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Cross-Status Interactions: Concerns and Consequences

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Abstract

Two studies investigate individuals' concerns about interpersonal interactions when interacting with higher- and lower-status others, and how individuals manage those concerns. Various coping strategies emerge, including hiding status differences between the self and an interaction partner, self-promoting or ingratiating, and specifically cooperating downward. Study 1 shows students' motivation to affiliate with students at both lower- and higher-status universities, by strategically concealing their higher-status identities versus lower-status identities, respectively. With status experimentally manipulated in the laboratory in Study 2, higher-status participants shift their impression-management strategies by ingratiating themselves to their lower-status interaction partners, and shift their behavior by cooperating more than lower-status participants. These studies describe concerns and behavioral consequences involved in interpersonal interactions across social status divides, in particular a tendency of downward ingratiation and cooperation.

Keywords: status, social class, interpersonal interactions, stereotypes, social comparison, impression management, cooperation

Cross-Status Interactions: Concerns and Consequences

An often-heard trope in the United States holds that most Americans believe themselves to be middle class. Although survey data do not support this claim, hardly any Americans indeed want to be perceived by others as being at the extremes, as either lower- or upper-class (Fiske, 2011). Thus, there may be a nearby truth: Americans resist communicating differences in social status in cross-status interactions. If so, individuals may try to minimize status differences by portraying themselves as similar to their interaction partner. This scenario raises an interpersonal aspect of status hierarchies – the experience of interacting with someone higher or lower in social status. In interpersonal interactions, do higher and lower status people have different concerns, and do those concerns influence their behavior toward each other?

In this research, social status is defined as a person's relative position in a social hierarchy. Although status and power very often go together, these concepts are somewhat distinct, in that power necessarily includes some form of control over valued resources or outcomes, but status does not (Fiske, 2010; Hays & Bendersky, 2015). Although higher rank often corresponds to more resource control, this is not always the case. Even in the absence of power, relatively higher status may confer benefits such as respect, admiration, and influence, advantages that may be denied to people with lower status (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009; Galinsky, Rucker, & Magee, 2015; Hays & Bendersky, 2015). High status and power are also known to have different effects in some domains, including how people treat their subordinates (Blader & Chen, 2012). In the current research, we investigated whether cross-status interaction involves concerns that might play out in interaction partners' communication and behavior.

Although the detrimental effects of inequality at the societal or individual level are well known (Atkinson, Piketty, & Saez, 2009; Davies, Sandstrom, Shorrocks, & Wolff, 2009; Piketty

& Saez, 2003, 2006, 2014; Stiglitz, 2011), the interpersonal effects of inequality are just beginning to be investigated. As a start, at the interpersonal level, inequality attenuates trust and increases conflict, violence, and expression of racial bias (Fiske, Moya, Russell, & Bearn, 2012; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The current studies build on research about relative social status at the interpersonal level, addressing the concerns and consequences involved in interpersonal interactions across social status divides. Specifically, this research investigates whether both lower- and higher-status identities prompt concerns in cross-status interactions, and how individuals respond to these concerns in their communication and behavior.

Previous research shows interpersonal interactions across social status divides tend to be uncomfortable from both directions. Stigmatized low-status identities tend to be devalued (Fiske, 1998; Major & O'Brien, 2005). The stress of interacting with higher-status and majority group members leads to worse task performance in the short term (Mendes, Blascovich, Major, & Seery, 2001; Richeson & Shelton, 2003) and health problems in the longer term (Major & O'Brien, 2005; McEwen, 2013). Cross-status interactions can be stressful for higher-status individuals, too: Individuals feel guilt about advantages that may not have been earned (Exline & Lobel, 1999; Phillips & Lowery, 2015), even feeling afraid of possibly being envied (van de Ven, Zeelenberg, & Pieters, 2010). More broadly, higher-status humans (and nonhuman primates) experience stress in unstable hierarchies (Fiske, 2010; Sapolsky, 2005). Thus, cross-status interactions apparently can be uncomfortable for everyone involved. The current research investigates this possibility from both sides of a single cross-status interpersonal interaction.

The current studies build on previous work that showed diverging impression management strategies in interpersonal interactions across social status divides (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). In this series of experiments, participants were asked how they would describe

themselves to a higher- or lower-ranked coworker, who was in a different work division, and thus not interdependent or different in power. Participants in higher-status conditions pursued an ingratiation strategy, choosing relatively more warmth-related than competence-related trait words to describe themselves to their lower-status interaction partners. In contrast, participants in lower-status conditions pursued a self-promotion strategy, choosing relatively more competence- than warmth-related traits to describe themselves to their higher-status interaction partners. Follow-up studies suggested that in these cross-status interactions, participants were concerned with disconfirming status-based stereotypes of high-status coldness and low-status incompetence, but also with trying to be similar to what they assumed would be personal traits of their lower- or higher-status interaction partner. In these studies, as in the current work, our observations of cross-status interaction concerns may be limited to the set of interactions in which participants have reason to care about the other person or about the interaction, for example presumably wanting to get along with a coworker or fellow student.

The current work also builds on much previous work showing one particular way that people seek to accomplish their impression management goals, a strategy known as social compensation (Holoien & Fiske, 2013; Kervyn, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2009; Kervyn, Yzerbyt, Demoulin, & Judd, 2008). Specifically, when people seek to ingratiate themselves, not only do they portray themselves as warm, but they also downplay their own competence. When people seek to self-promote, not only do they present themselves as competent, but they also downplay their own warmth. The current work builds on what is known about these interaction strategies, observing what interpersonal concerns might emerge in cross-status interactions, necessitating the use of diverging impression management strategies, and what behavioral consequences might result from these interpersonal concerns.

Building on earlier work that shows higher- and lower-status individuals seek to get along across status divides by ingratiation and self-promotion strategies, respectively, the current studies investigate the concerns and consequences involved in cross-status interactions. In particular, Study 1 demonstrates that both higher- and lower-status individuals are concerned about what a cross-status interaction partner thinks of them; they try to hide the status difference accordingly. Study 2 investigates possible behavioral consequences of interpersonal status concerns in an ostensibly real-life interaction in the laboratory, and shows that status concerns extend to cooperative behaviors in live interactions, with relatively higher-status participants sharing more resources than lower-status participants, as a tangible signal of their warmth.

These studies advance the literature on interpersonal consequences of social status hierarchies, showing that mere status divides impart specific interpersonal concerns that people try to address in different ways: from hiding particular identities, to conveying counter-stereotypic traits about the self, to engaging in cooperative interpersonal behavior that signals intentions. Additionally, the current research builds on the idea that low-status identities are not the only identities worth concealing: when facing someone worse off than the self, individuals may conceal a high-status identity, or may behave especially cooperatively, defying stereotypes of their competent-but-cold, higher-status position.

Experiment Overview

The current studies investigate the strategies people use to manage interpersonal aspects of status hierarchies. In line with defining status as a relative position in a social hierarchy, two contexts place individuals in ranked order: university affiliations with varying levels of prestige in Study 1, and a superior-subordinate relationship assigned based on bogus, minimal questionnaire feedback given in Study 2. The framework, based on previous studies that

establish the phenomenon of social compensation in impression management across status divides (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016) overall suggests that individuals seek to ingratiate themselves to lower-status targets, and self-promote to higher-status targets. The current studies further investigate the interpersonal aspect, by considering the kinds of concerns that arise in cross-status interactions, and what behavioral consequences may result from these concerns.

The current data go beyond previous results by showing status concerns in interpersonal interactions, demonstrated by participants' concealing status differences (Study 1) and by measuring cross-status behavior (Study 2). That is, Study 1 establishes a basis for individuals' caring at all what higher- or lower- status others think of them. Specifically, this study tests whether individuals selectively reveal their own lower- versus higher-status identities based on their interaction partner's status. Study 2 tests whether social status concerns extend to [supposed] actual interpersonal interactions, and whether diverging impression management strategies extend to behavior, in the form of tangible cooperative outcomes.

Study 1: Concealing Different-Status Identities

Do individuals care what higher- or lower-status others think about them? This study investigates whether individuals emphasize higher- or lower-status aspects of themselves when given the opportunity to choose between emphasizing one of two different pre-existing identities (i.e., different groups to which they belong). Research in separate literatures has shown evidence for individuals' sensitivity to being the target of downward scorn (e.g., Major & O'Brien, 2005) and for sensitivity to being the target of threatening upward comparisons (e.g., Exline & Lobel, 1999). This study explores whether these concerns are felt from both sides of a single cross-status interaction.

A way to compensate for one's different social status would be to minimize the gap

between self and other by revealing one's low-status versus high-status identities, depending on the interaction partner's status. Study 1 thus tested whether people selectively reveal high- versus low-status identities respectively to relatively higher- or lower-status targets. Because school identities are a salient feature of college student life, and because relative college ranks appear to be accessible to students, this study focused on college students' experiences of interpersonal interactions with students at higher- versus- lower ranked universities.

Method

Participants. Participants were 33¹ undergraduate students (15 female²) enrolled in introductory psychology courses at a prestigious university, which is simultaneously located in a state associated with low-status stereotypes. Participants received partial course credit as compensation.

Procedure. All manipulations and measures were administered to all participants in counterbalanced order, in a 2 (participant's own identity: high-status vs. low-status) x 3 (target interaction partner's status: high vs. low vs. unknown) x 2 (who reveals participant's status: participant reveals own identity vs. friend reveals identity) design. The main dependent variable was how comfortable participants reported feeling with their identity being revealed.

To prompt participants to think about past experiences of describing themselves in terms of their higher-status university identities, participants were asked to think back to such an experience. Phrased as questions, these were given only as prompts to help participants think back to relevant interpersonal interactions, not intended for open-ended data analysis.

“Think back to a specific time when you introduced yourself to someone else as a [high-

¹ We used a repeated-measures design due to the number of participants we anticipated being able to recruit during one semester from a small subject pool.

² No effects were moderated by participant gender. In other status-relevant scenarios, especially those in which target gender is specified, gender may play an additional role (e.g., Steckler & Rosenthal, 1985).

status university name] student. Whom were you talking to? What was the situation like?”

and also their lower-status state identities

“Think back to a specific time when you introduced yourself to someone, but did not reveal your university identity (for example, “I go to college in [low-status state].”).

Whom were you talking to? What was the situation like?”

Participants next rated how they felt on 22 emotion items, when introducing themselves in terms of their higher- and lower-status identities (e.g., *proud*, *embarrassed*, *alienated*, *content*) on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*).³ Some emotion items were drawn from Exline & Lobel (1999), and others were added (See Appendix A).

Then, as the primary dependent variable, participants completed measures indicating their comfort level with bringing up their higher- and lower-status identities in different interpersonal contexts (How comfortable are you bringing up your [high-status university name/low-status state] identity?): first, in a conversation with a student from a relatively even higher-status university, a student from a relatively lower-status university, or a student whose college identity was unknown; and second, situations in which participants actively brought up their own identity in conversations, versus situations in which participants’ identities were revealed by a friend (e.g., “How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a [high-status university name] student?”). We manipulated the source of disclosure (self or friend) to be able to see whether results were due to personally wanting to share the identity information, versus merely wanting the information to be known.

Last, participants completed measures of self-esteem (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski,

³ We hypothesized these emotion items might play a role in why participants used different impression management strategies depending on comparison direction. However, these emotion factors did not show any effects of condition.

2001)⁴ and Social Comparison Orientation (SCO) (Gibbons & Buunk, 1999).⁵ We hypothesized participants lower in self-esteem and higher in SCO might show more divergent impression management strategies between the two targets.

Results

Our main interest was students' comfort with revealing high- versus low-status identities, to a high- versus low- versus unknown-status target. A 2 (own identity: high-status vs. low-status) x 3 (target interaction partner's status: high vs. low vs. unknown) x 2 (revealer: participant reveals own identity vs. friend reveals identity) repeated measures ANOVA showed three significant main effects: an effect of interaction partner's status, such that participants were most comfortable interacting with the higher-status student ($F(2,31) = 13.15; p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$), an effect of own identity, such that students were more comfortable revealing their low-status identity ($F(1,32) = 6.05; p = .02, \eta^2 = .16$), and an effect of revealer, such that students were more comfortable revealing identities themselves than having a friend bring up their identity ($F(1,32) = 13.25; p = .001, \eta^2 = .29$).

Most importantly, the status of the interaction partner influenced how comfortable participants felt discussing their high- and low-status identities: As predicted, a significant two-way interaction between target status and own identity showed that when interacting with lower- or unknown-status targets, participants preferred to reveal their low-status identities (versus their high-status identities), which was not the case in interactions with high-status targets ($F(2,31) = 26.71; p < .001, \eta^2 = .63$; Figure 1).

Breaking this effect down by target status and revealer, when the target was low- or

⁴ Self-esteem moderated the two-way interaction between comparison target and revealer, $F(8,56) = 2.91; p = .01, \eta^2 = .29$, but this three-way interaction was not central to our theory. No other effects were moderated by self-esteem.

⁵ SCO $\alpha = .83$. SCO moderated the two-way interaction between revealer and identity, $F(13,19) = 2.92; p = .03, \eta^2 = .81$, but this particular interaction also was not central to our theory. No other effects were moderated by SCO.

unknown-status, regardless of whether participants were to reveal their identity themselves or a friend would reveal their identity, participants preferred revealing their low-status identity to their high-status identity (low-status target, reveal own identity: $F(1,32) = 16.55$; $p < .001$, low-status identity $M=3.88$, $SD=1.39$, high-status identity $M=2.97$, $SD=1.05$; low-status target, friend reveals identity (marginal): $F(1,32) = 3.09$; $p = .09$; low-status identity $M=3.42$, $SD=1.44$, high-status identity $M=2.94$, $SD=1.39$; unknown-status target, reveal own identity: $F(1,32) = 40.69$, $p < .001$; low-status identity $M=4.09$, $SD=.91$, high-status identity $M=2.85$, $SD=1.03$; unknown-status target, friend reveals identity: $F(1,32) = 4.86$; $p = .04$., low-status identity $M=3.55$, $SD=1.30$, high-status identity $M=2.94$, $SD=1.30$).

However, when the target was high-status, participants' status concerns changed: When revealing their own identity, they no longer concealed their high-status identity (high-status target, reveal own identity: no preference between revealing low- versus high-status identities, $p = .49$), and when a friend mentioned their identity to a high-status interaction partner, participants marginally preferred that their low-status identity be concealed ($F(1,32) = 2.85$; $p = .10$, low-status identity $M=3.58$, $SD=1.42$, high-status identity $M=4.12$, $SD=1.36$).

Additionally, a significant two-way interaction between revealer and identity showed that when their low-status identity would be revealed, participants preferred to reveal it themselves, with less preference regarding who would reveal their high-status identity ($F(1,32) = 5.61$; $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .15$). In other words, when revealing their low-status identities, participants did not just want their interaction partner to have this information about them; they preferred to reveal it about themselves, suggesting concern about the interaction. The ANOVA did not indicate a significant 3-way interaction, nor was a 3-way interaction hypothesized as part of our theory.

Discussion

Study 1 showed that when participants had a choice between a high- and low-status identity to reveal, they seem to strategically reveal an identity that matches their interaction partner's status. Participants were relatively more comfortable revealing their low-status identities to unknown- or lower-status partners, but not to higher-status partners.⁶ Instead, not only did students prefer for their friend to reveal their high-status identity (versus their low-status identity) in upward comparisons, but they also avoided revealing their higher-status identities to lower-status others, showing evidence of interpersonal concerns from both sides of a cross-status interaction.

In addition to new data on cross-status interaction concerns, this study also builds on previous work about when people or organizations tend to brand themselves using high-status category memberships (Rozin, Scott, Zickgraf, Ahn, & Jiang, 2014). That work finds that organizations or students with “marginal” high-status, for example Master's degree universities or students at relatively lower-ranked Ivy League schools, are more likely overall to mention their high-status category than are organizations or students with more secure high-status. The current study adds to findings like these, showing that status concerns are not only generalized, but also dependent on the social situation, with different interaction partners generating different concerns and impression management strategies.

This study reveals some of the interpersonal concerns involved in interactions across social status divides, further informing why cross-status interactions might prompt diverging impression management strategies (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). A manipulation of university status brought these interpersonal concerns to mind. As is the case with many forms of social status that correspond to real-life status experiences, the low- and high-status identities in Study

⁶ In our sample of relatively high-status students, it is possible that unknown comparisons may seem likely to be downward, in which case they prefer not to reveal their higher-status identity.

1 are limited in that they vary aspects other than pure rank: for example, identifying the self as a student at a prestigious university may also suggest high socioeconomic status. Study 2 looked to investigate concerns and consequences in a different manipulation of social status that took place in the laboratory. Knowing more about concerns that emerge from both directions in status hierarchies, Study 2 sought to investigate how participants deal with these concerns in ostensibly interpersonal interactions across status divides – in particular, whether and how these concerns might be reflected in participants' interpersonal behavior.

Study 2: Status Divides Shift Interpersonal Cooperation

Do impression management strategies diverge in real cross-status interactions, what are the interpersonal consequences, and do verbal and nonverbal behavior reflect these differences? We hypothesized high-status participants would ingratiate themselves and engage in relatively more cooperative behavior, while low-status participants would self-promote and engage in more selfish behavior.

Accordingly, Study 2 included measures of cooperative outcomes and verbal and nonverbal behavior in an apparently live, video-mediated conversation to investigate whether concerns and impression management strategies extend to behavior. This study manipulated social status in the laboratory, investigating whether participants in an ostensibly live interaction with another student would show diverging impression management strategies, whether these diverging strategies would extend to cooperative versus selfish behavior in dividing a common resource, and whether participants' verbal and nonverbal behavior in the interaction would reflect their concerns and strategies.

Method

Participants. Participants were 100 students (70 female) who were enrolled in

introductory psychology courses at a prestigious university.⁷ Participants received partial course credit as compensation.

Procedure. The procedure was modeled on Study 3a in Bergsieker, Shelton, and Richeson (2010). Participants came to the lab to participate in an “interactive task study” in which they would complete a decision-making task with another participant, then answer questions about the task, their partner, and themselves. The experimenter was blind to condition, with the experimental manipulation visible only to the participant on a computer screen behind a closed door.

Cover story. Upon arriving at the lab, an experimenter welcomed each participant and asked them to put their things down in an adjoining lab room, next to the belongings of the ostensible other participant, who would be the partner in the decision making task. After being seated at a table with two chairs, the participant signed a study log next to their ostensible partner’s signature, learning from the experimenter that their partner had just begun Part One in an adjacent lab room. In reality, no other participant was present.

The experimenter explained that the current research was about the influence of personality traits on impression formation and performance in different forms of interpersonal interactions, extending recent research that has examined the effects of different communication media on workplace performance. The participant learned that after completing a personality assessment alone on a computer (Part One), the two partners would interact (Part Two): either face to face in the “direct” condition or via an exchange of videos in the “remote” condition, as determined randomly by a computer after the personality assessment. In reality, there was no face to face “direct” condition. Finally, the participant learned that both participants would

⁷ After finding small but reliable compensation effects in samples of 50 participants per between-participants cell in previous studies (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016), we retained this sample size standard in Study 2, which was conducted in person. Due to this high sample size standard, we did not include a “neutral” comparison condition in this study.

complete Part Three, the interactive decision-making task, from their individual computers in adjacent lab rooms. The participant then signed a consent form, and the experimenter left the room, ostensibly to check on the other participant while the participant began Part One, the personality assessment (which in reality was the experimental manipulation of social status), on a computer.

Status manipulation. Participants learned that they would complete a short assessment that would determine their roles for the rest of the study. To determine who would be responsible for what parts of the task, participants learned they (and their partners) would each complete a test of numerical estimation style, a trait allegedly related to individuals' relative strengths in team-based projects. Specifically, participants learned that numerical estimation style had been shown to predict leadership and collaboration abilities. In reality, participants were randomly assigned to receive feedback about their ostensible personality test results, informing them they were either more of an overestimator or underestimator, a result that suggested they were likely to have respectively better skills in leadership or in collaboration, as detailed in the following paragraph. This bogus, "minimal" experimental manipulation of social status was adapted loosely from a minimal group induction paradigm designed to create social identities in a laboratory setting (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

Participants received instructions to estimate how many dots appeared on each screen, estimating as closely as possible in the short time provided. Participants estimated the dots in each of six different dot array patterns, and waited for the computer apparently to gather data from their partner's assessment and calculate results. Participants learned their results indicated they were either an overestimator, suggesting traits associated with leadership skills and resulting in assignment to the role of *Decision Manager* (high-status), or an underestimator, suggesting

traits associated with collaboration skills and resulting in assignment to the role of *Decision Responder* (low-status). Participants did not learn more details about what the specific responsibilities of the Manager or Responder would be; only that these roles would be taken on later in the study during the interpersonal interaction and the interactive decision making task. Participants were asked to free-respond listing any observations about themselves that related to their status as either the Decision Manager or Decision Responder. This free response was intended only to encourage participants to reflect on their high or low-status role; not for open-ended data analysis. On the next computer screen, participants were prompted to open the door and notify the experimenter they had completed Part One. The experimenter remained blind to condition.

Video-mediated interpersonal interaction set-up. The experimenter informed the participants that they would now have a conversation with their partner in a semi-structured interview format, in which the two participants would take turns answering the same questions from the experimenter. Participants learned the conversation would take place either face to face or through video-mediated communication, depending on random assignment to the direct or remote condition. In reality, the computer informed all participants of their assignment to the remote, video-mediated condition. The experimenter explained that in the remote condition, instead of their partner returning to the study room for the conversation, the two participants would send each other their responses in a video. The participant then recorded their answers to three “warm up” questions to help them get comfortable with talking on camera. The experimenter informed the participant that after going next door to record the partner’s responses to the interview questions first, she would return to show the participant the partner’s videotape and record the participant’s responses.

Impression management measure. While the experimenter was next door, the participant completed questions on the computer about the upcoming interaction, including the main impression-management strategy measure. Participants were reminded on the computer screen of their Manager/Responder roles, and then learned that to inform their partner's first impressions of them, they could share some personality traits about themselves with their partner. Traits included ten warmth-related and ten competence-related words, with similar overall likeability ratings, with no limit on the number of traits chosen (participants could share as few as 0 or as many as all 20 traits if they so chose). The number of warmth- and competence- related traits served as the main impression management measure.

Participants were also asked to list five items about themselves they wanted their partner to know. These five items were open-ended and not intended for data analysis, but instead to encourage them to reflect on their impression-management strategy. Finally, participants were asked to rate the relative importance of being seen as competent (1) versus warm (7) and also the relative importance of being liked (1) versus respected (7). After finishing these questions, the participant reviewed the list of interview questions on a sheet of paper and wrote brief notes on how to answer the interview questions, if desired. The interview questions provided opportunities to ingratiate themselves (e.g., "Is there anything you would like to change about your social life?") and self-promote (e.g., "Could you say a little about your career goals?").

Interpersonal interaction. The experimenter returned with the ostensible other participant's video recording, in which the partner had responded to the interview questions. In reality, the ostensible other participant was actually a participant-gender-matched, pre-recorded video of a confederate responding with standardized answers to the interview questions. After each answer given by the "partner," the experimenter paused the partner's video, and set the

video camera to record, for the participant to answer the same question that the partner just answered, and also respond to their partner. After the participant responded to all of the interview questions, the experimenter left the room, ostensibly to show the participant's responses to the partner, while the participant answered the post-interaction questions. These included questions about how unpleasant (1) or pleasant (7) the interaction was, how cold (1) or warm (7) their partner is, how incompetent (1) or competent (7) their partner is, how cold (1) or warm (7) their partner thinks they are, how incompetent (1) or competent (7) their partner thinks they are, and a 23-item measure of public and private self-consciousness and social anxiety (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Participants were prompted on-screen to notify the experimenter they had completed Part Two.

Cooperation measure. Lastly, the experimenter introduced the interactive decision-making task, explaining that the task involved both participants collecting tokens to be traded in for fun-sized candy at the end. The participant and their partner ostensibly played the game interactively, from their computers in adjacent study rooms. First, the computer informed participants the decision making task had two parts, and that their role as Manager or Responder would be important in the second part of the task. Participants were reminded of their respective roles, and then shown instructions for a public goods game.

Instructions and cooperation measures were based on Rand et al. (2014). The participants and their partners were given a common pool of 40 tokens, and were instructed to decide how many tokens to take out of the pool for themselves, and how many to leave in the pool, with a maximum of 20 taken out of the pool for each participant. The tokens left in the pool would be multiplied by 1.5 and then split evenly between the two participants. Participants learned they could trade in 10 tokens for one piece of candy, rounding up. So the group as a whole would be

best off if no one took anything out of the pool, but individuals might be better off if they took all 20 tokens out of the pool *and* their partner left some in the pool to be multiplied and split. Participants were given comprehension measures, and then chose how many tokens they would take out of the pool.

Participants completed manipulation check and demographic questions ostensibly while waiting for their partner to complete the decision-making task, and then were prompted to retrieve the experimenter. Participants were informed that the experiment was over, that they could take as much or as little candy as they liked, and were thanked and fully debriefed.

Coding verbal and nonverbal behavior measures. Two coders who were blind to condition assessed each participant's nonverbal and verbal behavior in categories related to ingratiation and self-promotion (as in Bergsieker et al., 2010; coding adapted from Godfrey et al., 1986). Behaviors were rated on a scale of *not at all* (0) to *extremely* (10) after listening to [verbal] or watching [nonverbal] all seven answers. Nonverbal behaviors were coded with the sound off, and verbal behaviors were coded with the screen off. Nonverbal behaviors included smiling, nodding, eye contact, posture, hand gestures, nonverbal confidence and engagement; verbal behaviors included humor, self-deprecation, flattery, friendliness, noting similarities, noting differences, agreeing, disagreeing, mentioning achievements, confident speaking style, confident content, and verbal engagement. Coders also rated participants' overall goals: liking, respect, intimidation, exemplification, and supplication; consistency between the warm-up and interaction items, and genuineness; and they counted the number of direct second-person pronouns used. Finally, coders rated behavioral engagement, both verbal and nonverbal, which were averaged to form a composite ($\alpha = .81$).

Results and Discussion

Impression-management strategies. Relative social status shifted participants' impression-management strategies. High-status participants shared more warmth- than competence-related traits about themselves, but low-status participants did not, as supported by a marginal 2 (high vs. low status) x 2 (warmth vs. competence traits) interaction ($F(1,98) = 3.29$; $p = .07$; $\eta^2 = .03$) (Figure 2). High-status participants shared significantly more warmth ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 2.67$) than competence ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 1.89$) ($F(1,50) = 16.73$, $p < .001$) traits, but low-status participants did not show this pattern of downward ingratiation ($p = .14$). A cautionary note about interpreting marginal findings is warranted here: Though the downward ingratiation pattern matches past results closely (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016, Studies 1, 2a, 2b, 3), in this study, the pattern did not fully reverse for low-status participants. Interpreted in light of several previous studies, one might speculate that changes in the participant population and/or the different status manipulation used here may show similar effects of downward ingratiation, but not upward self-promotion. More specifically, though participants in the low-status "Responder" condition were no less likely to believe the minimal status manipulation ($p = .42$), these participants, students at a high-status university, may not fully accept the premise of being lower status than their peers. Indeed, previous research has shown that unfavorable information about the self is perceived as less accurate than unfavorable information about others (e.g., Eagly, 1967).

Interpersonal cooperation. As predicted, conveying a tangible signal of warmth, high-status Managers took significantly fewer tokens out of the common pool ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 6.47$) than did low-status Responders ($M = 7.22$, $SD = 7.67$), indicating relative cooperation ($F(1,97) = 5.57$; $p = .02$). Relative to each other, in interpersonal interactions, higher-status participants

were thus more cooperative, while lower-status participants were more selfish in dividing shared resources (Figure 3).

Verbal and nonverbal behavior. Coders' ratings were averaged for each participant, to create each participant's score on each behavior. Behaviors showed an inter-rater correlation of $r = .82$ and an item loading of at least $.42$ in a varimax-rotated factor analysis. The resulting factors closely matched groups of behaviors related to ingratiation and self-promotion observed in Bergsieker et al. (2010): An ingratiation factor included verbal friendliness, liking goals, comfort, smiling, eye contact, humor, nodding, noting similarities, flattery, and intimidation (reverse); a self-promotion factor included posture, respect goals, confidence in content and style, nonverbal confidence, and mentioning achievements. We did not find evidence of significantly differing ingratiation or self-promotion behaviors by status condition.⁸ Instead, we found a main effect of self-promotion across conditions, in which participants engaged in significantly more self-promotion ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 1.37$) versus ingratiation ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 1.28$) behaviors toward their interaction partners overall, regardless of the partner's status ($F(1,98) = 42.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .30$).

One speculative possibility on why verbal and nonverbal impression management behaviors did not diverge across status conditions is that these cues are subtle and perhaps difficult to convey by the participant, and difficult to detect by the coders. Another possibility, supported by the main effect of participants displaying relatively more self-promotion than ingratiation behaviors, is that goals to self-promote to a fellow student of a prestigious university generally dominated a subtle, contextual status manipulation.

⁸ As in Bergsieker et al. (2010), we hypothesized that effects of verbal and nonverbal behaviors might emerge only among highly-engaged participants. However, in the current study verbal and nonverbal ingratiation and self-promotion behaviors did not significantly diverge between status conditions regardless of engagement scores.

Supplementary measures. We also included self-reported measures of how important it was to be seen as competent versus warm, to be liked versus respected, how participants perceived their partner, how participants thought their partner perceived them, how pleasant the interaction was, and the relative social status of the interaction partner. We included these measures to explore whether participants' self reports of their goals and observations about the interaction matched more subtle measures including the trait words they chose to share about themselves, their choice about how much to cooperate, and their verbal and nonverbal behavior.

Being respected (versus liked, on a single scale of liked=1 to respected=7) was marginally more important to low-status participants ($M=4.94$, $SD=1.36$) than to high-status participants ($M=4.43$, $SD=1.40$), ($F(1,98)=3.37$; $p=.07$; $\eta^2=.03$), indicating self-reported interaction goals consistent with participants' impression management strategies and cooperation behavior toward lower- and higher-status interaction partners. However, participants did not self-report significantly different interaction goals in the importance of conveying competence versus warmth ($p=.36$).

Participants did not report significant differences between conditions on post-interaction warmth or competence ratings of their partner, or on ratings of how warm or competent their partner perceived them to be. Participants also did not report that their partners perceived them as differentially warm versus competent. However, participants across conditions reported their interaction partners were significantly more competent ($M=5.46$, $SD=.95$) than warm ($M=4.51$, $SD=1.03$), ($F(1,98)=48.90$; $p<.001$; $\eta^2=.33$). Consistent with the self-promotion main effects in participants' verbal and nonverbal behaviors, participants may have observed and conveyed relatively more self-promotion behaviors in the context of a video-mediated interaction with a fellow prestigious university student, regardless of differences in manipulated status.

Lastly, participants rated their interaction as marginally more pleasant when they were assigned to the high-status ($M=4.73$, $SD=.87$) versus low-status ($M=4.41$, $SD=1.00$) condition ($F(1,98)=2.87$; $p=.09$; $\eta^2=.03$), possibly indicating it was unpleasant for students at a prestigious university to be in a low-status role. Perhaps similarly, when asked overtly whether their interaction partner was relatively higher or lower in social status than they were (with no definition of social status given), participants did not report significantly different status between conditions ($p=.38$). Speculatively, participants may have had different concepts of status in mind, or may have rejected overt statements of status differences, despite shifts in their more subtle impression management strategies and cooperation behaviors.

Without excessive speculation in interpreting these supplementary measures, participants' overt goals and observations about the interaction were not inconsistent with the main findings. Some supplementary measures were inconclusive, but others were consistent with high-status participants' downward ingratiation and cooperation behavior.

Discussion

Study 2 replicates and extends evidence for interpersonal interaction concerns across status divides, using a different, contextual manipulation of relative social status, bringing interpersonal interactions into the laboratory, and showing status divides shift behavioral outcomes, including the extent to which participants cooperate with each other in a public goods game. This laboratory manipulation of social status has its own particular limitation; in particular, the manager and responder framework might hint at differences in resource control, which does often come with higher rank in interactive task-focused settings. However, no increased resource control was specified to participants, our results converge with previous findings in which resource and outcome control were specifically ruled out, and the current

manipulation adds a new form of status in which participants felt concerns about the interaction. Additionally, because this study did not include a neutral comparison condition, results do not specify whether the effect of status on cooperation is stronger for high or low-status interaction partners. Future studies could investigate whether high-status or low-status interaction partners shift their cooperation behavior more, compared to partners in a neutral comparison.

The cooperation result has new implications for how people allocate resources in interpersonal settings, showing in direct interpersonal interactions with each other, the higher-status person gives more, and the lower-status person takes more. We suggest this pattern of downward cooperation and upward selfishness may be an attempt to send interaction partners a tangible signal about themselves, proving to their partner that they are not really so selfish (Managers) or so ineffectual (Responders) as their ostensible personality test results and associated status-based stereotypes may indicate.

Testing whether relative status would indeed shift interpersonal cooperation behavior, the current paradigm used a one-shot public goods game to see whether participants would use relative cooperation as a signal to their interaction partners. However, the typical paradigm used in the cooperation literature—an iterated or repeated game—might play out differently, and future research would need to investigate what cooperative dynamics might evolve in repeated trials between players of different social status. As one possibility, after sending a signal to their partner to disconfirm their coldness or incompetence in the first few trials, players might eventually converge on a more mutually beneficial (i.e. cooperative) division of collective resources. However, this possibility is speculative, and future experiments would need to test how repeated trials between relatively higher- and lower-status participants would affect the results found here.

Bringing these results into conversation with an emerging literature on status and cooperation, our results show that in apparent interpersonal interactions in which people care about their partner's impression of them, they might actually use relative cooperation vs. selfishness as a signal of their own (non-stereotypical) intentions. This downward cooperation result serves as an exception to past findings that higher social class individuals are relatively less generous and engage in more unethical behavior (Piff, Kraus, Cheng, & Keltner, 2010; Piff, Stancato, Côté, Mendoza-Denton, & Keltner, 2012). At the interpersonal level, status may determine mismatched allocation preferences in a different way from the abstract, macro level. Specifically, higher status people may be aware of their reputed lack of generosity, and when faced with an interpersonal setting, may try to make up for it. These mismatched cooperation outcomes show another marker of how cross-status interactions may feel difficult.

General Discussion and Conclusion

The current research demonstrates some implications of relative status divides for interpersonal interactions, in particular how both low and high status confer different concerns about an interaction partner's impressions. Participants showed concerns about interactions with both lower- and higher-status targets, concealing higher- and lower-status identities to avoid standing out (Study 1). Impression concerns extended to ostensibly live cross-status interactions in the laboratory, with relative downward ingratiation, and downward cooperation in sharing material resources as a tangible behavioral outcome (Study 2). In both cases, participants sought to minimize perceived gaps assumed from status differences, whether in imagined interactions between students at higher- or lower-ranked universities, or minimal status-role assignments in in-person interactions.

A new contribution of this work is evidence that social inequality at the interpersonal level raises particular interpersonal concerns. Specifically, a cue about whether an interaction partner is higher or lower in rank produces a goal to minimize the gap, whether by concealing one's different rank, by trying to appear warmer or more competent, or by actually cooperating relatively more or less.

Additionally, although past research has detailed how high-status interaction partners can motivate self-promotion, less research has been devoted to a potential role of downward ingratiation toward low-status interaction partners. As described previously, when not involved in face-to-face interactions, higher-status individuals tend to behave less generously than their lower-status counterparts (Piff et al., 2010, 2012). However, along with recent work showing high-status individuals are motivated to deny the relative advantages they have received (Phillips & Lowery, 2015), the current work shows that when interacting with a relatively lower-status person, higher-status individuals try to appear likable and behave more generously.

Future research can address some limitations of the current studies. In particular, although these studies looked at university identities and assigned status roles, and the interpersonal concerns associated with these contexts, there are almost as many kinds of status hierarchies as there are social contexts (Mattan et al., 2017). Future studies must investigate which kinds of hierarchies, interactions, and identities generate interpersonal concerns, and which ones tend not to. For example, when individuals have positive stereotypes about their high or low status readily accessible, they claim their stereotyped identities, rather than concealing or rejecting them (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2010). Does stereotype accessibility reliably moderate interpersonal concerns about cross-status interactions, and what other boundary conditions might also be at work?

Certainly, the interpersonal interactions in the current study are a subset of cross-status interactions. In the current studies, participants were students who may have wanted to get along with another student. In past work, participants may have wanted to get along with a work colleague (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). However, many other cross-status interactions suggest that at other times, people may be unconcerned with the other person or with the interaction.

As one possibility, downward ingratiation behavior may not always be sincere: people might hide their advantages, or behave more generously, as a strategy of appeasing lower-status people to maintain the status quo, or of noblesse oblige. Ideology may play a role: for example, political ideology, including endorsement of meritocracy, may influence whether people downplay their advantages or assert them as earned. When high status comes with advantages like respect and resource control, people may also be more motivated to assert their standing and their right to those advantages – and only after the status boundary is clear would they downplay the negative stereotypes associated with high status.

Lastly, culture may have an important role to play: returning to the trope in which most Americans claim middle class status, perhaps the norm of downplaying differences is less pervasive in cultures where social status differences are more accepted. Speculatively, hierarchies with stronger status-based stereotypes of coldness and incompetence, interactions that are likely to continue in the future, and identities that are less permeable would seem to produce greater concern about an interaction, and more effort at counter-stereotypical behavior, than their alternatives. Again, future research will need to identify what kinds of hierarchies, interactions, and identities tend to generate interpersonal concerns, and which ones tend not to.

Furthermore, individuals' identities are rarely as uncomplicated as unidimensional relative rank. The experiments described here focus on relative status in work and school

settings, to the exclusion of race, gender, age, and many other identities, which also combine to form intersectional identities. Previous research has shown patterns of diverging interpersonal strategies in cross-race interactions (Bergsieker et al., 2010; Dupree & Fiske, under review), and one might also predict gender effects, but experimental predictions may become less clear when it comes to intersecting identities that are simultaneously high and low-status, such as an interaction between a Black superior and White subordinate. When considering multiple identities and their accompanying stereotypes, interaction partners may have more complex goals, and future studies would need to investigate how people navigate them.

With income inequality at record levels and rising around the world, it seems more important than ever to consider not only the societal but the interpersonal consequences of social stratification. More equal societies may be a distant possible future, but if individuals began to experience cross-status interactions as less difficult, they might learn from each other and reduce the influence of status-based stereotypes in the meantime.

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Figure captions

1. *Study 1.* When comparing downward or to an unknown target, participants preferred their low-status identities, not the case when comparing upward.
2. *Study 2.* Participants engaging in downward comparisons used ingratiation strategies, sharing relatively more warmth- than competence-related traits about themselves, although upward comparers did not.
3. *Study 2.* Relative to each other, in interpersonal interactions, higher-status participants cooperated relatively more in dividing shared resources.

Figure 1

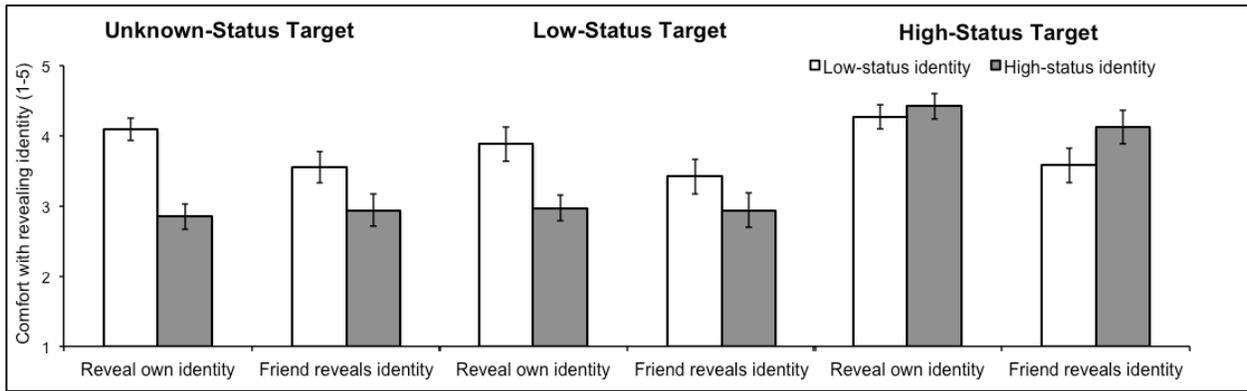


Figure 2

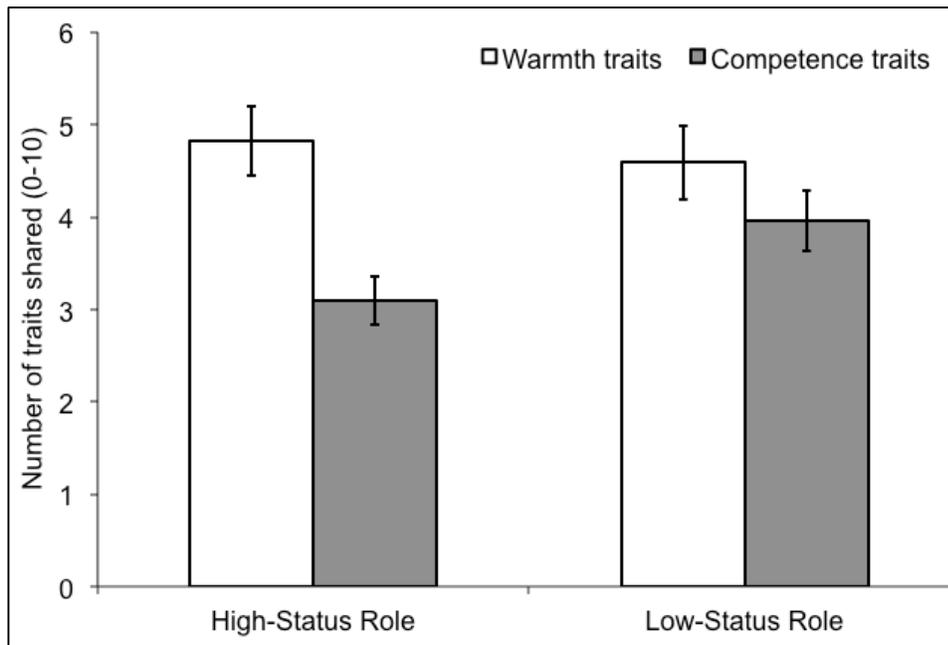
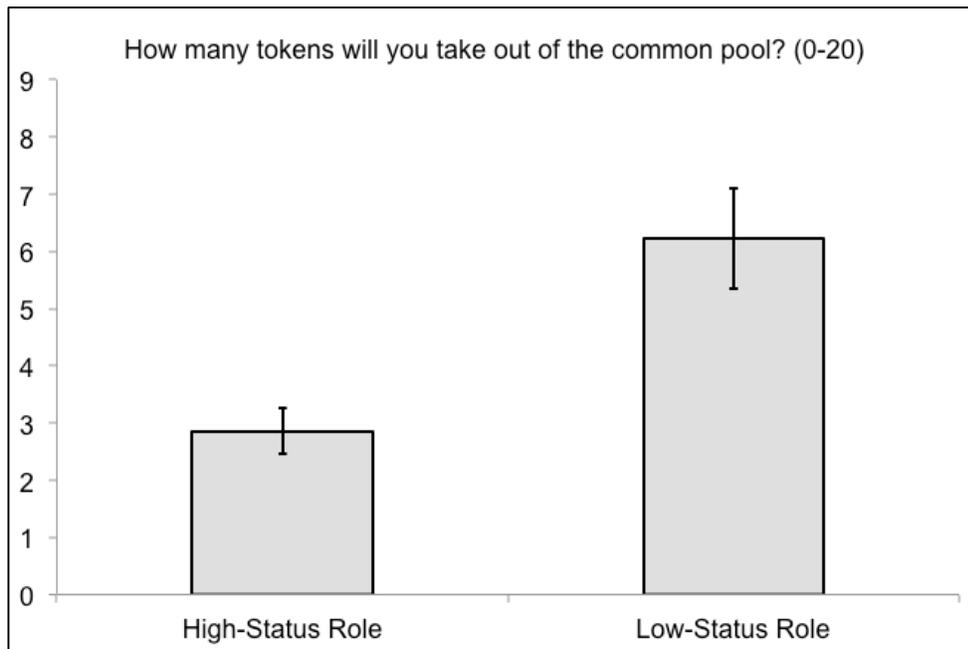


Figure 3



Appendix A: Study 1 Materials

Think back to a specific time when you introduced yourself to someone else as a [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] student. Whom were you talking to? What was the situation like?

When you introduced yourself as a [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] student, did you feel: (1: Not at all to 5: Extremely; order randomized)

Emotion items:

alienated
annoyed
anxious
apprehensive
ashamed
awkward
comfortable
concerned
confident
content
embarrassed
frustrated
happy
humble
irritated
modest
pretentious
proud
sad
secure
self-conscious
stressed

Think back to a specific time when you introduced yourself to someone, but did not mention your [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] identity (for example, "I go to college in [LOW STATUS STATE].") Whom were you talking to? What was the situation like?

When you introduced yourself as a college student in [LOW STATUS STATE], did you feel:
[same emotion items as above]

Imagine you are meeting a student from another college (you're not sure which college).

How comfortable are you bringing up your [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up your [LOW STATUS STATE] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up other information about yourself (like your favorite sport)?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] student?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a college student in [LOW STATUS STATE]?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

Imagine you are meeting a college student who goes to [HIGHER STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME].

How comfortable are you bringing up your [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up your [LOW STATUS STATE] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up other information about yourself (like your favorite sport)?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] student?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a college student in [LOW STATUS STATE]?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

Imagine you are meeting a college student who goes to [LOWER STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME].

How comfortable are you bringing up your [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up your [LOW STATUS STATE] identity?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable are you bringing up other information about yourself (like your favorite sport)?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a [HIGH STATUS UNIVERSITY NAME] student?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

How comfortable would you feel if your friend (who was standing next to you) mentioned that you were a college student in [LOW STATUS STATE]?

Very uncomfortable (1) to Very comfortable (5)

I have a high self-esteem. (1: not very true of me to 5: very true of me)

SOCIAL COMPARISON ORIENTATION: Most people compare themselves from time to time with others. For example, they may compare the way they feel, their opinions, their abilities, and/or their situation with those of other people. There is nothing particularly 'good' or 'bad' about this type of comparison, and some people do it more than others. We would like to find out how often you compare yourself with other people. To do that we would like to ask you to indicate how much you agree with each statement below, by using the following scale. (1: Strongly disagree to 5: strongly agree)

I often compare how my loved ones (boy or girlfriend, family members, etc.) are doing with how others are doing

I always pay a lot of attention to how I do things compared with how others do things

If I want to find out how well I have done something, I compare what I have done with how others have done

I often compare how I am doing socially (e.g., social skills, popularity) with other people

I am not the type of person who compares often with others

I often compare myself with others with respect to what I have accomplished in life

I often like to talk with others about mutual opinions and experiences

I often try to find out what others think who face similar problems as I face

I always like to know what others in a similar situation would do

If I want to learn more about something, I try to find out what others think about it

I never consider my situation in life relative to that of other people

Appendix B: Study 2 Materials

Please type in your participant number.

Today's experiment will have three parts. In the first part, you and your partner will take an assessment of numerical estimation style that will determine your roles for the rest of the study. In the second part, the two of you will be randomly assigned to communicate through either a direct (face-to-face) or remote (video-mediated) interaction. In the third part, you will work on a joint decision making task with your partner. Click the arrow to begin.

Before you and your partner begin the decision making task, we need to assign your job titles, in other words who will be responsible for what parts of the task. To determine these roles, you will both complete a test of numerical estimation style, a trait related to individuals' relative strengths in team-based projects. Specifically, numerical estimation style has been shown to predict leadership and collaboration abilities. Click the arrow to begin the assessment.

Welcome to the Dot Estimation Task. You will see a random pattern of dots flash on the screen. After each pattern, you will estimate how many dots you just saw. Please try to estimate as closely as possible. Do not try to count the dots. They will disappear too quickly. You will receive feedback at the end of the task. Click the arrow to begin.

[Computer presents several dot arrays and asks following each one: "Please type in your estimate of how many dots you saw."]

Please wait while your partner completes the Dot Estimation Task.

Assessment completed. Computing results. .

Dot Estimation Task Results: Your score on the task indicates that you are an [Overestimator/ Underestimator]. As an [Overestimator/ Underestimator], research suggests you are likely to have traits associated with [leadership/ collaboration] skills. Due to these strengths, you are assigned to the role of [Decision Manager/ Decision Responder] in the decision making task. Your partner's score indicates they are an [Underestimator/Overestimator], a trait associated with [collaboration/leadership] skills. Due to these strengths, your partner is assigned to the role of [Decision Responder/Decision Manager].

Please write down any observations about yourself that relate to your status as the [Decision Manager/Decision Responder].

You have completed Part One. Stop here and open the door so that the experimenter knows you are ready to continue.

Before the decision making task, you and your partner will get to know each other a little bit. Your pair has been randomly assigned to the remote (video-mediated) condition, so you will communicate with your partner through an exchange of videos. To keep the introductions consistent, the experimenter will facilitate the video exchange using a semi-structured interview.

While the experimenter is interviewing your partner, please complete the following measures.

Decision Making Task Roles: You have been assigned the role of: [Decision Manager/Decision Responder]. Your partner has been assigned the role of: [Decision Responder/Decision Manager].

To help inform your partner's first impressions of you, you may share some of the following traits about yourself with your partner. Choose as few or as many traits as you'd like to share with your partner, by dragging the traits on the left into the boxes on the right. [trait items: ambitious; capable; clever; considerate; cooperative; courteous; creative; forgiving; generous; independent; intelligent; kind; logical; patient; responsible; self-reliant; sincere; talented; trustworthy; understanding]

What else about yourself would you like to share with your partner? [open-ended text entry]

If you had to choose between being seen as competent and being seen as warm by your partner, which would you regard as more important? (1-7)

If you had to choose between being liked and being respected by your partner, which would you regard as more important? (1-7)

Please stop here and wait for the experimenter to return with your partner's video. If you have time, you may flip over the list of interview questions and think about how you might answer them.

[Interview questions are listed on paper:]

1. I understand you're a student at Princeton—do you like living here?
2. What do you think of the university itself?
3. How would you describe your social experiences on campus so far?
4. Is there anything you would like to change about your social life?
5. Could you say a little about your career goals?
6. How do you spend your time when you're not studying or socializing?
7. Overall, would you say that you're happy here?

While the experimenter takes your video to your partner, please answer the following questions about your interaction and your partner, before beginning the decision making task.

How would you rate the quality of your interaction with your partner? Extremely unpleasant (1) to Extremely pleasant (7)

How warm or cold would you say your partner is? Extremely cold (1) to Extremely warm (7)

How competent or incompetent would you say your partner is? Extremely incompetent (1) to Extremely competent (7)

If you had to guess, how warm or cold would you say your partner thinks YOU are? Extremely cold (1) to Extremely warm (7)

If you had to guess, how competent or incompetent would you say your partner thinks YOU are? Extremely incompetent (1) to Extremely competent (7)

Please complete the following questionnaire about yourself (Self-consciousness items; 1-7)

I'm always trying to figure myself out.

Generally, I'm not very aware of myself.

I reflect about myself a lot.

I'm often the subject of my own fantasies.

I never scrutinize myself.

I'm generally attentive to my inner feelings.

I'm constantly examining my motives.

I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off somewhere watching myself.

I'm alert to changes in my mood.

I'm aware of the way my mind works when I work through a problem.

I'm concerned about my style of doing things.

I'm concerned about the way I present myself.

I'm self-conscious about the way I look.

I usually worry about making a good impression.

One of the last things I do before I leave my house is look in the mirror.

I'm concerned about what other people think of me.

I'm usually aware of my appearance.

It takes me time to overcome my shyness in new situations.

I have trouble working when someone is watching me.

I get embarrassed very easily.

I don't find it hard to talk to strangers.

I feel anxious when I speak in front of a group.

Large groups make me nervous.

Please stop here and open the door to let the experimenter know you are ready to begin Part Three.

Next, you and your partner will both continue on to the joint decision making task, which has two parts. Your roles will be relevant in the second part of the task.

Decision Making Task Roles: You have been assigned the role of: [Decision Manager/Decision Responder]. Your partner has been assigned the role of: [Decision Responder/Decision Responder]

Please wait while your partner completes the interaction ratings. .

Decision Making Task Instructions: You and your partner will both receive this same set of instructions. In this task, you have the chance to collect tokens. At the end of the study, tokens may be exchanged for fun size candy. For every 10 tokens you collect, you receive 1 piece of candy. You and your partner have a common pool, which contains 40 tokens. The tokens are shown below:

You and your partner must each decide how many tokens to take out of the pool for yourselves, and how many tokens (if any) to leave in the pool. Each person can take out a maximum of 20 tokens. All the tokens left in the pool get multiplied by 1.5, and then split evenly between you and your partner. Thus, for every 4 tokens left in the pool, you each receive 3 tokens.

Examples:

*If you both take the maximum 20 tokens out of the pool, the pool is empty and each of you will end up with 20 tokens.

*If no one takes any tokens out of the pool, the 40 tokens left in the pool are multiplied by 1.5 and split evenly, so each of you will end up with 30 tokens. So the group as a whole is best off when no one takes anything out of the pool.

*But if your partner takes nothing out of the pool, while you take 20 tokens out of the pool, you will end up with 35 tokens while your partner will end up with only 15 tokens. That is because for every 4 tokens you leave in the pool, you personally only get 3 tokens back. Thus you personally lose tokens by leaving tokens in the pool, no matter what your partner chooses.

Once you and your partner have chosen how many tokens to take out, this task is over. Neither you nor your partner will have any chance to affect each other's tokens after this one decision.

Comprehension questions: Before choosing, you must answer these questions to make sure you understand the task. You must answer correctly to receive any candy. You and your partner must both complete the comprehension questions before choosing how many tokens you will take out.

How many tokens should you take out of the pool in order for you to earn the most candy possible?

How many tokens should you take out of the pool in order for the group as a whole to earn the most candy possible?

Please wait while your partner completes the comprehension questions. . .

Please choose the number of tokens you will take out of the pool. (0 to 20)

As you wait for the results of the first part of the decision making task, please complete the following about your partner, yourself and about the study so far.

How would you rate your partner's current level of social status? (Higher status than me / Lower status than me / About the same status as me)

In today's task, I was assigned the role of: (Decision Manager / Decision Responder / not sure)

Your gender:

Racial/ethnic background (Check all that apply):

What is your age?

Have you ever participated in a study similar to this one? If so, please describe it.

Were the instructions and questions clear? If not, then what was unclear?

Did anything about the study seem confusing or strange?

Were you suspicious about any parts of the study? If so, which ones? Please be specific.

Do you have any thoughts on what the study might be about? Please be specific.

How confident (as a %) were you that your numerical estimation style assessment score was accurate?

How confident (as a %) were you that your partner would view your video?

If you have any other thoughts or comments you would like to share, please write them here.

Please get the experimenter to finish today's experiment.