also help reveal unique challenges faced by women or minorities. Given that our theorizing was specific to social class, we did not expect the intervention to boost outcomes for other groups. Indeed, we found that the three identified newcomer personal capital gaps and the effects of the intervention were specific to workers from lower social class backgrounds and had no effect on women (see Additional Online Material p. 13 for details). This pattern underscores the need for targeted interventions tailored to each group's distinct challenges. We hope our perspective on the newcomer adjustment process, focused on equality of opportunity, motivates further theorizing and a stronger emphasis on social implications in this literature.

Limitations and Future Directions

It is important to highlight several limitations of our current work and the associated avenues for future research. First, by sampling early career newcomers, we were able to study the key career transition from higher education to higher-status jobs, which is arguably a highly relevant context given our theoretical focus. This focus enabled us to gain a deep insight into the adjustment process and offered a clean test of the effect of social class background. However, these advantages came with trade-offs, most notably in terms of limited participant ages, stages in life, and job types. Although we validated our intervention using an American sample and tested it with Singaporean and Indian samples, future research should investigate its effectiveness in other contexts and determine whether it can be adapted to other newcomer populations (e.g., mid-career individuals). We hope that the intervention's

practical advantages (low-cost scalability and materials availability) will facilitate such efforts.

Second, we note that certain focal variables, such as job engagement, did not consistently increase in absolute terms over time, with some mean values even declining from pre- to post-intervention. This pattern aligns with the well-established "reality shock" documented in newcomer adjustment literature (Louis, 1980). We anticipated this effect and incorporated it within our theoretical framework, which is why our analyses focused on relative differences between conditions rather than absolute improvements. The intervention's value lies in its ability to moderate this inevitable adjustment challenge for lower social class newcomers, not eliminate it entirely. Finding that lower social class newcomers in the treatment condition fared significantly better than their counterparts in the control condition—even amid an overall adjustment-related decline—provides compelling evidence of the intervention's efficacy in addressing the capital deficits we identified. These results underscore the utility of targeted newcomer-centered interventions during critical transition periods, even when all newcomers face universal adjustment challenges.

Third, in Studies 1 and 2, we relied exclusively on self-reported data to assess our focal variables, which raises potential concerns about common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003). These concerns were partially mitigated by the longitudinal design in Study 2 and the multisource design in Study 3. Future research should utilize alternative study designs (e.g., experience sampling, surveys using other combinations of reporting participants) to further elucidate the dynamics and longer-term implications of the intervention on newcomers' psychological and behavioral reactions.

Fourth, our intervention is centered on the tenets of social learning theory with the goal of maximizing potency. Considering the short duration of the intervention video, the strategies had to be direct and focused. We note that other strategies, such as growth mindset

interventions (Burnette et al., 2023), might also be effective. Future research should examine which intervention strategies are most feasible and efficacious in promoting equality of opportunity regardless of worker social class background or other characteristics.

Practical Implications

The primary practical implication of our research is that organizations can substantially improve newcomer adjustment outcomes for employees from lower social class backgrounds through a brief, targeted psychological intervention. This approach, grounded in social learning theory and the newcomer personal capital framework, equips newcomers with practical strategies for enhancing their institutional knowledge, social self-efficacy, and distress tolerance—resources critical for early organizational success. The effectiveness and efficiency of our intervention method, demonstrated across multiple contexts, underscores its value as a low-cost and scalable strategy suitable for integration within existing onboarding practices, thus providing organizations with a powerful tool to foster socioeconomic mobility and reduce class-based career achievement gaps.

Building upon this rationale, our intervention provides organizations with a clear, actionable template: brief video-based role modeling featuring credible, relatable peers who successfully navigated similar challenges. To optimize effectiveness, organizations should carefully select role models who resonate closely with newcomers in terms of demographic characteristics, organizational context, and the nature of challenges faced. Careful tailoring enhances the perceived relevance and effectiveness of the modeled strategies, consistent with the foundational tenets of social learning theory, which emphasize the importance of observer identification and relatable modeling for effective observational learning (Bandura, 1977).

Given that our intervention explicitly addresses specific newcomer capital gaps identified through our abductive theorizing—limited institutional knowledge, lower social self-efficacy, and reduced distress tolerance—organizations should thoughtfully adapt the

content of these role-modeling videos to reflect their unique organizational cultures, workforce demographics, and specific newcomer challenges. For instance, organizations operating in particularly hierarchical or highly competitive environments may emphasize strategies for navigating informal organizational norms and managing stress effectively. Conversely, organizations with strong collaborative cultures may place greater focus on proactively building peer relationships and strengthening social self-efficacy.

Finally, we encourage organizations to carefully consider intervention timing within onboarding processes, as theoretically informed timing significantly enhances intervention potency. Drawing from newcomer adjustment literature, the initial delivery of the intervention might occur shortly before organizational entry to prime newcomers with strategies for coping with anticipated challenges. Subsequent reinforcement can be strategically timed within the first few weeks after entry when newcomers typically experience peak uncertainty and stress, and again several months into their tenure when new adjustment challenges often emerge. Such deliberate, theory-informed scheduling not only maximizes intervention impact but also reinforces the organization's commitment to supporting newcomers' ongoing development and integration.

Conclusion

Persistent class-based inequalities within organizations call for solutions beyond structural approaches alone. Our research demonstrates that brief, psychologically-informed interventions can effectively equip lower social class newcomers with key personal resources during critical career transitions. By directly empowering newcomers at organizational entry, we highlight an actionable and scalable path to narrowing socioeconomic disparities, extending both theory and practice on workplace inclusion.

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Table 1

Illustrative Quotes for Newcomer Personal Capital (Pre-Intervention) in Study 1

Newcomer Personal Capital Facets	Illustrative Quotes
Institutional Knowledge [43.9%]	**[High]** "I would feel a bit nervous at first, but I would be excited. I would definitely ask a lot of questions to make sure I understand how things work."
	[High] "I would feel nervous and excited. I would be eager to use my knowledge to my advantage and try to learn new things each day from my coworkers. It would be a great opportunity."
	[High] "During the first few weeks of work in Goldman Sachs I will feel excited but nervous. I think I will have to learn to network with many different colleagues or higher executives and obtain a lot of valuable experiences during this training period."
	[High] "This is a career that opens up many doors and offers high-powered connections. I believe that once I get my foot in the door, I will be able to grow at this company. There is a great amount of growth that I think is important for anyone starting off their career."
	[High] "Prepared to show that I deserve the job. I think I would try to work as long and hard as I could to show the bosses this."
	[Low] "I may face some challenges in understanding my role because my experience has not been finance related so far in my career. I have not had much experience previously as this is my first time in this industry"
	[Low] "Anxious about asking for help in a fast-paced environment without feeling like a bother to anyone"
Social Self-Efficacy [72.2%]	**[High]** "I think I will feel excited to meet the people during the first few weeks of work at BCG. Since I expect most of them will be very interesting and intelligent, I'd probably have a lot to learn from them."
	[High] "Positive in general, trying to work out all the individual characters and how the team operates and gets along. Hopefully would feel welcomed by them and so feel positive towards them in the first few weeks."
	[Low] "I come from a deprived socio-economic background and given my experience of university I have no doubt I would face some prejudice in that work environment. I also need to find ways to make people like me at work."
	[Low] "I feel as though I would not fit in well. I would think that everyone at Goldman Sachs is an urban professional whereas I am more of a country girl. I also think there would be a real learning curve challenge."
	[Low] "I feel as though it might be difficult to fit in, as I have this image of the company being very prestigious. The people would be used to the KPMG environment and organizational culture, so their behaviors may differ from mine, and they could possibly look down on me and see me as inferior."

	[Low] "I will be apprehensive at first, I will want to fit in with people so I would make an effort to build relationships. I would feel intimidated as everyone will know a lot more about the job than me."
	[Low] "I think that I may feel like I am not as qualified as the people who work in Deloitte. I think it might be difficult to get to know the other staff members within the firm in the first couple of weeks. However, I still think I may find it difficult to fit in at the firm."
	[Low] "When I think about the people in JP Morgan, I think of cutthroat, focused individuals who are dedicating their lives to their career, at the expense of their families, social life, and probably mental health. I will probably also be wary of individuals trying to step on me so early in my career."
Distress Tolerance	**[High]** "I would manage myself as I would in any other workplace, I will be professional and do my job to the best of my ability. I will make sure to focus on the tasks but do not get stressed out. Prioritize my workload and ask for help if I need to."
[71.9%]	**[High]** "I would try to learn as much as possible so would be eager to learn anything I could in order to get the most for the experience."
	[High] "I will set goals for myself and look for ways to improve myself. I'll look for connections and boost my personal network. I'll learn all the information I can so I can easily fit in with Aviva."
	[High] "I would take initiative and learn what I could independently but ask for help if I'm out of my depth. I would be inquisitive when learning about a new process to understand why certain things happen in the company. I would be professional and humble around colleagues who have years of experience on me but friendly and network in order to provide potential contacts in the future."
	[High] "I would keep myself calm and collected, doing breathing exercises to avoid become over anxious. I would try not to talk to fast and make sure that I make sense to other people when talking to them. I would also try to find a mentor in the firm to help me along and I would make sure I build my knowledge up rapidly."
	[Low] "I think it's a stressful industry so you've got to seem like you can handle anything that is thrown at you. But I might not be able to handle it too well."
	[Low] "I will be intimidated and feeling possibly inferior to them. I will worry about people's judgement of me, and that I may not be good enough to work with them."
	[Low] "I have to be really serious about this, but I believe it will be kinda hard to manage myself when I start working. I have depression and anxiety, and it is pretty hard to manage my emotions, my physical reactions, and more."

Note. $N = 187$. [High] and [Low] represent high and low levels of the specific newcomer personal capital, respectively.

Table 2

Study 1 Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

	Variables	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	Social class background (aggregate)	0.00	0.89	–														
2	Parental income	10.98	3.70	**.87**	–													
3	Parental education	5.76	1.90	**.91**	**.69**	–												
4	Subjective social class	3.01	1.12	**.88**	**.62**	**.72**	–											
5	Condition	0.48	0.50	-.06	-.04	-.07	-.06	–										
6	Institutional knowledge (Pre)	3.58	1.15	**.65**	**.56**	**.56**	**.61**	-.00	–									
7	Social self-efficacy (Pre)	4.29	1.30	**.54**	**.48**	**.49**	**.46**	-.07	**.55**	–								
8	Distress tolerance (Pre)	4.37	1.07	**.49**	**.46**	**.42**	**.43**	-.05	**.60**	**.74**	–							
9	Institutional knowledge (Post)	3.30	1.28	**.23**	**.29**	**.18**	**.15**	.09	**.18**	-.07	-.05	–						
10	Social self-efficacy (Post)	3.00	1.09	**.31**	**.35**	**.31**	**.16**	**.23**	**.19**	.04	-.02	**.66**	–					
11	Distress tolerance (Post)	3.87	0.87	.04	.04	.06	.01	**.21**	-.01	**-.33**	**-.31**	**.49**	**.27**	–				
12	Age (years)	22.81	1.69	-.12	**-.15**	-.06	-.12	.13	.01	**-.15**	-.14	.07	.03	.05	–			
13	Gender	0.35	0.48	-.06	-.06	-.09	-.02	.01	-.04	-.10	-.03	-.08	-.05	-.11	.05	–		
14	Education	2.84	0.36	.13	.13	.10	.13	.05	**.16**	**.16**	.12	-.06	-.08	.00	**.17**	-.05	–	
15	Work Experience (years)	4.31	2.23	**-.17**	**-.16**	**-.16**	-.13	.02	-.07	-.11	-.12	.02	.01	-.06	**.24**	-.06	.05	–

Note. $N = 187$. Bolded correlation coefficients are significant at $p < .05$. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male.*

Table 3

Study 1 Regression Results (Pre-Intervention)

	Institutional Knowledge			Social Self-Efficacy			Distress Tolerance		
	b	*SE*	*p*	*b*	*SE*	*p*	*b*	*SE*	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.84	0.07	<.001	0.76	0.09	<.001	0.58	0.08	<.001
Gender	0.01	0.13	.916	-0.16	0.17	.332	0.00	0.14	.979
Education	0.24	0.18	.184	0.33	0.22	.141	0.16	0.19	.417
Work Experience	0.02	0.03	.526	-0.02	0.04	.647	-0.02	0.03	.571
Constant	2.81	0.53	<.001	3.48	0.66	<.001	4.00	0.56	<.001
R^2		.43			.30			.25	

Note. N = 187. Gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male.*

Table 4

Study 1 Regression Results (Post-Intervention)

	Institutional Knowledge			Social Self-Efficacy			Distress Tolerance		
	b	*SE*	*p*	*b*	*SE*	*p*	*b*	*SE*	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.70	0.17	<.001	0.80	0.12	<.001	0.42	0.10	<.001
Condition	0.28	0.18	.114	0.55	0.14	<.001	0.35	0.11	.002
Social Class Background × Condition	-0.74	0.20	<.001	-0.60	0.16	<.001	-0.37	0.13	.004
Pre-Intervention Measure (Baseline)	0.05	0.10	.596	-0.09	0.07	.168	-0.35	0.06	<.001
Gender	-0.20	0.19	.286	-0.10	0.15	.502	-0.21	0.12	.073
Education	-0.36	0.25	.146	-0.40	0.20	.046	0.03	0.16	.854
Work Experience	0.03	0.04	.525	0.03	0.03	.406	-0.04	0.03	.171
Constant	3.95	0.78	<.001	4.15	0.62	<.001	5.35	0.52	<.001
R^2		.15			.26			.24	

Note. N = 187. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Table 5

Study 2 Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

	Variables	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Social class background (aggregate)	0.00	0.86	–															
2	Parental income	9.29	5.43	**.83**	–														
3	Parental education	8.08	3.44	**.88**	**.60**	–													
4	Subjective social class	2.88	0.87	**.86**	**.55**	**.68**	–												
5	Condition	0.51	0.50	.02	.04	-.01	.01	–											
6	Institutional knowledge (T1)	5.03	1.20	**.32**	**.25**	**.29**	**.28**	-.06	–										
7	Social self-efficacy (T1)	3.53	1.45	**.17**	**.18**	**.14**	**.13**	.02	**.18**	–									
8	Distress tolerance (T1)	4.57	1.15	**.23**	**.19**	**.24**	**.16**	.06	**.18**	**.32**	–								
9	Job engagement (T1)	5.71	0.93	**.26**	**.14**	**.28**	**.26**	.03	**.35**	.04	.10	–							
10	Social integration (T1)	4.85	1.08	**.15**	.12	.12	**.15**	-.03	**.33**	**.43**	**.17**	**.37**	–						
11	Job engagement (T3)	5.63	0.96	**.16**	.11	**.14**	**.16**	**.14**	**.26**	.12	**.20**	**.50**	**.38**	–					
12	Social integration (T3)	4.61	0.99	**.32**	**.30**	**.25**	**.29**	**.17**	**.27**	**.25**	**.21**	**.16**	**.36**	**.48**	–				
13	Age (years)	24.30	1.35	**-.14**	-.03	**-.18**	**-.14**	.01	-.05	.00	-.03	-.10	-.01	-.02	.01	–			
14	Gender	0.46	0.50	-.02	.00	-.02	-.04	-.03	.10	.05	-.02	-.05	.04	.04	.00	**.66**	–		
15	Education	4.17	0.37	.08	-.04	**.18**	.08	-.11	.07	-.00	-.02	-.03	.02	-.09	**-.18**	-.05	-.02	–	
16	Tenure (months)	1.02	0.14	-.11	-.12	-.08	-.08	.02	.01	-.12	-.10	-.04	-.08	.06	-.03	-.05	.04	.01	–

Note. *N* = 247. Bolded correlation coefficients are significant at $p < .05$. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Table 6

Study 2 Regression Results (T1)

	Institutional Knowledge (T1)			Social Self-Efficacy (T1)			Distress Tolerance (T1)		
	b	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.44	0.08	<.001	0.28	0.11	.010	0.30	0.08	<.001
Gender	0.27	0.14	.068	0.17	0.18	.347	-0.02	0.14	.864
Education	0.14	0.19	.459	-0.05	0.25	.852	-0.11	0.19	.585
Tenure	0.30	0.52	.558	-1.04	0.65	.110	-0.64	0.51	.210
Constant	4.00	0.96	<.001	4.70	1.21	<.001	5.68	0.95	<.001
R^2		.12			.04			.06	

Note. N = 247. Gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Table 7

Study 2 Regression Results (T3)

	Job Engagement (T3)			Social Integration (T3)		
	b	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.34	0.09	<.001	0.67	0.09	<.001
Condition	0.23	0.10	.024	0.30	0.11	.004
Social Class Background × Condition	-0.51	0.12	<.001	-0.59	0.12	<.001
Baseline (T1)	0.50	0.06	<.001	0.29	0.05	<.001
Gender	0.15	0.10	.152	0.02	0.11	.865
Education	-0.19	0.14	.161	-0.55	0.14	<.001
Tenure	0.57	0.36	.112	0.25	0.38	.504
Constant	2.78	0.77	<.001	5.05	0.75	<.001
R^2		.34			.33	

Note. N = 247. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Table 8

Study 3 Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

	Variables	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	Social class background (aggregate)	0.00	0.72	–													
2	Parental income	2.15	0.38	**.68**	–												
3	Parental education	8.12	2.02	**.74**	**.24**	–											
4	Subjective social class	3.06	0.63	**.74**	**.24**	**.37**	–										
5	Condition	0.50	0.50	.07	**.18**	-.01	-.02	–									
6	Institutional knowledge (T1)	2.87	1.11	.09	.06	.02	**.10**	**.15**	–								
7	Social self-efficacy (T1)	3.07	1.26	**.11**	**.10**	.06	.08	**.28**	**.74**	–							
8	Distress tolerance (T1)	2.93	1.01	.08	.06	.02	.09	**.17**	**.94**	**.74**	–						
9	Job engagement (T1)	4.81	1.11	.09	.08	.04	.09	-.01	**-.47**	**-.37**	**-.51**	–					
10	Social integration (T1)	4.96	1.14	-.03	-.03	-.01	-.02	**-.11**	**-.74**	**-.59**	**-.79**	**.61**	–				
11	Job engagement (T2)	4.85	1.04	-.01	.03	.03	-.09	.08	-.02	-.01	.00	.04	.05	–			
12	Social integration (T2)	5.19	0.87	-.02	.05	-.06	-.03	.03	.01	-.02	-.02	.02	.03	**.33**	–		
13	Job performance (T2)	4.74	1.08	.03	.03	.08	-.04	-.01	.03	.01	.03	.02	.02	**.78**	**.30**	–	
14	Turnover intentions (T2)	2.68	1.26	.09	**.11**	-.02	**.11**	.01	-.04	-.08	-.01	.02	.03	.05	.02	.02	–
15	Age (years)	24.54	2.48	**.14**	.08	**.17**	.06	**.21**	.05	**.13**	.04	.05	.01	.02	.02	.05	-.05
16	Gender	0.67	0.47	**-.10**	-.06	**-.10**	-.06	**.23**	.03	.08	.02	-.01	.02	-.02	.03	-.03	-.01
17	Education	4.91	0.79	.09	.06	.04	**.10**	**.11**	.02	**.14**	.00	.08	.03	-.02	-.03	-.03	-.01
18	Tenure (months)	7.22	1.10	.05	**.12**	.04	-.04	-.04	-.09	-.05	-.09	**.13**	.09	.04	.08	.00	.03
19	Personal annual income (INR)	484880	179567	**.10**	.05	**.18**	-.00	-.09	-.02	.02	-.01	.03	.02	.07	.06	.04	.09
20	College GPA	76.08	8.80	.08	.07	**.10**	-.00	**-.25**	-.03	-.05	-.05	.06	.06	-.05	.03	-.01	.07
21	Proactivity	4.91	1.11	.07	.07	.01	.07	.04	**-.39**	**-.30**	**-.42**	**.48**	**.48**	-.01	.01	-.02	-.00
22	Negative affect	2.03	1.13	-.04	-.07	.03	-.05	.01	**.23**	**.16**	**.24**	**-.30**	**-.31**	-.01	.01	-.05	.03
23	Positive affect	5.00	1.12	.05	.05	-.05	**.10**	.02	**-.14**	**-.10**	**-.17**	**.27**	**.23**	.00	-.02	.05	-.07
24	Self-esteem	5.06	0.95	.01	-.03	.01	.04	.04	**-.32**	**-.21**	**-.34**	**.39**	**.40**	-.06	-.02	-.08	.01

	Variables	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
15	Age (years)	–									
16	Gender	.02	–								
17	Education	**.32**	-.04	–							
18	Tenure (months)	**.11**	-.09	.01	–						
19	Personal annual income (INR)	.06	.04	**.18**	.02	–					
20	College GPA	-.03	-.04	.04	-.00	**.27**	–				
21	Proactivity	.06	.01	-.03	**.13**	-.07	-.03	–			
22	Negative affect	-.07	-.03	.03	**-.12**	.09	.02	**-.59**	–		
23	Positive affect	**.11**	.06	.03	**.13**	-.09	.01	**.42**	**-.77**	–	
24	Self-esteem	.07	.01	.01	.08	-.02	-.04	**.75**	**-.51**	**.39**	–

Note. $N = 418$. Bolded correlation coefficients are significant at $p < .05$. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*. College GPA values reflect self-reported academic performance based on percentage marks (e.g., 0–100%), a grading system widely used in Indian universities.

Table 9

Study 3 Regression Results (T1)

	Institutional Knowledge (T1)			Social Self-Efficacy (T1)			Distress Tolerance (T1)		
	b	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.19	0.07	.008	0.24	0.08	.003	0.17	0.06	.008
Gender	0.11	0.11	.327	0.26	0.13	.039	0.07	0.10	.457
Education	0.01	0.06	.818	0.20	0.08	.007	-0.01	0.06	.928
Tenure	-0.04	0.05	.375	-0.02	0.05	.767	-0.04	0.04	.341
Personal Annual Income	-0.00	0.00	.280	-0.00	0.00	.605	-0.00	0.00	.382
College GPA	-0.00	0.01	.417	-0.01	0.01	.189	-0.01	0.01	.219
Proactivity	-0.35	0.07	<.001	-0.40	0.09	<.001	-0.37	0.07	<.001
Negative Affect	0.02	0.08	.800	-0.03	0.09	.766	-0.02	0.07	.764
Positive Affect	0.04	0.07	.600	-0.00	0.08	.995	-0.01	0.06	.928
Self-esteem	-0.08	0.08	.312	0.04	0.09	.664	-0.05	0.07	.526
Constant	5.44	0.86	<.001	4.58	1.00	<.001	5.94	0.77	<.001
R^2		.17			.14			.20	

Note. $N = 418$. Gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Table 10

Study 3 Regression Results (T2)

	Job Engagement (T2)			Social Integration (T2)		
	b	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	0.14	0.11	.223	0.13	0.09	.181
Condition	0.21	0.11	.056	0.10	0.09	.287
Social Class Background × Condition	-0.32	0.15	.027	-0.28	0.12	.023
Baseline (T1)	0.07	0.05	.185	0.02	0.04	.615
Gender	-0.09	0.11	.405	0.06	0.10	.551
Education	-0.07	0.07	.272	-0.06	0.06	.300
Tenure	0.05	0.05	.325	0.08	0.04	.039
Personal Annual Income	0.00	0.00	.028	0.00	0.00	.178
College GPA	-0.01	0.01	.280	0.00	0.01	.513
Proactivity	0.03	0.08	.749	0.04	0.07	.574
Negative Affect	-0.06	0.08	.480	-0.01	0.07	.905
Positive Affect	-0.01	0.07	.919	-0.03	0.06	.646
Self-esteem	-0.15	0.08	.074	-0.05	0.07	.455
Constant	5.45	0.87	<.001	4.49	0.74	<.001
R^2		.05			.03	

Note. $N = 418$. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

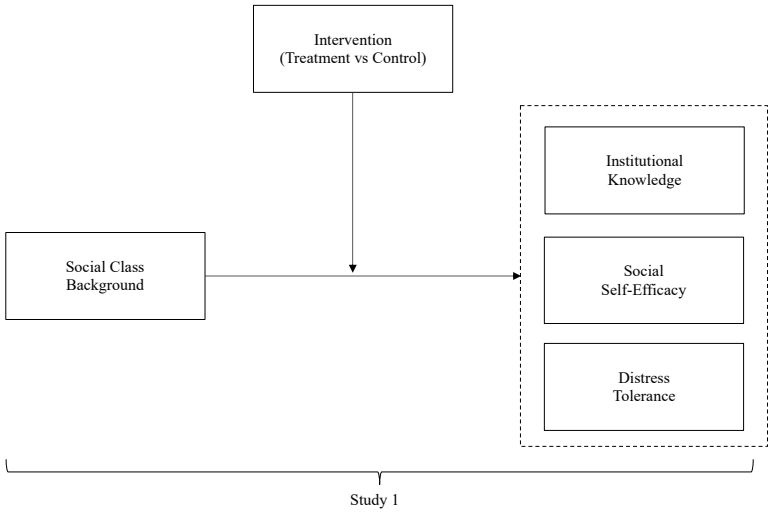
Table 11

Study 3 Regression Results (T2)

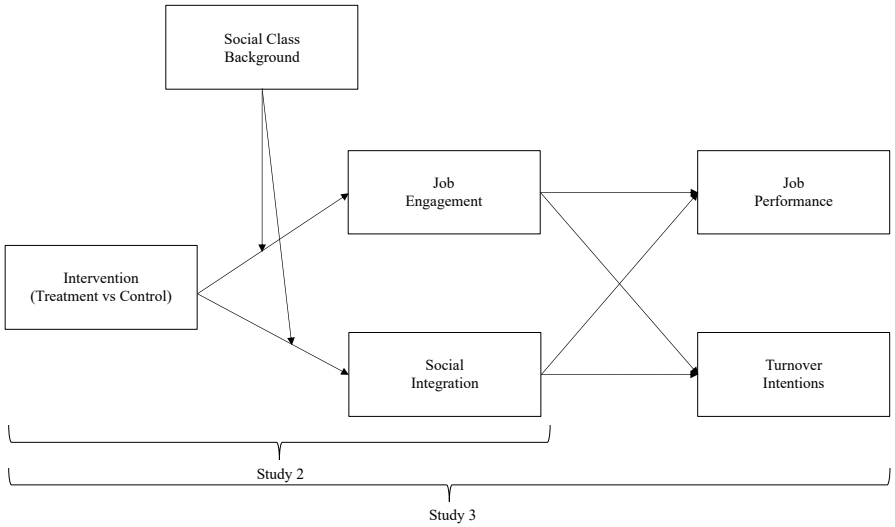
	Job Performance (T2)			Job Performance (T2)			Turnover Intentions (T2)			Turnover Intentions (T2)		
	b	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*	*b*	SE	*p*
Job Engagement (T2)	0.82	0.03	<.001	-	-	-	0.06	0.06	.341	-	-	-
Social Integration (T2)	-	-	-	0.37	0.06	<.001	-	-	-	0.00	0.07	.965
Social Class Background (Aggregate)	-0.01	0.07	.840	0.06	0.11	.618	0.19	0.14	.165	0.20	0.14	.140
Condition	-0.15	0.07	.043	0.00	0.11	.999	0.07	0.13	.603	0.09	0.14	.493
Social Class Background × Condition	0.15	0.10	.125	-0.01	0.15	.929	-0.07	0.18	.699	-0.09	0.18	.633
Baseline (T1)	-0.02	0.03	.526	0.04	0.05	.466	0.02	0.06	.725	0.04	0.06	.500
Gender	-0.02	0.07	.832	-0.12	0.11	.295	0.00	0.14	.974	-0.01	0.14	.966
Education	-0.00	0.04	.934	-0.04	0.07	.534	-0.06	0.08	.488	-0.06	0.08	.456
Tenure	-0.05	0.03	.128	-0.04	0.05	.417	0.04	0.06	.538	0.04	0.06	.507
Personal Annual Income	-0.00	0.00	.560	0.00	0.00	.318	0.00	0.00	.266	0.00	0.00	.225
College GPA	0.00	0.00	.637	-0.00	0.01	.441	0.01	0.01	.231	0.01	0.01	.253
Proactivity	0.01	0.05	.834	0.01	0.08	.861	-0.04	0.10	.705	-0.04	0.10	.665
Negative Affect	-0.05	0.05	.357	-0.09	0.08	.268	-0.05	0.10	.625	-0.05	0.10	.617
Positive Affect	0.04	0.05	.407	0.05	0.07	.520	-0.13	0.09	.146	-0.13	0.09	.150
Self-esteem	-0.09	0.05	.108	-0.19	0.08	.021	0.07	0.10	.493	0.06	0.10	.562
Constant	1.51	0.60	.012	4.27	0.92	<.001	1.94	1.12	.083	2.19	1.12	.051
R^2		.62			.12			.03			.03	

Note. $N = 418$. Condition variable was coded as 0 = *control,* 1 = *treatment*, gender variable was coded as 0 = *female*, 1 = *male*.

Figure 1
Conceptual Model



Goal 1: Demonstrate social class related gaps in newcomer personal capital in the U.S. (also validated in Singapore and India in Studies 2 and 3)
Goal 2: Test whether the intervention we developed can narrow social class related gaps in newcomer personal capital



Goal 1: Test whether the intervention can improve the adjustment indicators of job engagement and social integration
Goal 2: Test whether newcomer adjustment indicators in turn impact adjustment outcomes of job performance and turnover intentions

Figure 2

Study 1: Interaction Plot between Social Class Background and Intervention on Institutional Knowledge.

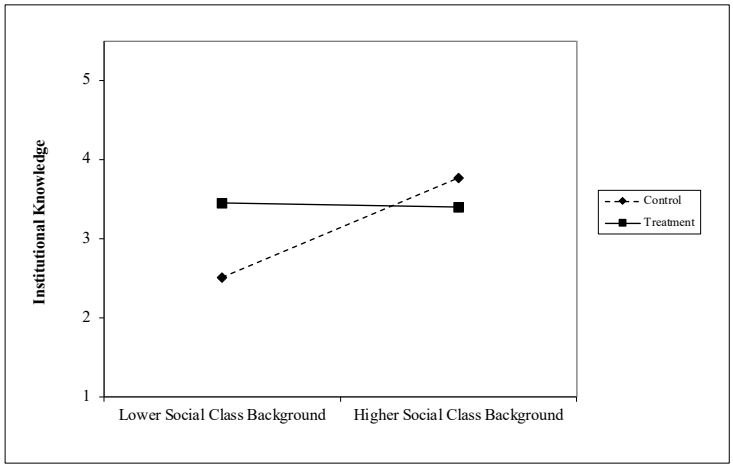


Figure 3

Study 1: Interaction Plot between Social Class Background and Intervention on Social Self-Efficacy.

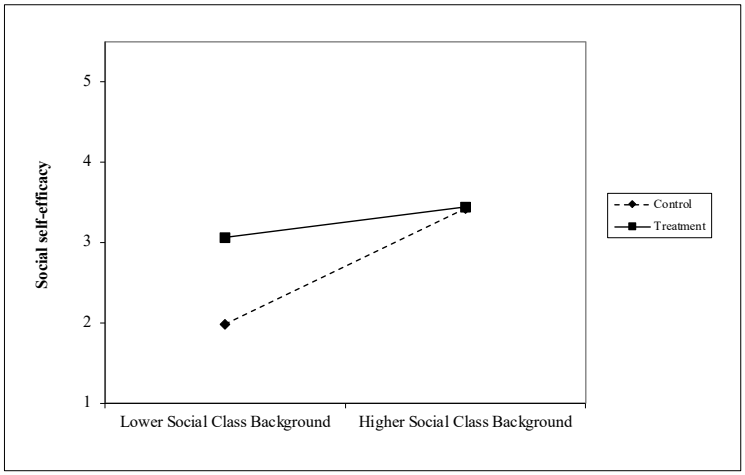


Figure 4

Study 1: Interaction Plot between Social Class Background and Intervention on Distress Tolerance.

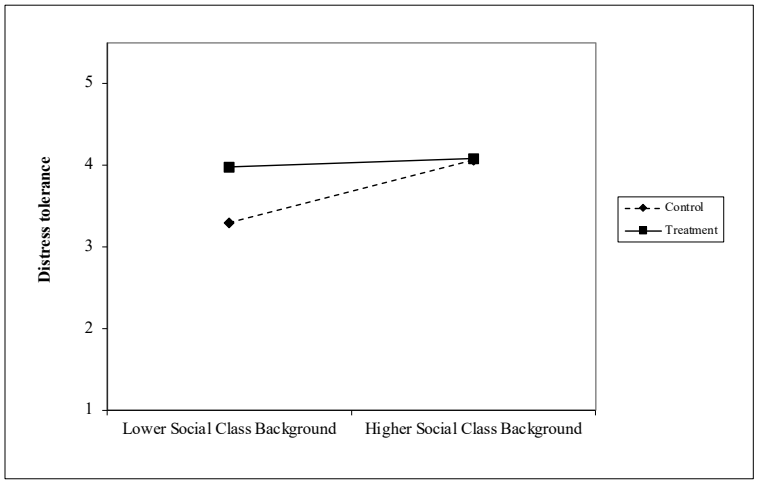


Figure 5

Study 2: Interaction Plot between Intervention and Social Class Background on Job Engagement (T3).

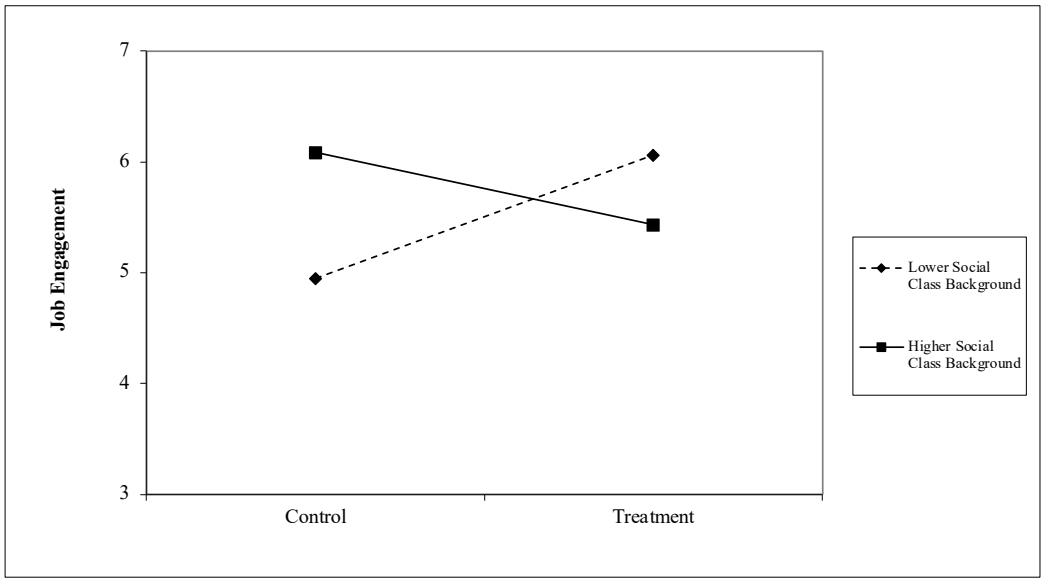


Figure 6

Study 2: Interaction Plot between Intervention and Social Class Background on Social Integration (T3).

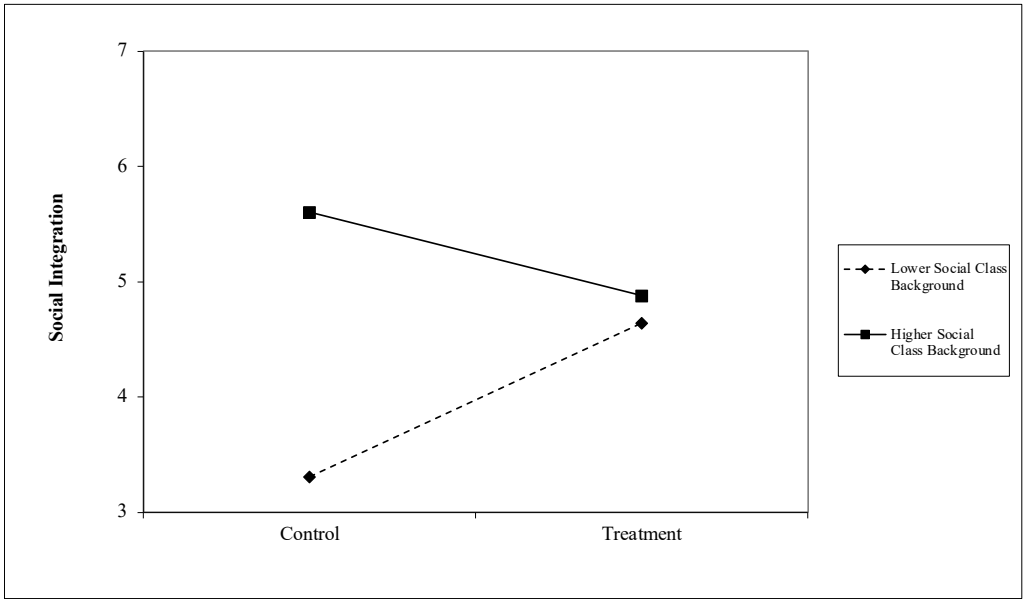


Figure 7

Study 3: Interaction Plot between Intervention and Social Class Background on Job Engagement (T2).

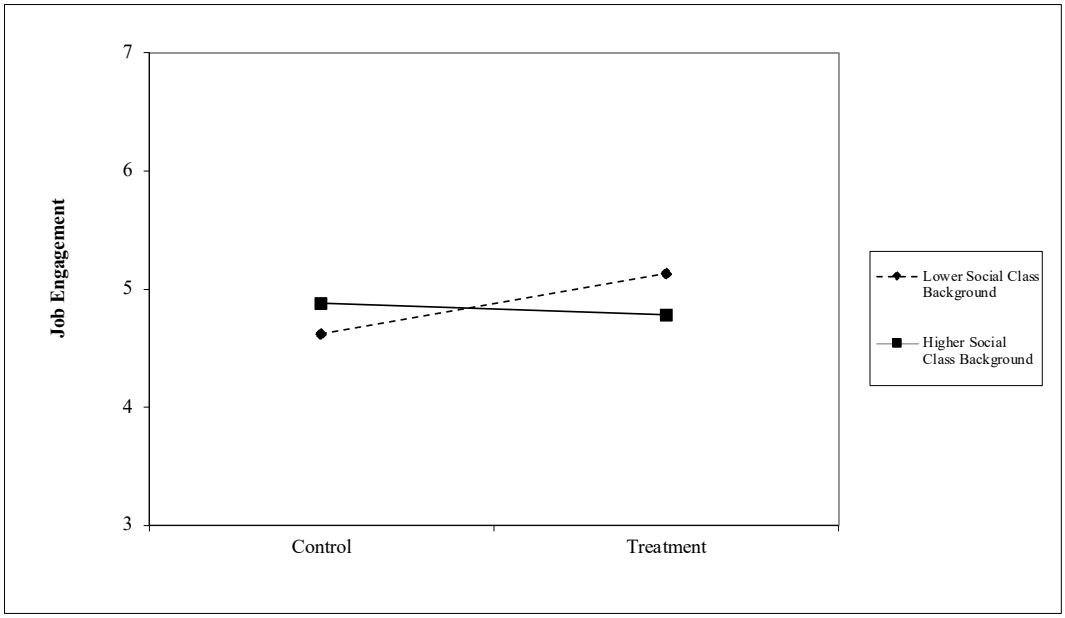


Figure 8

Study 3: Interaction Plot between Intervention and Social Class Background on Social Integration (T2).