University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

ScholarWorks@UARK

Graduate Theses and Dissertations

5-2022

Upward Cross-Class Interactions at Work: An Investigation of Emotional and Behavioral Outcomes

Emily Sue Corwin
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd

Part of the Business Administration, Management, and Operations Commons, Business Intelligence Commons, Inequality and Stratification Commons, Organizational Behavior and Theory Commons, Organizational Communication Commons, and the Work, Economy and Organizations Commons

Citation

Corwin, E. S. (2022). Upward Cross-Class Interactions at Work: An Investigation of Emotional and Behavioral Outcomes. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations* Retrieved from https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/4439

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UARK. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UARK. For more information, please contact scholar@uark.edu, uarepos@uark.edu.

Upward Cross-Class Interactions at Work: An Investigation of Emotional and Behavioral Outcomes

A dissertation proposal in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Business Administration, with a concentration in Management

by

Emily Sue Corwin
Missouri University of Science and Technology
Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 2013
Missouri State University
Master of Science in Industrial/Organizational Psychology, 2015

May 2022
University of Arkansas

This dissertation is approved for recommendation to the Graduate Council.

____
Lauren S. Simon, Ph.D.
Dissertation Chair

____
Jason W. Ridge, Ph.D.
Committee Member

____
Jonathan L. Johnson, Ph.D.
Committee Member

ABSTRACT

Cross-class interactions—when an individual from a lower (higher) social class background interacts with an individual from a higher (lower) social class background (Truong et al., 2021)—are ubiquitous in the workplace and serve as a vehicle for the reproduction of inequality (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Substantial research has demonstrated that social class background matters, as individuals from working-class backgrounds face challenges in the job search process and may be less likely to be hired (DeOrtentiis et al., 2021; Fang & Saks, 2020), earn less money (Fang & Tilcsik, 2022), and are less likely to emerge as leaders compared to those from middle- and upper-class backgrounds (Barling & Weatherhead, 2016). However, less is known about how social class influences interactions with others at work, despite theory and sparse evidence from other fields that cross-class interactions are perceived as a threat and influence attitudes and behaviors.

Through a sociocultural lens of social class, I integrate stereotype threat theory and the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions to investigate the emotional (i.e., shame and pride) and behavioral (i.e., withdrawal and agentic behaviors) outcomes of upward cross-class interactions at work for white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds. I test my hypotheses with an 8-week experience sampling study. Although many of the hypotheses were not supported, a number of insightful findings emerged. First, results indicate that upward cross-class interactions result in greater feelings of pride, and ultimately, more engagement in agentic behaviors. Second, shame and pride predicted withdrawal behaviors and agentic behaviors, respectively, which has important implications given the context of the study. Although no direct effects were hypothesized for between-person factors, findings also indicate that a greater capacity to navigate different class contexts resulted in fewer feelings of shame and more feelings of pride throughout the study period. Additionally, higher perceptions of organizational support for

development were related to less withdrawal behaviors. Theoretical and practical implications, as well as the limitations of the study, are discussed. This study is a step forward to gaining a greater understanding of workplace experiences for employees from working-class backgrounds. As both inequality and social class research continues to grow, shedding light on the various pathways through which inequality is reproduced in organizations will be a valuable endeavor.

©2022 by Emily Sue Corwin
All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

To my parents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever grateful to my advisor and dissertation chair, Lauren Simon, for her guidance, support, and mentorship over the last five years. I would also like to express my gratitude to my other committee members, Jason Ridge and Jon Johnson, for their guidance, support, and enthusiasm for my success over the years.

I would also like to thank Chris Rosen, for his generosity and knowledge sharing, Jake Grandy and Adam Stoverink for their support on the job market, and all the other faculty (both current and former) at University of Arkansas in both the Management and SEVI departments who have offered so much knowledge and support.

To the PhD students that graduated before me, thank you so much for your guidance, mentorship, coauthorship, but most importantly friendship over the years. To the PhD students that will graduate after me, thank you for your support over this past year especially, and thank you for your friendship—in the words of Winnie the Pooh, “How lucky I am to have something that makes saying goodbye so hard.”

To my parents, thank you so much for instilling in me the value of education and encouraging me to pursue my dreams. To my long-time best friend, Stephanie Bailey—thank you for learning the academic jargon so that you could share in both my frustrations and joys. Finally, to Sergei Kolomeitsev—I’m glad we were able to take this journey together.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 ……………..………………………………………………………………….. 1

INTRODUCTION ………………………………..………………………….……..... 1

CHAPTER 2 ………………………….……………………..…………………….……..... 8

LITERATURE REVIEW …………………………..………………………….……..... 8

Social Class Defined…….…………………………………………………….……... 8

Visibility and Stability of Social Class…………………………………... 9

Distinguishing Among Classes……………………………...……….. 10

The Sociocultural Approach ……………………………………….……….…..... 11

Cultural Models of Self ……….…………………………….….…………. 12

Gateway Institutions ……….…………………………………….......…... 14

Cross-class Interactions………..…………………………………………………… 14

Cross-class Interactions Defined ………………………..….………… 14

Related Constructs …………………….………….……………………… 15

The Anatomy of Cross-class Interactions…………….……………..……… 15

Social Class Signals…………..…………….……………………... 16

Social Class Identity…………..………….……………………….. 16

Stereotypes…………..……….……………………………………… 17

Summary…………..………….……………………………………… 18

Mechanisms of Cross-Class Interactions……………..…………….……… 18

Anxiety and Threat…………..……….……………………………… 18

Interpersonal Class Work…………..………….……………………….. 19

Impression Management Strategies……………..…………….….. 20

Consequences of Cross-class Interactions……………..…………..…… 21

Emotions…………..……………………………………………… 21

Social Affiliation…………..………………………………………… 22

Agency and Communion…………..…………………………….. 23

Intrapersonal Class Work…………..…………………………….. 24

Summary of Consequences…………..…………………………….. 24

Limitations of Existing Literature…………..……………………………… 25

CHAPTER 3 ……………………..………………………………………………….…... 29

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES ………………………..…………………….... 29

Stereotype Threat Theory …………………………………………….…… 30

Working Class Stigma ……………………..……………………………… 31

Class Salience …….………………………………………………… 32

Challenging Task ……………………..…………………...………… 33

The Importance of Work ………………………………...………….. 34

Cognitive Appraisal Theory of Emotion …………………………………... 34

Shame ……………..……………………………..……………………… 36

Pride ………..…………………………………………………………… 38

Cultural Capital Diversification ………………………………………...…. 39

Shame and Withdrawal Behavior ….……………………………….………… 44

Pride and Agentic Behavior ………………………………………………... 45

Organizational Support for Development …………………………...……. 47

Conditional Indirect Effects ……………...………………………………… 49

CHAPTER 4 ……………………………………………………………………………… 51

METHODOLOGY 51

Overview 51

Sample and Procedure 52

Measures 55

Initial Survey 55

Cultural Capital Diversification 55

Organizational Support for Development 55

Weekly Survey 55

Upward Cross-Class Interactions 55

Emotions 57

Behaviors 57

Control Variables 58

Attention Checks 58

Ethics Statement 58

CHAPTER 5 60

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS 60

CHAPTER 6 70

DISCUSSION 70

Summary of Findings 70

Theoretical and Practical Implications 75

Limitations and Future Directions 77

Conclusion 79

REFERENCES 81

APPENDICES …………………………..…………………..……………….....….. 98

APPENDIX A: COMPLIANCE DOCUMENT...……….….………………….....… 98

APPENDIX B: STUDY MEASURES …………………..………………...….. 99

Screener Survey Items …..……………………………………………….…...99

Initial Survey Items …..…………………………………………….....….. 101

Weekly Survey Items ..…………………………………………….....… 103

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Social class is a "dimension of the self that is rooted in objective material resources (income, education, and occupational prestige) and corresponding subjective perceptions of rank vis-à-vis others" (Côté 2011, p. 46). Differences in social class shape United States society and inform social interactions across life domains, particularly within organizations (Markus & Fiske, 2012; Townsend & Truong, 2017). Inequality has physical, psychological, and social costs—for instance, life expectancy is shorter, mental illness is higher, and social cohesion is dampened, with more segregated social networks and greater class-based anxiety (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2017). In his inaugural speech, President Joe Biden made the case for unity against the woes we face, inspiring Americans to work together to "rebuild the middle class." This statement, while relevant given the expanding wealth gap in the United States, highlights an important aspect of American culture. That is, the middle-class "way of being" is the American way of being—the right and normatively appropriate way to think, feel, and behave (Fiske & Markus, 2012). Thus, calls to rebuild the middle class are met with positivity and patriotism. In turn, there is a stigma attached to those who "fail" to meet the middle-class standard (Scheff, 2001; Wilkins & Pace, 2014), and perspectives that denigrate meritocracy as a myth are met with denial from the majority who believe the financially vulnerable are deserving of their precarious positions (Manstead, 2018).

Middle-class values of independence and agency are also considered normatively appropriate in *gateway institutions*—places such as universities and organizations that mediate access to valued opportunities that reduce inequality such as social networks, good jobs, income, and upward social mobility more generally (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012). Perhaps because of the importance of the workplace as a gateway institution, organizational research on social class has

flourished in recent years, and we have learned much about how social class background—"early experiences with, and access to, valuable resources while growing up" (Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2015, p. 1614)—impacts important employee outcomes. For instance, individuals from working-class backgrounds are more likely to use haphazard job search strategies (Fang & Saks, 2020), less likely to be hired due to a mismatch of interests, experiences, and presentation styles (Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016), less likely to emerge as leaders due to a lack of agentic characteristics (Barling & Weatherhead, 2016), and earn less than those from more privileged backgrounds (Fang & Tilcsik, 2022; Laurison & Friedman, 2016). Moreover, due to a cultural mismatch between their accustomed norms and values and those preferred by organizations, working-class individuals may experience greater uncertainty and worse subjective fit at work (Stephens et al., 2017; Dittmann, 2020; Dittmann et al., 2020). Working class signals (e.g., speech, interests, and nonverbal cues) that highlight class differences activate negative social class stereotypes from others, which can result in lower perceptions of competence (Fiske et al., 2002; Kraus et al., 2017), less preferential treatment (Nelissen & Meijers, 2011), lower likelihood of forming valuable connections at work, and stifled career advancement (Dittmann, 2020; Pitesa & Pillutla, 2019; Townsend & Truong, 2017).

Although these findings have increased our understanding of how social class manifests in the workplace, we know much less about the influence of social class in *interactions* with others at work, and particularly, cross-class interactions—when an individual from a lower (higher) social class background interacts with an individual from a higher (lower) social class background (Truong et al., 2021). Work on cross-class interactions, and cross-status interactions more broadly, highlights the associated discomfort, identity threat, and subsequent class work and impression management strategies employed by individuals to manage this class-based

anxiety. However, much of this work is theoretical (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), and empirical work is limited to a handful of laboratory (e.g., Côté et al., 2017; Swencionis & Fiske, 2016) or qualitative studies (e.g., Gorman, 2000). Yet, understanding cross-class interactions is crucial if we are to truly realize the impact of social class in the workplace, as theory suggests social class background shapes who we are and how we interact with others (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Moreover, interactions with others in organizations shape valuable outcomes for employees in organizations, such as social affiliation (Côté et al., 2017), resource sharing (Piff et al., 2018), perceptions of fit, performance ratings, and career mobility (Dittmann, 2020; Townsend & Truong, 2017).

Given that social class background influences the nature of social interactions (and is especially salient in cross-class interactions) and given the importance of social interactions for employee and organizational outcomes, in this dissertation, I seek to contribute to our nascent understanding of cross-class interactions at work. In particular, I conduct a weekly experience sampling methodology (ESM) study among employees from working-class backgrounds to investigate the affective and behavioral outcomes of upward cross-class interactions in the workplace. I focus on upward cross-class interactions specifically because theory indicates interaction direction impacts outcomes (e.g., Côté et al., 2017; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012; Truong et al., 2021). Thus, it is common for scholars to focus on one type of interaction for theoretical and empirical precision and parsimony (e.g., Arnett & Sidanius, 2018). Drawing from the sociocultural perspective of social class (Stephens et al., 2012a, 2013), I integrate stereotype threat theory (Steele & Aronson, 1995) with the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions (Lazarus, 1991a; Smith & Lazarus, 1991) to examine whether

experiencing upward cross-class interactions results in shame or pride, and ultimately, withdrawal behaviors or agentic behaviors at work.

According to the sociocultural perspective of social class (Stephens et al., 2007, 2013), socialization in different social class contexts results in distinct cultural models of self that inform individuals how to think, feel, and behave to be effective, or to be a "good person" (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Stephens et al., 2012a, 2014). Within organizations broadly, independent models of self are valued—behaving agentically (i.e., exerting influence, demonstrating confidence, diverging from the status quo) is the "way to the top" (Townsend & Truong, 2017). However, individuals from working class backgrounds are driven by an interdependent model of self that values adhering to the status quo and adapting to the situation rather than influencing it based on one's own preferences (Stephens et al., 2007, 2012a). Because this interdependent way of being is not preferred in most organizations, upward cross-class interactions make salient one's stigmatized social class identity (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013) and thus may induce stereotype threat, which occurs when employees feel they are being judged negatively by others on the basis of stereotyped characteristics associated with a stigmatized identity (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). Subsequently, feelings of shame, which arise when employees appraise they are not living up to an expected ideal (Lazarus, 1993), may increase and, in turn, lead to withdrawal behaviors (i.e., avoiding others, daydreaming; Lehman & Simpson, 1992; Tangney, 1995), as such behaviors are likely to be an identity protection mechanism following cross-class interactions (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Engaging in withdrawal behaviors at work may limit access to valued organizational opportunities (i.e., promotion, pay raises), as these behaviors can harm employees' performance. Thus, to the extent employees "withdraw from the rules of the game" (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013, p. 683)

following upward cross-class interactions, withdrawal behaviors may be one pathway through which such interactions reinforce inequality at work.

Similarly, because pride arises when employees experience an enhanced sense of self-worth by attributing internal responsibility for a positive accomplishment (i.e., "being a socially valued person;" Mascolo & Fischer, 1995, p. 66; Lazarus, 1991b; Smith & Lazarus, 1993), upward cross-class interactions are not likely to elicit feelings of pride. Because one's stigmatized social class identity and the accompanying stereotypes is made salient in upward cross-class interactions, and because employees from working-class backgrounds are often aware that they lack dominant cultural capital (e.g., knowledge, tastes, and interests; Bourdieu, 1984, 1994) to navigate cross-class interactions (Dittmann, 2020; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), appraisals of social worth, and thus feelings of pride, are unlikely. This is especially problematic given that pride has been referred to as "the fundamental emotion of success, power, and status" (Tracy et al., 2014). Pride activates agentic, independent behaviors reflective of "getting ahead" (i.e., increased effort, persistence) that are linked to better access to valuable resources and advancement opportunities (Stephens et al., 2019; Williams, 2018). Therefore, when feelings of pride following upward cross-class interactions are reduced, the interaction may serve to reproduce inequality by reducing engagement in agentic behaviors.

However, employees may, depending on their own characteristics or work situations, differ with respect to how they respond to upward cross-class interactions. Thus, I examine whether one's capacity to navigate different social class contexts (i.e., cultural capital diversification, referred to from this point as CCD; Corwin et al., 2021) influences the extent to which individuals experience pride and shame. One reason cross-class interactions are uncomfortable is because employees may feel as if they do not have the appropriate class-based

knowledge, tastes, or interests to navigate them (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Thus, to the extent working-class individuals have a greater capacity to navigate different social class contexts, they are likely to feel less discomfort from such interactions, because this capacity may reduce stereotype threat. This is consistent with work on stereotype threat that suggests women in stereotyped domains "tend to take pride in themselves and other women once the stereotype threat is disconfirmed" (Smith & Hung, 2008, p. 250; see Blanton et al., 2002[1]). Moreover, one's capacity to produce desired results reduces the extent to which stereotype threat occurs (Kalokerinos et al., 2014).

Additionally, I examine the influence of organizational support for development (OSD; Kraimer et al., 2011) on the relationship between affective reactions and downstream behavioral consequences. To the extent employees perceive a path to upward mobility within their organization, they are more likely to respond to their emotions with behavior that facilitates mobility and other career benefits (Kiazad et al., 2020). OSD communicates to employees that their employers respect and value them (Kraimer et al., 2011), which may reduce the negative effects of shame—an emotion that results from an appraisal that one is not valued—and further enhance the benefits of pride—an emotion that results from an appraisal that one is valued. Employees with higher perceptions of OSD are likely to strive for upward mobility via agentic behaviors following pride because they believe that they will be rewarded for doing so and wish to maintain their positive emotional state (Hu & Kaplan, 2015). Moreover, they should be less likely to engage in withdrawal behaviors following shame, because (1) there is an incentive not to do so, and (2) because they are motivated to avoid harming the organization that supports

[1] These authors did not explicitly measure pride. Perceptions of competence were measured via an appraisal of one's abilities on a task and generally (e.g., "I feel confident about my abilities"), and findings indicated this appraisal was higher when women outperformed men (i.e., when the stereotype was disconfirmed).

them. In this way, OSD can counteract the proposed negative effects of shame and enhance the proposed positive effects of pride on withdrawal and agentic behavior, respectively.

This research contributes to the existing literature in at least three ways. First, this is the first study to empirically investigate upward cross-class interactions as they occur naturally on a recurring basis at work. Because cross-class interactions reinforce inequality in organizations (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), it is valuable to understand not only what happens in the moment as such interactions occur, but also how more downstream and organizationally pertinent behaviors (i.e., agentic and withdrawal behaviors) that have the potential to reinforce or attenuate inequality might be impacted within individuals. Second, I contribute to the sociocultural perspective of social class and the stereotype threat literature by investigating employee outcomes to potentially threatening situations (i.e., upward cross-class interactions) in organizations (e.g., Stephens et al., 2019; Swab et al., 2021). Finally, I contribute to the literature on social class and emotions by both providing insight into the discrete emotions that occur in response to cross-class interactions and by considering the conditions under which individuals may have a positive emotional reaction that potentially allows individuals to benefit from these interactions (Fiske & Markus, 2012) at work. These findings should shed light on the processes through which upward cross-class interactions potentially reproduce inequality within organizations in a very tangible way, that is, by demonstrating an effect on workplace behaviors that ultimately influence valued organizational outcomes such as positive feedback, promotions, and pay raises.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand the day-to-day consequences of episodic upward cross-class interactions, it is useful to begin by reviewing the social class literature. Thus, in the sections that follow, I define social class and review the sociocultural perspective of social class. Then, I define cross-class interactions and follow this section with a review of relevant theory and empirical findings on this topic. I conclude by discussing gaps in the current literature.

Social Class Defined

With the increased popularity of social class research, scholars have toiled away to accurately conceptualize and operationalize *social class*, which has been defined both objectively (e.g., educational attainment, parental income, occupational prestige) and subjectively (e.g., one's perceived societal rank in comparison to others; Côté, 2011; Loignon & Woehr, 2018). Côté (2011, p. 47) defined social class as "a dimension of the self that is rooted in objective material resources (income, education, and occupational prestige) and corresponding subjective perceptions of rank vis-à-vis others." This contemporary definition is particularly representative for cross-class interactions because it accounts for oneself view as well as social comparisons to others. Notably, this definition incorporates both objective and subjective indicators of social class. While objective and subjective operationalizations are highly correlated, indicators even within the same approach can differ empirically (e.g., Côté et al., 2017), and it is important to operationalize social class based on the research question at hand (Loignon & Woehr, 2018).

In defining social class, it is also useful to clarify what class is *not.* Social class differs conceptually and empirically from socioeconomic status, workplace status, and power (Côté, 2011; Loignon & Woehr, 2018). Although socioeconomic status (SES) and social class are often used interchangeably, SES refers specifically to income level, including employment wages and

other forms of wealth (e.g., investments, land; Ardoin, 2018) while social class is a broader construct incorporating both material resources and subjective perceptions of rank. Although social class conveys status (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), status can be achieved via a wide array of mechanisms unrelated to material resources (e.g., how well one treats others), is situationally specific, and may vary based on interaction partners (e.g., a supervisor's status may vary across subordinates; Côté, 2011). Thus, status is a broader and less stable construct than social class, which is consistent across contexts (Côté, 2011). Power is also a broader concept than social class, extending beyond material resources to include control over valuable resources more generally (i.e., a manager's control over project assignment or scheduling; Côté, 2011).

Visibility and Stability of Social Class

A wealth of research has established social class as a visible characteristic that can be perceived frequently, rapidly, and accurately by others via social class signals that are displayed and perceived in social interactions (Kraus et al., 2017). These signals include clothing (Kraus & Mendes, 2014), manner of speech (e.g., accent, vocal emphasis; see Kraus et al., 2019), nonverbal behaviors (e.g., facial cues, interpersonal engagement; Bjornsdottir & Rule, 2017; Kraus & Keltner, 2009), and attitudes, dispositions, tastes, and preferences (Kraus & Mendes, 2014; Piff et al., 2018). Social class signals are learned through socialization, predominantly in the social class context in which one is raised but can also be adapted through other life experiences (e.g., college; Martin & Côté, 2019). Signals are class specific, viewed as normal or appropriate depending on a particular social class group (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Martin & Côté, 2019).

Given that social class signals may be acculturated through certain life experiences, this raises the question of whether it is one's current social class or social class background that has

the greatest impact on attitudes, behaviors, and cognitions. Despite recent arguments for a more dynamic perspective of social class (Martin & Côté, 2019; Phillips, Martin, et al., 2020), historically, researchers have contended that one "doesn't forget their roots," arguing for a social class background perspective to explain differences in risk-taking and leadership effectiveness, among other outcomes (Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2015; Martin et al., 2016). Ethnographic and qualitative accounts support this assertion—even after experiencing upward mobility, those from working-class backgrounds have a sense of dual consciousness or split identity, feeling as if they have one foot between two worlds and belong in none (e.g., Lubrano, 2005; Hurst & Nenga, 2016; Reay, 2004). Additionally, social class differences persist for individuals from working class backgrounds through graduation, despite the college environment providing opportunities to learn and practice middle-class culture (Phillips, Stephens, et al., 2020). Thus, while social class is a more malleable identity than others (e.g., race) and can change over one's life span (Phillips, Martin, et al., 2020), social class background exerts a lasting influence that carries over to organizational life (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019; Townsend & Truong, 2017).

Distinguishing Among Classes

Theoretical work frequently categorizes social class into three distinct groups (e.g., Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013)— the working class, middle-class, and upper class. Although the term "lower social class" has been used to encapsulate both the working class and the working poor (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), recent literature, in an effort to integrate the interdisciplinary research on social class, has moved toward using the term *working-class* to refer to contexts where most people have less than a four-year college degree, blue-collar occupations, and relatively low incomes (Dittmann, 2020; Dittmann et al., 2020; Fang & Saks, 2020). Similarly, *middle-class* refers to those who typically have a four-year degree, white-collar occupations, and

mid-level incomes, and *upper-class* generally refers to those who have beyond a four-year college degree (e.g., a graduate or professional degree), relatively high incomes, and certain occupations (e.g., professional or executive; Dittmann, 2020). Thus, I adopt similar language in this dissertation.

Empirical work often utilizes a dichotomy between the working-class and the middle-class, sometimes combining middle and upper classes (e.g., Stephens et al., 2007). It is important to note that distinctions into two or three categories are over-simplifications, because class boundaries are “fuzzy” (Zweig, 2004, p. 7), and substantial differences can exist within class contexts (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). For instance, working class individuals who generally imbue morality into work ethic may stigmatize the nonworking poor or those perceived to work in less masculine jobs (Fiske & Durante, 2019). However, a dichotomous class distinction is useful to the extent it fits the research question, because although societal and cultural differences exist between the middle and upper classes (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), very few people truly belong to the upper-class (Zweig, 2006), and both contexts experience access to resources which shapes norms, values, behaviors, and self-views differentially from working class contexts. Therefore, this dichotomous language will be used to draw comparisons between working class and higher social classes where appropriate.

The Sociocultural Approach

There are at least three dominant perspectives of social class that share many commonalities, namely that one’s social class origins exert a lasting influence on attitudes, cognitions, behaviors, and self-views (Phillips, Martin, et al., 2020). More specifically, people from working-class backgrounds tend to be more interdependent and communal while those from middle- or upper-class backgrounds are more independent and agentic. The life history

approach focuses on access to material resources while growing up (e.g., Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2015; Martin et al., 2016), and the rank cognition approach indicates that people understand their social class in comparison to others (Kraus et al., 2013; Phillips et al., 2020). Proponents of the sociocultural approach (Stephens & Townsend, 2013, p. 126) argue that the social class experience goes beyond comparative rankings and material resources to include "ongoing participation in a particular sociocultural context—a socially and historically constructed environment that contains a set of culture-specific ideas (e.g., stereotypes, cultural narratives, social representations), practices (e.g., socialization styles), and institutions (e.g., workplaces, schools)." Thus, psychological tendencies, cognitions, emotions, behaviors, and selves are shaped in response to the social class contexts in which people interact and reflect one's self-views and the views of others, which can be either structure reinforcing or changing (Stephens et al., 2012a; Stephens & Townsend, 2013).

Cultural Models of Self

A key component of this perspective is that social class is an important source of models of self, or ways of being and acting (Markus & Kitayama, 2010), and that what represents a "good person" in the working-class context is different than what represents a "good person" in the middle-class context (Stephens et al., 2007, 2012a). In working-class contexts, people have fewer resources, face greater risks and uncertainty, and have more constraints on choices, which leads to more dependence on family and other close relations to meet basic needs (Martin & Côté 2019). Because relationships are so important, children in working-class contexts are socialized to think about others and to avoid deviation from the status quo, which is costly when relationships and interdependence are highly valued (Martin et al., 2017; Stephens et al., 2007). The interdependent model indicates the "normatively appropriate person" adjusts to the social

context, understands their place in the social hierarchy, and is connected and responsive to the needs of others in part due to material assistance and support (Stephens et al., 2012, 2019). For instance, working-class individuals prefer similarity and connection (versus individuation and differentiation) to others (Stephens et al., 2007), have lower perceptions of control and certainty, and a heightened vigilance to threat (e.g., Kraus et al., 2012). They are also more likely to follow the rules and standards and to exercise caution in interactions with authority figures (Townsend & Truong, 2017).

Comparatively, in middle-class contexts, an independent model of self guides what is appropriate (Stephens et al., 2007, 2012a). Because the middle-class context affords greater access to resources and opportunities to exercise control and choice, the "right" way of being includes exerting influence on others and the social context and "acting freely on the basis of personal motives, goals, and preferences" (Stephens et al., 2019, p. 68). Thus, individuals from the middle-class value cognitions and behaviors that prioritize self over others, including greater persistence, speaking up, challenging the status quo, and developing and expressing one's preferences and interests. Although everyone has access to both independent and interdependent models of self, and the two are not mutually exclusive, one model becomes preferred and normative over the other based on people's social class experiences (Stephens et al., 2012a, 2019). While both models can be effective in the right context, gateway institutions value independent models of self as the "cultural ideal" (Stephens et al., 2019), and therefore are sites of *cultural mismatch*, a phenomenon that emerges when people from working class backgrounds do not engage the valued independent norms and/or do engage more familiar interdependent norms (Stephens et al., 2012b). Thus, the sociocultural approach extends beyond negative stereotypes as a form of threat to include institutionalized cultural norms (Stephens et al., 2012a).

Gateway Institutions

Due to economic segregation that determines where we live and spend our leisure time, most cross-class interactions occur at work or in other *gateway institutions*— "public organizations such as educational, workplace, and health institutions that mediate access to valued life outcomes by which we commonly judge inequality" (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012, p. 132). Workplaces are referred to as such because they offer entry to the middle and upper classes via access to social networks, good jobs, income, health, power, and social status (Phillips, Stephens, et al., 2020; Stephens et al., 2019). Because economic segregation reduces the likelihood of voluntary cross-class interactions outside of goal-oriented contexts, one may assume that such interactions are heavily role dependent in organizations (i.e., the factory worker and the engineer discussing a new process), informed by class-related status characteristics such as occupation and education (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012). However, cross-class interactions can occur independently of occupational roles, with class identities, class-based knowledge gaps about the rules of the context, and in-group preferences implicitly highlighting class differences and class-differentiated rules for interaction (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012). Through these mechanisms, cross-class interactions in gateway institutions influence performance expectations, the status and influence granted to an individual, and ultimately the valued outcomes held within these institutions (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012; Townsend & Truong, 2017).

Cross-Class Interactions

Cross-class Interactions Defined

A cross-class interaction occurs when an individual from a lower (higher) social class background interacts with an individual from a higher (lower) social class background (Truong et al., 2021). In this dissertation, I investigate the influence of upward cross-class interactions

specifically, focusing on the experience of individuals interacting with someone from a higher social class than their own. Building on Truong and colleagues' (2021) definition, I define upward cross-class interactions as those that *occur when a focal person from a given social class background interacts with a person or persons from a relatively higher social class background*. This definition highlights the subjective viewpoint of the perceiver in cross-class interactions. While both upward and downward cross-class interactions have important workplace consequences, extant literature suggests the directionality of the interaction differentially influences individuals (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Truong et al., 2021). Thus, it is common for empirical work to focus on a single direction of interest (e.g., Arnett & Sidanius, 2018). Therefore, in reviewing work on cross-class interactions, I emphasize working class individuals and upward interactions.

Related Constructs

Because literature on cross-class interactions is nascent, I also review work from the broader social class literature to better understand the process and context of cross-class interactions as they occur. Additionally, I draw from literatures on the related constructs of cross-status interactions, which refer to interactions between individuals at different relative positions in the social hierarchy more broadly (Swencionis et al., 2017) and social mobility, which may be considered a long-term atemporal cross-class interaction as individuals navigate new social class contexts (Martin & Côté 2019).

The Anatomy of Cross-Class Interactions

Before delving into what we know thus far empirically about cross-class interactions, it is necessary to delineate how such interactions take place and why they matter. Thus, this section discusses the anatomy of an upward cross-class interaction. More specifically, I outline how

social class signals perceived during interactions make one's social class identity salient and highlight group boundaries, ultimately resulting in class-based threat and automatic stereotyping.

Social Class Signals. Social class signals are perceived accurately, quickly, and frequently during interactions (e.g., Becker et al., 2017), highlighting group boundaries between social classes (through sorting, stereotyping, and class conflict) and resulting in psychological and behavioral tendencies that reinforce inequality (Kraus et al., 2017; Piff et al., 2018). Social class signals are the result of (1) perceiver judgments and (2) target behaviors, and thus are inherent in cross-class interactions (Kraus et al., 2017). Social comparisons at work are frequent if not unavoidable, as they aid in identity and uncertainty management and emotion and goal regulation processes (Brown et al., 2007). Because social comparisons are often focused on economic outcomes, they are informed by social class signals (Kraus et al., 2017). For instance, someone may be part of a water cooler conversation that turns to tennis and, realizing they do not possess the necessary cultural capital to engage in the discussion (i.e., knowledge, skills, and interests; Bourdieu, 1994), they make a comparison between themselves and their tennis-playing coworkers (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). In this example, interest in and knowledge of tennis serves as a social class signal that highlights class differences and makes salient one's social class identity, drawing attention to the experience of an upward cross-class interaction.

Social Class Identity. Perceived differences in social class signals (e.g., cultural knowledge, manner of speech) that distinguish oneself from the other interaction member bring to mind a status hierarchy, making one's social class identity salient during a cross-class interaction (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Social class identities reflect a person's sense of membership in a group in which they were raised or to which they have acculturated on the basis of shared norms and values and may be either implicit or explicit (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012).

These identities are particularly important in cross-class interactions, fostering ingroup and outgroup biases as individuals make subjective comparisons of their own social class and that of others based on social class signals (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012) and acting as a heuristic in social interactions (Piff et al., 2018). Importantly, it is not a requirement that class identity salience occurs consciously, as research on stigma and stereotyping more generally indicates that reactions can occur at the conscious or subconscious level (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Fiske & Markus, 2012). Research on stereotypes and intergroup relations suggests that people experience threat or anxiety, in anticipation of or as a consequence of cross-group interactions, particularly when one member belongs to a stigmatized group (Townsend et al., 2014; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Swencionis & Fiske, 2018). In theory, this may be either a conscious identity threat in which one reflects on their own privilege or disadvantage or as an unconscious threat that, along with anxiety, triggers automatic stereotypes (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013).

Stereotypes. There are many class-based stereotypes associated with the working class that might be triggered during an upward cross-class interaction, including *excessive, wasteful,* and *backward* (Skeggs, 2008, p. 38 as cited in Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), but most stereotypes can be categorized under warmth and competence perceptions, which people use to judge the intentions and abilities of others during social interactions (Fiske, 2011). Individuals belonging to lower social classes are negatively stereotyped across the globe (Durante et al., 2017), perceived as incompetent—lazy and stupid (Laurin et al., 2019; see Jost & Banaji, 1994 and Kay et al., 2005)—but warm, while those from higher social class backgrounds are perceived as competent but cold (Cuddy et al., 2007; Fiske et al., 2002; 2006). At a general level, these stereotypes play out in cross-status interactions and thus are a matter of relative comparison (e.g., Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). These ambivalent stereotypes are more pervasive in countries with

stark inequality such as the United States (Durante et al., 2013; Manstead, 2018) and serve the purpose of providing an increased sense of fairness about the status quo of class inequality (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 2001). Not only are stereotypes activated regarding the outgroup member in cross-class interactions, but individuals are aware of the stereotypes associated with their social class group and demonstrate concern toward being the target of either an upward or downward social comparison (Swencionis & Fiske, 2018).

Summary. Social class signals (i.e., mannerisms, way of speaking, clothing, interests) communicate class-based differences during interactions, making one's social class identity salient and activating negative group-based stereotypes. For individuals from working-class backgrounds whose social class identity is stigmatized, this results in feelings of threat or anxiety, and in turn, behaviors engaged to manage that threat, which I elaborate on in the next section.

Mechanisms of Cross-Class Interactions

In this section, I discuss more immediate processes that occur during cross-class interactions, elaborating on threat and anxiety, and reviewing forms of class work used to manage one's identity and types of impression management strategies intended to counteract negative group-based stereotypes.

Anxiety and Threat. Generally, in upward social comparisons, individuals evaluate tasks as more threatening and exhibit greater physiological responses reflective of threat, especially when interacting with dissimilar partners (Mendes et al., 2001). Working class individuals have heightened vigilance and greater reactivity to threat especially during social interactions (e.g., Kraus et al., 2011; Varnum & Kitayama, 2017). In line with theory on cross-class interactions that suggests awareness of class differences in interactions results in anxiety

(Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), working class participants demonstrate greater levels of threat (i.e., mean arterial pressure reactivity) in upward interactions (Pickering, 2014). Moreover, upper-class signals in negotiation tasks increased perceivers' threat vigilance (i.e., cardiac vagal withdrawal) and sympathetic nervous system activation, and reduced perceptions of social power (Kraus & Mendes, 2014). However, recent empirical work found that individuals anticipating an upward cross-class interaction (vs. same-class interaction) had similar levels of threat and task performance (Truong et al., 2021). These authors suggested that people from working class backgrounds may be relatively resilient in threatening social contexts given prior experiences (see Townsend et al., 2014). Worth noting is that these findings were based on laboratory studies investigating threat in anticipation of interactions rather than during or after. In sum, empirical findings on anxiety/threat in the face of upward cross-class interactions are thus far mixed.

Interpersonal Class Work. Because cross-class interactions threaten one's identity, individuals engage in various types of intrapersonal and interpersonal class work—defined as "interpretative processes and interaction rituals (Goffman, 1967) that organizational members individually…take to manage cross-class encounters"[2] to maintain a positive sense of self and to justify inequality (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013, p. 671). For example, due to the stigma associated with the working class (e.g., Cozzarelli et al., 2001; Goffman, 1963; Lott, 2002), people may attempt to conceal their background from interaction partners to avoid being viewed negatively by others (e.g., Garcia et al., 2007). In support of this, White men from working class backgrounds were found to conceal their class background at work to avoid judgment, pity, embarrassment, vulnerability, or misunderstanding from others (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019).

[2] Because my focus is on individuals, I only discuss individual forms of class work as they pertain to this dissertation. See Gray and Kish-Gephart (2013) for a full discussion of all forms of class work at both the individual and collective levels.

However, they revealed their backgrounds when forced to, or more positively, to relate to, motivate, or help others. Interestingly, while disclosure was more common than concealment, it was often unintentional or undesired.

Identity concealment attempts in cross-class interactions lead working class individuals to express themselves differently, intentionally altering their behavior with upward interaction partners but not same-class interaction partners (Garcia et al., 2007). A series of three studies demonstrated that people from working-class backgrounds reported more discomfort in real and imagined cross-class interactions and acted less expressively (e.g., “hard to read”) in an effort to convey less information about themselves and their affective state. However, whether doing so leads to beneficial outcomes is questionable (Garcia et al., 2007), as work on identity concealment more generally indicates there may be negative outcomes (e.g., Clair et al., 2005).

Impression Management Strategies. Besides managing one’s identity in cross-class interactions, individuals are also motivated to disconfirm widely held group-based stereotypes by matching the warmth and competence of their interaction partners (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). Because lower status individuals are stereotyped as warm but incompetent, they were found to engage in self-promotion impression management strategies (e.g., being more assertive) to offset this stereotype while downplaying warmth (Swencionis et al., 2017). Interestingly, lower status individuals engage in these compensation effects based on group-based stereotypes of both interaction partners, as they were found to emphasize competence with a focus on matching the stereotyped competence of the comparison target, which may help to reduce perceptions of stigma while focusing on self-promotion (Swencionis & Fiske, 2016). These compensation strategies are reflected in behavior as well, as lower-status participants engaged in more

individualistic (vs. cooperative) behavior as demonstrated by participation in an interactive public goods game with a higher status interaction partner (Swencionis & Fiske, 2018).

Consequences of Cross-Class Interactions

In this section, I move beyond what occurs during cross-class interactions to discuss more downstream consequences. Emotions, while likely occurring in the moment, linger after the emotion-eliciting event, as individuals appraise the goal congruence and importance of the interaction. Similarly, intrapersonal class work may occur cognitively during the event, but also following the interaction, particularly where withdrawal is concerned.

Emotions. Decades of extant ethnographic and qualitative work provide a foundation for the role of emotions in cross-class interactions, highlighting the *hidden injuries of class* experienced by working class individuals (Sennett & Cobb, 1972). Working class individuals perceive the negative attitudes middle-class interaction partners hold toward them, and cross-class interactions are reminders of their position, resulting in shame, anger, resentment, lowered self-worth, and a doubling down of one's class-related positive attributes (Gorman, 2000). To the extent that individuals realize the "arbitrariness and injustice" of social class, "it can prompt, guilt, shame, resentment, and defensiveness, and the balance of these feelings and the ways of handling them are likely to vary according to class position" (Sayer, 2005, p. 201-202). The "affective lexicon of class" was later expanded to include "envy, deference, contempt, arrogance, pride, rage, satisfaction, embarrassment, and pity." (Reay, 2005, p. 913).

In particular, the self-conscious emotion of shame has been considered a routine emotion for working class individuals arising from one's difficulty in meeting the institutionalized norms of the middle class and resulting negative self-views of deficiency (Loveday, 2016; Skeggs, 1997; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Because individuals from working class backgrounds (1)

experience a reduction of status during cross-class interactions and (2) are more likely to have interactions in which their social identities are not confirmed, negative emotions are likely to arise (Kraus & Park, 2014; Wilkins & Pace, 2014). Indeed, Kraus et al. (2013) argued that self-conscious emotions such as shame and embarrassment, which are more likely to be experienced by lower-status individuals, are the most probable affective reactions for working class individuals in response to unfairness or perceptions of reduced value by others. Preliminary evidence supports this claim, as working-class individuals assigned to an "unfairness condition" in an economic game experienced increases in self-conscious emotions compared to higher social class counterparts (Kraus & Park, 2014).

Social Affiliation. Due to social class stereotypes and the similarity attraction hypothesis (Byrne, 1971)—which posits that individuals are more attracted to and prefer to interact with similar others—social class signals displayed and perceived in cross-class interactions are theorized to reduce future contact or relationships across class divides, limiting access to influential networks and opportunities for upward mobility (Kraus et al., 2017). Moreover, these stereotypes can undermine trust in cross-class encounters, which can lead to stress, avoidance of others, and damaging of relationships for both sides among other detrimental consequences (Fiske et al., 2012). Additionally, the emotional experience may harm future interactions, as working-class individuals are particularly adept at perceiving hostile emotions (i.e., anger, contempt) of interaction partners, more likely to experience emotional contagion during such interactions, and have increased expectations for future hostile behaviors from subsequent interactions (Kraus et al., 2011). Empirical work on social class signals supports these assertions. For instance, describing potential interaction partners using upper (lower) class signals led to greater social affiliation among upper (lower) class participants, and generally, same-class

affiliation was more common than cross-class affiliation, especially for those at the extreme ends of the social class hierarchy (Côté et al., 2017).

Agency and Communion. Social class researchers generally agree that the working class is more interdependent and communal while the middle and upper classes are more independent and agentic (e.g., Kraus & Callaghan, 2016; Piff et al., 2010). However, these studies did not investigate cross-class interactions per se, ignoring the social class of the interaction target (Aydin et al., 2019), and studies that have implicitly considered the interaction partner's social class have found that the target's social class matters. For instance, people are less communal toward interaction partners of a higher social class, regardless of their own social class standing (e.g., van Doesum et al., 2017). Thus, accounting for both the perceiver's and target's social class in cross-class interactions, Aydin and colleagues (2019) found that when working class participants were reminded that they were illegitimately disadvantaged, they experienced threat and were motivated to act agentically (i.e., more assertive and confident) in upward cross-class interactions. These findings were supported with the target of the interaction partner in mind—individuals preferred agentic goals toward interaction partners on the higher end of the social class spectrum and communal goals toward those on the lower end of the social class spectrum, regardless of their own social class standing.

Importantly, these experiments focused on imagined cross-class interactions and endorsement of goal pursuit rather than actual cross-class interactions and behaviors. Moreover, this work did not investigate the impact of emotions. Because the negative emotions theorized to occur in response to upward cross-class interactions are associated with reduced self-benefitting behavior (Tracy et al., 2009), working class individuals may be less likely to engage in behaviors

that lead to achievement (i.e., agentic behaviors) following cross-class interactions, particularly in gateway institutions where there is a cultural mismatch (Kraus & Park, 2014).

Intrapersonal Class Work. While interpersonal class work often takes place during interactions, describing how individuals may act in the moment, intrapersonal class work can manifest as a more downstream outcome. Intrapersonal strategies largely involve self-rationalizations or justifications aimed at enhancing status and self-esteem. For instance, withdrawal can occur interpersonally, such as when a working-class individual avoids interacting or otherwise forging connections with those from different social class backgrounds following previous cross-class interactions (e.g., Kastberg & Miller, 1996), or it can occur intrapersonally as a defense mechanism that protects one's self-esteem (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). In the latter case, people withdraw cognitively and behaviorally from opportunities to "get ahead," in part due to a reduction of outcome expectancy (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Laurin et al., 2019).

Gray and Kish-Gephart (2013, p. 678) outlined four intrapersonal strategies for working class individuals: 1) embracing the myth of meritocracy, 2) shifting to an alternative identity (e.g., being a good parent), 3) rebranding a stigmatized identity (e.g., via dirty work or emphasizing upward mobility), and 4) denigrating middle and upper classes. This is supported by qualitative accounts of emerging upwardly mobile first-generation students who denied class differences or prescribed to the myth of meritocracy, emphasized desires for upward mobility, cognitively distanced themselves from the working class, or highlighted positive traits of their own class in comparison to negative traits of others (Radmacher & Azmitia, 2013).

Summary of Consequences. Although the literature on cross-class interactions is sparse, this review suggests that individuals may experience emotions beyond threat or anxiety to include negative self-conscious emotions such as shame. Moreover, cross-class interactions have

the potential for reducing social affiliation between members of different social classes, which has important outcomes for inequality. For instance, if following an upward cross-class interaction, employees withdraw psychologically or behaviorally, this could reinforce negative group-based stereotypes of incompetence or highlight interdependence, which is not as valued within organizations broadly. Alternatively, working-class individuals might, in some circumstances, behave agentically following an interaction, which can "level the playing field" so to speak, as such behavior is valued by organizations. Thus, a promising next step may be to investigate how the experience of upward cross-class interactions impacts withdrawal behaviors and agentic behaviors at work, as well as *when* and for *whom*. Affective reactions serve as a logical explanatory mechanism for which behaviors are more likely, yet emotions remain understudied. Still, the broader social class literature provides a sufficient foundation upon which to build.

Limitations of Existing Literature

Overall, this review highlights several theoretical and empirical gaps in the examination of upward cross-class interactions. First, investigations of cross-class interactions have to this point focused on lab-based studies among student samples, imagined interaction scenarios, or qualitative accounts describing experiences of social mobility. Because social class signals are perceived on a regular basis in our interactions with others (Kraus et al., 2017), and because cross-class interactions have implications for important outcomes such as employee performance, upward mobility, and well-being in the workplace (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012), it is valuable to consider upward cross-class interactions at work as they occur over time in their "natural environment." To this end, I conduct an ESM study to investigate the influence of upward cross-class interactions as they occur at work.

Second, extant literature has focused on affective reactions in anticipation of and/or during a cross-class interaction such as threat (Truong et al., 2021) or emotional contagion (Kraus et al., 2011). We know much less about discrete emotions that occur in response to these interactions. Although there is reason to believe working class individuals are likely to experience shame in response to an upward cross-class interaction at work, these claims need to be empirically investigated. Moreover, while negative self-conscious emotions are an assumed part of the working-class existence, very few have considered instances in which individuals may experience positive self-conscious emotions despite theory and qualitative evidence that working class individuals do take pride in their identities and their social trajectories. Thus, I draw from cognitive appraisal theory of emotions to investigate shame and pride as two possible explanatory mechanisms of the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and subsequent work-place behavior.

Third, and relatedly, researchers have focused on behavioral reactions *during* cross-class interactions (i.e., class work, impression management strategies), and thus we know little about the downstream consequences of these interactions. While it is certainly important to know how people behave during an interaction, the time has come to investigate how these interactions impact subsequent work-related behavior. Given that cross-class interactions can perpetuate inequality within organizations (e.g., Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), it is valuable to understand how engagement in downstream behaviors may contribute to this process. The extent to which employees engage in withdrawal behaviors (e.g., daydreaming, spending work time on personal matters; Lehman & Simpson, 1992) is particularly worth investigating. Withdrawal is theorized to be a key outcome of both cross-class interactions and shame and is considered a form of counterproductive work behavior—a key dimension of job performance (Rotundo & Sackett,

2002). To the extent such behaviors are heightened, performance rewards (e.g., promotions, pay raises) that may facilitate upward mobility are less likely.

Additionally, we know that working class individuals in general are less likely to engage in agentic behaviors than others. This is problematic because such behaviors—reflective of independence and autonomy and directed toward control, assertiveness, and self-enhancement—are considered the "way to get ahead" and achieve performance rewards in organizations (Laurin et al., 2019; Townsend & Truong, 2017). The research reviewed, however, indicates that working class individuals may in some cases increase agentic goals and competence displays in response to upward cross-class interactions. Thus, it is useful to understand the circumstances under which working class individuals actually engage in agentic behaviors at work. Therefore, in addition to withdrawal, I also consider agentic behavior as a possible behavioral outcome of cross-class interactions.

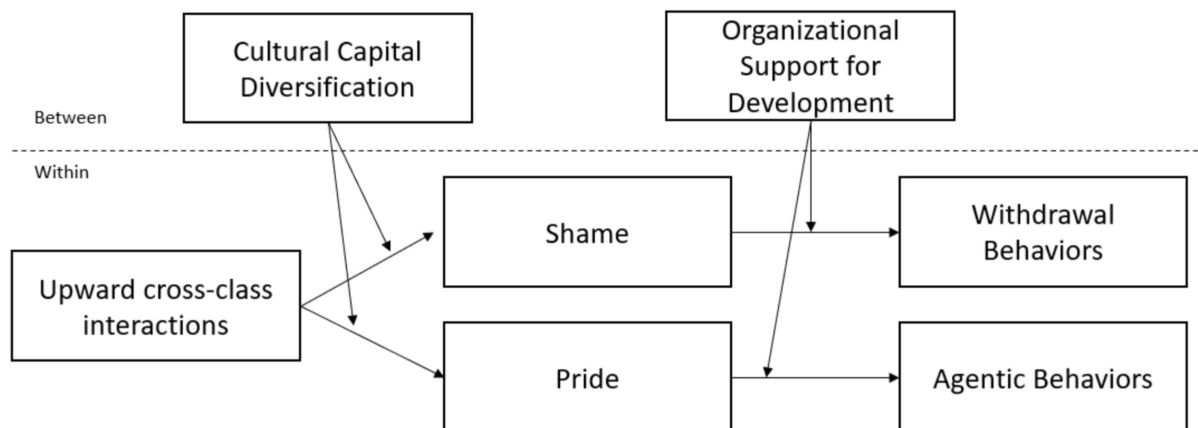
Finally, we know very little about the conditions (for whom and when) that influence individuals' reactions to upward cross-class interactions. As mentioned, negative emotions are presumed to be the more probable outcome, but there are likely instances when individuals experience positive emotions, such as when they perceive these interactions as a means to success. Understanding the circumstances under which upward cross-class interactions result in positive outcomes is important because, while the associated discomfort and subsequent behavioral tendencies can constrain opportunities for working class individuals and reinforce disparities between social class groups (Piff et al., 2018), there are also potential benefits. For instance, these interactions can provide access to new cultural capital, valuable social connections, and other opportunities that enable upward mobility (Martin & Côté, 2019; Piff et al., 2018). Therefore, I consider the moderating influence of factors that may enhance the

potential benefits of upward interactions, including CCD—or the extent to which individuals can adaptively switch between social class contexts—on emotional outcomes. Specifically, to the extent one is able to comfortably navigate different social class contexts, this should increase the likelihood that one will experience an increase (vs. decrease) in pride, which may then subsequently be channeled into agentic behaviors, and reduce the extent to which one feels shame, thereby reducing engagement in withdrawal behaviors. I also consider the moderating influence of perceptions of OSD on the extent to which discrete emotions are channeled into positive (vs. negative) behaviors, hypothesizing that those who perceive an upwardly mobile path within their organizations are more likely to behave agentically following feelings of pride and less likely to withdraw following feelings of shame.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

In this chapter, I develop theory and hypotheses to address the empirical and theoretical gaps discussed at the end of Chapter 2. Through the lens of the sociocultural model of social class (Stephens et al., 2007, 2012a, 2013), I integrate stereotype threat theory (Steele & Aronson, 1995) and the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions (Lazarus, 1991a, 1991b; Smith & Lazarus, 1991) to explain how employees from working-class backgrounds may experience stereotype threat in upward cross-class interactions, resulting in increased feelings of shame and decreased feelings of pride. Drawing from cognitive appraisal theory, which assumes that different emotions are associated with distinct action tendencies (Lazarus, 1991b), I discuss how these emotions may lead to engagement in either withdrawal or agentic behaviors at work. I also discuss important moderating influences of the proposed relationships, including CCD and OSD, that may reduce the negative effects and enhance the positive effects of upward cross-class interactions (see Figure 1 for a conceptual model).

Figure 1
Conceptual Model



Stereotype Threat Theory

Stereotype threat theory emerged as a partial explanation for race-based discrepancies in standardized testing (Steele & Aronson, 1995). This line of research has continued with an interest in domain specific performance, especially in the areas of race and gender (e.g., Osborne, 2001; S. Spencer et al., 1999), with some attention given to social class (i.e., when social class identity was made salient before taking a standardized test, college students from working-class backgrounds had lower self-confidence and performed worse; Croizet & Claire, 1998; Spencer & Castano, 2007). Kalokerinos and colleagues (2014) argued for the incorporation of stereotype threat theory in organizational research, integrating literature to demonstrate the effects of stereotype threat at work on intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. For instance, stereotype threat may result in disengagement from work and lower career aspirations (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). More recently, Swab and colleagues (2021) stated that stereotype threat theory is "an intriguing lens to understand intergroup differences on socioeconomic outcomes," and is particularly relevant at work since employees are constantly under formal and informal evaluation, a situation which contributes to stereotype threat (see also Walton et al., 2015). According to these authors, stereotype threat theory is rooted in an integration of social identity, intergroup relations, and stigma, but has the added benefit of considering both the situation and individual dispositions. Thus, this is a particularly useful lens for investigating upward cross-class interactions.

Stereotype threat reflects the concern of either confirming negative stereotypes associated with one's ingroup (in this case, "the working-class") or being judged negatively by others based on those stereotypes (Kalokerinos et al., 2014; Steele, 1997). This concern can arise despite the accuracy of the stereotype, whether one believes the stereotype to be true, and even if one is not

truly being negatively evaluated by others (Kalokerinos et al., 2014). However, there are certain conditions under which it occurs. First, stereotypes must exist, and an individual must be aware of the stereotypes associated with their group. Second, those stereotypes are made salient by an event that involves the stereotyped knowledge, skill, or ability (i.e., an interaction with a person, task, or environment). Third, the event is perceived as challenging, and fourth, the event in which the domain takes place is relevant to the individual (Roberson & Kulik, 2007; Swab et al., 2021). In the paragraphs that follow, I outline how upward cross-class interactions meet these four enabling conditions for stereotype threat to occur.

Working Class Stigma

First, I discuss the stigma associated with the working-class to demonstrate that stereotypes about working-class individuals exist, and that these employees are aware of the stereotypes. There is a moral stigma associated with the working-class (Goffman, 1963; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Spencer & Castano, 2007), and working-class origins are stigmatized in the workplace, even for those who have experienced upward mobility (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019). That is, individuals from working class backgrounds "possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity is devalued in a particular social context" (Crocker et al., 1998, p. 505), in this case, at work. Spencer and Castano (2007, p. 419) outline pervasive social class stereotypes that are accepted in American society, for instance that "gag gifts include 'trailer trash' dolls that have a cigarette dangling from their lips and multiple babies in tow" and that "Jeff Foxworthy's 'You might be a redneck if…' stand-up series…is the largest selling comedy of all time," resulting in stereotypes that people from working-class backgrounds are "dirty, violent, inbred, lazy, unkempt, carefree hillbillies." These misconceptions result in members of the working-class being stereotyped as incompetent (Fiske

et al., 2002), which is particularly harmful in workplace settings where competence is of utmost relevance (Spencer & Castano, 2007). Working class individuals are aware of the stereotypes associated with their social class group, internalize these negative stereotypes, and are concerned about being judged based on those stereotypes (Laurin et al., 2019; Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2010; Spencer & Castano, 2007). Thus, the first condition for stereotype threat to occur is met in upward cross-class interactions.

Class Salience

The second condition for stereotype threat to occur is that the situation must be relevant to the knowledge, skill, or ability that is stereotyped, which makes the stereotype salient (Roberson & Kulik, 2007; Swab et al., 2021). Thus, I now discuss salience as it pertains to social class background and cross-class interactions. In upward cross-class interactions, class salience is prompted by social class signals exchanged between interaction members that delineate group distinction between one's ingroup and outgroup and highlight class-based differences (Piff et al., 2018). These signals may include mannerisms, topics of conversation, accent or manner of speaking, or clothing, among other cues, that make salient not only one's social class identity but also the accompanying status hierarchy and stereotypes as individuals are prompted to reflect on their disadvantage in comparison with an interaction member (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Kraus et al., 2017). This reflection involves status attributions such that an employee from a working-class background judges their own self-worth in comparison to an interaction partner on specific tasks, events, or situations (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). In the tennis example used previously, one's class becomes salient due to a lack of cultural knowledge to be an active participant in the conversation (i.e., the task; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Class salience serves as a reminder of one's membership in a disadvantaged group (i.e., working-class

background), which elicits stereotype threat (Kalokerinos et al., 2014; Pickering, 2014). Additionally, the mere existence of hierarchies, made salient by cross-class interactions, can induce stereotype threat for those at the bottom of the hierarchy (Kray & Shirako, 2009). Thus, the second condition for stereotype threat is met since the task (i.e., upward cross-class interactions) brings to mind the stereotyped identity (i.e., class).

Challenging Task

The third condition for stereotype threat to occur is that the task, event, or situation must be perceived as challenging. As discussed previously, upward cross-class interactions are uncomfortable for individuals to navigate (Swencionis & Fiske, 2018). As gateway institutions, organizations embody independent norms and values, or middle-class rules of interaction, as culturally appropriate (Ridgeway & Fisk, 2012; Stephens et al., 2019). For instance, predictors of career success include not only behaving agentically but also "engaging in the 'right' interaction styles," which may include challenging authority and using political skill and interpersonal influence when interacting with others (Townsend & Truong, 2017, p. 95). For working class individuals, their accustomed way of being (interdependent) is at odds with such behaviors, and the lack of dominant cultural knowledge creates difficulties in navigating relationships with others at work, resulting in feelings of discomfort and perceived lack of fit with coworkers (Dittmann, 2020; Stephens et al., 2019). Moreover, upward cross-class interactions can be uncomfortable because people from working-class backgrounds perceive they lack the appropriate cultural (i.e., knowledge, interests; Bourdieu, 1994) and social (relationships with others) capital to navigate them successfully and may embarrass themselves or draw attention to their class origins (Dittmann, 2020; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). In sum, because upward cross-class interactions are uncomfortable and because behaviors are expected that align with

organizationally valued norms of independence, working class individuals may perceive such interactions to be challenging, thus meeting the third condition for stereotype threat to occur.

The Importance of Work

Finally, the fourth enabling condition for stereotype threat to occur is that the threatening event (i.e., upward cross-class interaction) must take place in a domain relevant to the employee (Swab et al., 2021). For this reason, most work on stereotype threat has focused on tasks that are specifically negatively associated with stigmatized identities (i.e., math and women; older individuals and memory; Barber & Mather, 2013; Spencer et al., 1999). This is interesting because employees are always being evaluated at work, both formally and informally, and especially during interactions (Roberson & Kulik, 2007). Stereotype threat can occur in the context of formal or informal evaluations for promotion, pay raises, or other performance-related decisions, or in everyday workplace interactions (Walton et al., 2015). Overall, employees want to feel valued and respected (e.g., van Quaquebeke et al., 2009) and desire to be successful and maintain a positive self-image at work (Martin et al., 2014). Because one's employment is directly tied to their livelihood and sense of self, the workplace as a general domain is relevant to employees, contributing to the potential for stereotype threat to occur (Walton et al., 2015). Therefore, the fourth condition of stereotype threat is met in that the workplace serves as a relevant domain for all employees. In sum, I suggest that upward cross-class interactions meet the four conditions for stereotype threat to occur.

Cognitive Appraisal Theory of Emotion

If, as outlined, upward cross-class interactions elicit stereotype threat for employees from working-class backgrounds, cognitive appraisal theory of emotion (Lazarus, 1991a) is an appropriate framework to explain possible emotional reactions. According to this theory, an

appraisal of threat is elicited when the event is relevant to one's goals and is perceived as challenging (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Tomaka et al., 1997), and emotions are the outcome of these appraisals. Thus, in response to stereotype threat, individuals experience anxiety and other negative emotions. For example, Schmader and colleagues (2008) put forth an integrated process model of stereotype threat theory which accounts for cognitive and emotional appraisal processes to make sense of the interaction, often resulting in negative thoughts and feelings. However, less is known about the discrete emotions that occur in response to stereotype threat, aside from anxiety (see Johns et al., 2008; Osborne, 2001). Because emotions are associated with different cognitive appraisals and action tendencies (Grandey, 2008; Smith & Lazarus, 1991), and because social class experiences may lend themselves to an array of emotions (Reay, 2005), it is valuable to investigate other emotional reactions to stereotype threat.

Thus, I draw from the cognitive appraisal theory of emotion, which explains how different emotional reactions to interactions with one's environment are elicited based on one's evaluations of whether the interaction is personally significant (Lazarus, 1991a, 1993). According to Lazarus (1991a, 1991b, 1993), different emotional reactions occur in response to an individual's cognitive appraisal of whether an event or interaction within one's environment is personally significant. More specifically, individuals evaluate the relevance of events for their personal well-being, which involves assessing whether the event is relevant to one's goals and values and whether it is goal (in)congruent (Lazarus, 1993). Goal content is described broadly by Lazarus (1991b) and includes preserving or enhancing one's identity or living up to an ideal. In the context of the workplace, goals could reflect a desire for success, career ascension, or simply feeling socially valued. This is followed by a secondary appraisal that determines who is responsible for the event (self or others; Lazarus, 1991b; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985), one's

perceived control over the situation (referred to as coping potential), and future expectations, or one's beliefs about how favorable things will be moving forward (Lazarus, 1991b). Emotions, in turn, are associated with specific action tendencies, generally toward or away from subsequent goal progress (Grandey, 2008; Smith & Lazarus, 1991). Appraisals are jointly influenced by individual dispositions and the resources and constraints faced in the environment (Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2001). Thus, dispositions influence individuals' appraisals and subsequent emotions (Smith & Lazarus, 1990). Moreover, identification with one's ingroup is particularly relevant for secondary appraisal processes, because how we define ourselves in relation to others (i.e., based on social class) influences one's self-understanding, perceptions of control, and whether similar experiences are likely to recur (Conroy et al., 2017). In applying this theory to the context of upward cross-class interactions, I argue that such interactions may interfere with employees' goals (i.e., feeling socially valued at work), resulting in increased feelings of shame and decreased feelings of pride. In turn, these emotional reactions are related to specific action tendencies. In the paragraphs to follow, I discuss these relationships in more detail.

Shame

Shame is a likely emotional reaction to upward-cross class interactions. According to Lazarus (1993, p. 13), shame arises when individuals make internal attributions of responsibility (i.e., self-blame) for "failing to live up to an ego-ideal." This appraisal is the consequence of evaluating oneself negatively, perceiving others are judging one negatively based on personal attributes or behaviors, or perceiving a threat to one's identity (Barclay et al., 2005; Lazarus & Cohen-Charash, 2001; Tangney, 1995). If, as argued, upward cross-class interactions elicit stereotype threat, then feelings of shame are likely to follow such interactions because stereotype threat by definition reflects not only a perceived threat to one's identity, but also a concern that

one is being judged negatively by others on the basis of a stereotyped identity or associated characteristics (Kalokerinos et al., 2014; Swab et al., 2021). Moreover, stereotype threat involves negative self-evaluations, as employees are also concerned that they may confirm those negative stereotypes (Swab et al., 2021). Possibly intensifying these concerns—and thus subsequent feelings of shame—people from working-class backgrounds are not only aware of the negative stereotypes associated with their class origins, but also may internalize those stereotypes (Laurin et al., 2019), and thus internal attributions of responsibility for not meeting self or other expectations—or perceiving that one has not—are likely. In support of this, qualitative evidence (see Way, 1998) has demonstrated that when individuals perceive that they have lived up to stereotypes (i.e., laziness, incompetence), or when they do not perform well on the relevant task or domain, they experience shame (Aronson, 2002).

Regarding social class specifically, Wilkins and Pace (2014) have suggested that those from working-class backgrounds may experience shame when they are reminded of the stigma associated with their social class background or when they perceive they are being judged negatively according to a middle-class ideal. In a representative example, Stephens et al. (2017) discuss how a college professor who took on a second job as a waitress to make ends meet experienced feelings of shame while serving her middle- and upper-class students and their parents, because she perceived that they were judging her as inferior based on the middle-class standards of society. In sum, because upward cross-class interactions are personally significant events, and because stereotype threat triggers negative appraisal processes (i.e., that one is being judged negatively or is failing to live up to an ideal; Walton et al., 2015), it seems likely feelings of shame will follow upward-cross class interactions.

Hypothesis 1: Upward cross-class interactions are positively associated with shame.

Pride

Pride is another emotion that is likely to be impacted by upward cross-class interactions. According to cognitive appraisal theory, pride involves a self-crediting attribution, in that one experiences enhanced social worth by taking credit for a positive accomplishment (Lazarus, 1991b; Smith & Lazarus, 1993). Put differently, pride is "generated by appraisals that one is responsible for a socially valued outcome or for being a socially valued person" (Mascolo & Fischer, 1995, p. 66). Because white-collar organizations overall value the independent model of self as the "right way" to be a "good person," employees from working-class backgrounds who are accustomed to a more interdependent model of self are unlikely to feel valued in upward cross-class interactions (Stephens et al., 2018), which make salient the negative stereotypes associated with one's social class origins. In support of this perspective, Reay (2005) demonstrated that although individuals from working-class backgrounds who are on an upward trajectory may occasionally experience pride, these feelings are unlikely when reminded of one's class background, such as when one engages in an upward cross-class interaction. Moreover, Dittmann's (2020) recent work demonstrates that white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds are aware they lack socially valued capital (i.e., knowledge, connections) and in turn, perceive a lack of fit at work, which I suggest may be related to an appraisal that one is not socially valued in upward cross-class interactions. In sum, because upward cross-class interactions elicit stereotype threat, or the concern that one is being judged negatively on the basis of stereotyped knowledge, skills, or abilities, one is unlikely to appraise they are a socially valued person or to experience enhanced social worth following such interactions. Instead, they are prone to feeling socially devalued and experiencing diminished social worth, resulting in a decreased sense of pride.

Hypothesis 2: Upward cross-class interactions are negatively associated with pride.

Cultural Capital Diversification (CCD)

As argued, upward cross-class interactions likely result in increased feelings of shame and reduced feelings of pride. However, both stereotype threat theory and cognitive appraisal theory allow for the consideration of individual differences that might reduce stereotype threat or alter one's appraisal of an event (Lazarus, 1991a; Swab et al., 2021). In the context of upward cross-class interactions, one particularly relevant disposition that may alter such appraisals is CCD—a developmental tendency which reflects one's capacity to adaptively switch between social class contexts (Corwin et al., 2021). Employees with higher levels of CCD, who have more comfort navigating different social class contexts, are likely to be shielded against stereotype threat and subsequent negative appraisals resulting in shame. Perceptions that one is being negatively evaluated in an upward cross-class interaction arise when it is salient to employees that they lack relevant cultural capital to comfortably engage in the interaction (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013) or when there is a mismatch between the capital they possess and the capital they are expected to enact (Stephens et al., 2019). However, CCD may act as a resource, enabling employees to draw upon the cultural capital needed for the situation at hand and enhancing efficacy in upward cross-class interactions (Martin & Côté 2019). Therefore, those with higher levels of CCD are less likely to perceive they are being judged negatively or to negatively judge their own self-worth in comparison to an interaction partner. Moreover, the task may be perceived as less challenging for these employees, who can draw upon resources to navigate the interaction. Relatedly, then, employees with higher levels of CCD may be more likely to experience feelings of pride in response to cross-class interactions because their capacity to enact the skills and other characteristics valued in a white-collar setting enhances the

likelihood of a self-attributed appraisal that one is socially valued. In the paragraphs that follow, I elaborate on the construct of CCD and its potential moderating influence on the relationships between upward cross-class interactions and emotional responses.

Historical writings on social class assumed that cultural capital—knowledge, linguistics, interests, hobbies, attitudes, dispositions, values, and behavioral norms—belonged to the normatively appropriate middle class (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984). For decades, cultural capital was operationalized as reading books, visiting museums, or attending theatre (Fang & Saks, 2020)—what is considered "dominant" cultural capital (Dittmann, 2020). Moreover, cultural capital was assumed to endure across time, resistant to change (Bourdieu, 1991). Contemporary social class researchers, while recognizing the lasting impact of social class origins, now acknowledge that each social class context has its own cultural capital (Martin & Côté 2019). Similarly, Stephens and colleagues' research stream (e.g., 2012, 2019) highlights that the distinct models of self enable effectiveness when enacted in the appropriate setting. Thus, while middle class cultural capital may be considered normatively appropriate, that does not preclude the working class from having their own knowledge, interests, dispositions, and values—non-dominant cultural capital—that benefits them in some contexts (Dittmann, 2020; Stephens et al., 2012a). Reflecting this is the movement toward a more dynamic view of social class (Phillips, Martin, et al., 2020), which posits that, dependent on exposure to and duration spent in new social class contexts, individuals can transform their cultural toolkits via new experiences (Martin & Côté 2019). Accordingly, this cultural toolkit can enable individuals to engage comfortably across different social class environments for beneficial ends.

CCD—defined as "a developmental tendency comprised of skills and other characteristics (e.g., knowledge, linguistic styles, and tastes) that enables individuals to

adaptively ‘switch’ their behavior between social class contexts” (Corwin et al., 2021, p. 5)—is a construct recently developed to assess these propositions. Preliminary evidence indicates that social mobility is predictive of CCD, and that CCD predicts positive outcomes such as social integration and group cohesion, indicating that individuals with higher levels of CCD may have greater comfort in cross-class interactions than others. As mentioned, individual differences influence the way individuals appraise an emotion-eliciting event (Lazarus, 1991a, 2006). These differences include “beliefs about self and world (including what they have learned to expect from each other) and personal resources” (Lazarus, 2006, p. 14). This assertion has implications for the moderating influence of CCD on affective reactions to upward cross-class interactions. In particular, CCD should act as a personal resource, enabling employees to comfortably navigate social class contexts and to disconfirm stereotypes.

As discussed previously, people from working-class backgrounds generally feel discomfort in cross-class interactions and thus attempt to conceal their identities by, for instance, acting less expressively in an effort to convey less information about themselves or their affective state (Garcia et al., 2007). Employees with higher levels of CCD may be less likely to engage in these identity concealment strategies, as they can switch their behavior to match the social class context. Thus, the negative appraisals triggered by stereotype threat and subsequent feelings of shame may be less likely to occur. For example, prior research on stereotype threat demonstrates that when employees feel capable in the relevant domain, or when individuals successfully navigate the task at hand thereby disconfirming the stereotype, the negative effects of stereotype threat may be attenuated (Hoyt, 2005; Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007). If, as argued, shame results from an appraisal that one has not met the middle-class standards expected in upward cross-class interactions and that others are judging them negatively as a result, CCD

should attenuate these feelings by altering such appraisals, given that one is able to engage with that social class context and is thus less likely to feel others are judging them negatively. In contrast, employees with lower levels of CCD are less likely to have the capacity to draw upon the norms, values, and behaviors expected in such interactions and thus are prone to perceiving that they are being judged negatively by others and experiencing shame.

Hypothesis 3a: CCD will moderate the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and shame, such that the positive relationship between upward cross-class interactions and shame will be weaker for individuals with higher vs. lower levels of CCD.

With respect to pride, employees with higher levels of CCD may feel a sense self-worth and accomplishment (Fredrickson, 2003; Hu & Kaplan, 2015) as a result of engaging in a cross-class interaction. In other words, for these employees, there may be a positive (vs. negative) relationship between upward cross-class interactions and pride, as they can take credit for the positive accomplishment of successfully navigating the interaction. Moreover, when one believes others perceive them to be successful and competent, this leads to feelings of achievement (i.e., pride; Hu & Kaplan, 2015). Thus, to the extent the capacity to switch between social class contexts during an upward cross-class interaction enables employees to feel like they successfully managed a potentially threatening situation, and that the interaction partner respects and values them, it may lead to greater feelings of pride. This is consistent with work on stereotype threat that demonstrated women, after disconfirming a negative stereotype associated with their gender, took pride in themselves and in women in general (Smith & Hung, 2008; see Blanton et al., 2002).

Additionally, in response to threat (e.g., upward cross-class interactions), one type of class work involves taking pride in one's social class identity (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013) by

emphasizing positive stereotypes (i.e., work ethic; Lucas, 2011) or *mining core identity strength*, a version of taking pride in who one is, to persevere in the face of microaggressions (Gray et al., 2018). Moreover, those who have experienced upward mobility may at times take pride in their upward trajectory when their class identity is threatened (Radmacher & Azmitia, 2013; Reay, 2005). It is possible then that employees with higher levels of CCD take pride not only in how they navigate upward cross-class interactions, but also in their working-class background, as they are less likely to see it as a hurdle to being socially valued. In support of this, white-collar employees from working class backgrounds can, under certain circumstances, draw upon forms of non-dominant capital associated with the working-class context such as resourcefulness to address challenges or empathic accuracy to relate to coworkers from various backgrounds, setting them apart from others and providing a competitive advantage (Dittmann, 2020; Dittmann et al., 2020; Kraus et al., 2012). In turn, they come to view their social class background as a strength that distinguishes them from others and provides a competitive edge (Dittmann, 2020). Thus, employees with higher levels of CCD may also see their social class background as a strength. Upward cross-class interactions should make this perceived strength (i.e., working class background) salient, leading to appraisals that they are a socially valued person, and ultimately, feelings of pride. However, employees with lower levels of CCD may be less likely to see their social class background as a strength and less likely to feel comfortable or successful in navigating an interaction that demands a diversification of cultural capital. Thus, I expect that for these employees, the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and pride will be negative rather than positive.

Hypothesis 3b: CCD will moderate the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and pride, such that the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and

pride will be positive for individuals with higher levels of CCD and negative for individuals with lower levels of CCD.

Shame and Withdrawal Behavior

According to cognitive appraisal theory, discrete emotions are associated with specific behavioral tendencies (Lazarus, 1991b; Smith & Lazarus, 1991). Shame is associated with withdrawal behaviors (Tangney, 1995), because it relates to efforts to shy away or avoid future shame-inciting events, promoting interpersonal separation and distance from others (Dasborough et al., 2020; Tangney et al., 2007). Shame is an aversive motivational state, and thus the desire to avoid subsequent unpleasant emotions results in avoidance of future interactions or behaviors that could lower one's status (Beall & Tracy, 2020; Fessler, 2007) Thus, withdrawal behavior—a physical and psychological avoidance or disengagement from work (Hulin, 1991; Jackson et al., 2006)—is a logical outcome for employees who experience shame following an upward cross-class interaction. Such behaviors include arriving late, putting forth less effort, daydreaming, or chatting idly with coworkers (Lehman & Simpson, 1992), and the link between shame and withdrawal behaviors at work is generally supported by prior research (e.g., Miranda et al., 2020).

Moreover, withdrawal is a theoretical outcome of upward cross-class interactions. Specifically, "stigmatized individuals may perceive futility in their efforts to 'play the game' and try to distance themselves from it" either physically or psychologically (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013, p. 683). Withdrawal can manifest in interpersonal interactions where individuals avoid future upward cross-class interactions to evade feelings of shame, or it can occur intrapersonally as a defense mechanism to protect one's threatened identity (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Thus,

I suggest that shame is the missing affective link between upward cross-class interactions and withdrawal behaviors.

Hypothesis 4: Shame partially mediates the positive relationship between upward cross-class interactions and withdrawal behaviors.

Pride and Agentic Behavior

Pride enhances perceptions of competence and control and influence over one's work role and environment (Fredrickson, 2003; Hu & Kaplan, 2015; Mascolo & Fischer, 1995), prompting engagement in goal-related behaviors (i.e., task engagement, increased effort) consistent with agency ("getting ahead") and overall effectiveness at work (Conroy & Pincus, 2011; Williams, 2018). Because pride is a positive emotion stemming from self-attribution of one's success or value, individuals wish to maintain this state, or to experience it again, and thus they are motivated to achieve and persevere in status-relevant domains (i.e., work; Beall & Tracy, 2020). In this way, pride can be seen as an "affective resource" that contributes to the enactment of agentic behavior (Hyde et al., 2020). Agentic behaviors are "self-initiated, goal-directed behaviors that exert control and influence over one's environment or professional life" (Goller & Harteis, 2017, p. 88). Examples include "speaking assertively, competing for attention, influencing others, initiating activity directed to assigned tasks, and making problem-focused suggestions" (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001, p. 783).

Such behaviors are reflective of the independent model of self valued by organizations and thus have been linked to career achievement (Townsend & Truong, 2017; see Mollaret & Miraucourt, 2016), leadership emergence (Barling & Weatherhead, 2016), and other valued career outcomes (Higgins et al., 2003). However, if upward cross-class interactions result in decreased feelings of pride (or an assessment that one is socially valued) as argued, then

employees from working-class backgrounds are not likely to enact agentic behaviors, given that expressions of pride are reflected in agentic acts. That is, on average, upward cross-class interactions are likely to negatively impact agentic behavior via a reduction in feelings of pride. In support of this proposed relationship, employees who feel undervalued following upward cross-class interactions may engage in a type of class work referred to as refer to as “rebranding a stigmatized identity” (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013, p. 678). This type of class work involves emphasizing positive attributes associated with the working-class, such as integrity, communality toward others, adherence to organizational standards and rules, and general interdependence (Kraus et al., 2012; Townsend & Truong, 2017). Thus, when employees have decreased feelings of pride following upward cross-class interactions, they may be more likely to engage in interdependent, communal behaviors, which is clearly at odds with enacting agentic behavior. Relatedly, employees from working class backgrounds may also “denigrate middle- and upper-classes” to restore a positive sense of self (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013, p. 678). It has been argued that employees from working-class backgrounds may view agentic behaviors, which are associated with middle- and upper-classes, as inauthentic and self-serving (Townsend & Truong, 2017). Thus, it is possible that a denigration of agentic behaviors occurs following upward cross-class interactions and feelings of decreased social worth in attempt to restore a positive sense of self. Taken together, it seems that, employees who appraise they are not socially valued—and thus experience decreased feelings of pride—after upward cross-class interactions are less likely to enact agentic behavior because either they view such behavior as inauthentic or because they prefer to enact behaviors positively associated with their social class background.

Hypothesis 5: Pride partially mediates the negative relationship between upward cross-class interactions and agentic behaviors.

Organizational Support for Development (OSD)

The extent to which employees engage in agentic or withdrawal behaviors at work following emotional reactions may be influenced by perceptions of support within the organization. OSD reflects an individual's overall perception "that the organization provides programs and opportunities that help employees develop their functional skills and managerial capabilities" (Kraimer et al., 2011, p. 486). These perceptions are influenced by the extent to which employees participate in formal development activities such as training and by the extent to which individuals perceive they have positive developmental relationships at work via career mentoring, for instance (Kraimer et al., 2011). Evidence indicates that perceptions of OSD may moderate the shame – withdrawal and pride – agentic behavior relationships, as participation in formal development activities and perceived organizational support results in lower levels of withdrawal (Eder & Eisenberger, 2008; Pajo et al., 2010), and various types of agentic behavior are heightened when employees have higher perceptions of support at work (see Ashford et al., 2016 and Crant, 2000 for reviews). The logic behind these findings is that because employees feel valued, they are motivated to engage in reciprocity, acting on behalf of the organization (Eder & Eisenberger, 2008). Another argument based in instrumentality beliefs is that employees are generally more likely to engage in (or avoid) certain behaviors when they believe doing so will result in valued outcomes (e.g., Haworth & Levy, 2001). Thus, even if employees with high perceptions of OSD experience shame following upward cross-class interactions, they may be less likely to withdraw because: (1) they perceive that their organization values and respects them (Kraimer et al., 2011); and (2) withdrawing may reduce the likelihood that one will receive valued employee outcomes (i.e., promotion, pay raise). Thus, higher perceptions of OSD may act as a sort of resource that buffers the negative effects of shame by motivating employees to avoid

withdrawal behaviors. However, those with lower levels of OSD lack extra incentive to remain engaged in their work, and thus, compared to those with higher levels of OSD, are more likely to withdraw in response to feeling shame.

Hypothesis 6a: OSD moderates the relationship between shame and withdrawal behavior, such that the positive relationship between shame and withdrawal behavior is weaker for people with higher (vs. lower) OSD.

Following feelings of pride, employees with high OSD perceptions should be more likely to engage in agentic behaviors, because opportunities for development are a signal to employees that the organization values them as an employee and is willing to invest in their future (Kraimer et al., 2011). These perceptions motivate behavior in that, to the extent individuals believe their careers can successfully develop within their current organization, they "strive for upward mobility and other career benefits within the organization" (Kiazad et al., 2020, p. 679). As discussed previously, agentic behaviors are valued within organizations and thus are one type of behavior that leads to career benefits and upward mobility (Townsend & Truong, 2017). Moreover, pride is a reinforcing emotion, because individuals are motivated to maintain or induce future feelings of pride, prompting engagement in behaviors that would lead to those feelings (Verbeke et al., 2004). Thus, OSD perceptions should strengthen the relationship between pride and agentic behaviors because: (1) employees with higher perceptions of OSD feel valued and respected by their organization and are motivated to engage in reciprocity; (2) enacting agentic behaviors is expected to result in valued rewards (i.e., promotion or other support); and (3) the perceived likelihood of these rewards prompts engagement in agentic behaviors because receiving these valued outcomes may result in future feelings of pride. In sum, I expect for employees with higher perceptions of OSD, the relationship between pride and

agentic behaviors will be strengthened, while the relationship will remain unchanged for those with lower levels of OSD.

Hypothesis 6b: OSD moderates the relationship between pride and agentic behavior, such that the positive relationship between pride and agentic behavior is stronger for people with higher (vs. lower) OSD.

Conditional Indirect Effects

Together, my hypotheses suggest moderated mediation such that the effects of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behaviors and agentic behaviors via shame and pride are contingent on (1) CCD and (2) perceptions of OSD. More specifically, my theory indicates that following an upward cross-class interaction, those with higher levels of CCD will be more likely to experience pride and less likely to experience shame than those with lower levels of CCD. Because these employees feel pride—a goal-directed, agentic emotion—more so than shame following such interactions, they are more likely to behave agentically and less likely to withdraw at work. This is even more likely for employees with higher perceptions of OSD, which should enhance the favorable impact of pride on agentic behaviors and reduce the unfavorable impact of shame on withdrawal behaviors. Therefore, I propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 7: The positive indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behaviors via shame will be weaker for employees with higher (vs. lower) CCD and higher (vs. lower) perceptions of OSD.

Hypothesis 8: The indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on agentic behaviors via pride will be positive for employees with higher (vs. lower) CCD and higher (vs. lower)

perceptions of OSD and negative for employees with lower (vs. higher) CCD and lower (vs. higher) perceptions of OSD.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS

Overview

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the influence of upward cross-class interaction experiences on subsequent emotional states and workplace behaviors. To investigate the within-person effects of the hypotheses proposed in the previous chapter, I use an ESM approach in which participants are surveyed weekly. The purpose of ESM studies is to investigate individuals' experiences within their natural environments as they occur through brief repeated assessments over a predetermined time period (Beal, 2015). Beyond assessing within-person effects, this type of study has other benefits (Beal, 2015). For example, ESM studies possess strong ecological validity, as experiences are assessed close to when they occur in the natural environment (i.e., the workplace). Additionally, given that this type of study occurs over a time period intended to match that in which constructs of interest are expected to unfold, it is a valuable design for investigating experiences that fluctuate over time such as affective states and withdrawal behaviors.

Because upward cross-class interactions have yet to be investigated in the workplace, it is currently unknown exactly how frequently these experiences occur at work. Thus, although I expect upward cross-class interactions to occur somewhat frequently, I employ a weekly ESM study over an eight-week time frame to account for the possibility that the construct of interest may not occur on an everyday basis. Weekly ESM studies are frequently used in the literature (e.g., Rosen et al., 2020; Schaubroeck et al., 2018). Authors have pointed out that a weekly time frame allows for the occurrence of the experience while also being short enough to remain salient in participants' memories (Schaubroeck et al., 2018). Moreover, because white-collar workplaces are organized by a typical work week, separated by weekends, asking participants to

reflect on their past work week is aligned with how employees think about and reflect on work, "one week at a time" (Rosen et al., 2020).

Sample and Procedure

The target population for this study was full-time, white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds at a relatively early stage in their post-graduate careers. This sampling strategy was appropriate for multiple reasons. Organizational policies, practices, and norms limit cross-class interactions between lower-level employees and other coworkers, and when interactions do occur between employees at different organizational levels, such as between a blue-collar saw operator and a white-collar engineer, occupational roles and routines lend themselves to a scripted interaction with known expectations (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Moreover, certain contexts (i.e., gateway institutions) increase the prevalence and salience of cross-class interactions for employees from working-class backgrounds (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013; Stephens et al., 2019). Given that cross-class interactions have yet to be investigated as they naturally occur in the workplace, it is prudent to limit the sample to white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds to reach a higher baseline in a context where the proposed relationships are more likely to unfold. Additionally, because social class background is more likely to impact workplace experiences in the early career stage, before employees have had the opportunity to adapt to the white-collar context, limiting the sample to those early in their post-graduate careers is consistent with recent research on the effects of social class background on workplace experiences (Dittmann, 2020).

Participants were recruited via Prolific, a crowdsourcing platform used to recruit online participants for research. Prolific has several benefits over other crowdsourcing platforms or student participant pools. First, Prolific attempts to ensure better response quality by requiring a

higher minimum payment for participants (now $6.50 USD per hour) and by allowing researchers the option to reject participants' responses for low quality or incomplete data, which negatively impacts participants' reputations and subsequent ability to participate in future studies (Palan & Schitter, 2018). Perhaps because of these safeguards, Prolific participants provide higher quality data than student participants, are less dishonest and more naïve compared to other crowdsourcing platforms, fail fewer attention checks (compared to CrowdFlower) and are more diverse than MTurk participants (Peer et al., 2017). Finally, Prolific has several pre-screeners which allow researchers to select from the pool of available participants those that meet specific criteria such as country of residence or hours worked per week (Palan & Schitter, 2018). Because some studies have more stringent eligibility criteria than what is prescreened by the platform, Prolific also provides guidelines for researchers who wish to use screener studies to further narrow the participant pool. All surveys for this study were sent via the Prolific platform.

Given the specific eligibility criteria for this study, all participants were pre-screened for current country of residence (United States), age (18-35), fluent language (English), employment status (full-time), work week in hours (30 or more hours per week), and highest education level (undergraduate degree—BA/BS/other or higher) using Prolific's pre-screeners and demographic data. Pre-screened participants were recruited to participate in a short (approximately three minute) screener survey that asked about social class background (both subjective and objective) education level, type of work (i.e., blue-collar versus white-collar) white-collar work experience, commuting schedule, and frequency of interaction with coworkers. Responses were monitored as they came in and prescreening requirements were adjusted as recruitment progressed in an effort to achieve higher yield ratios. Accordingly, requirements were later added that pre-screened participants for commuting to work on a regular basis and regularly interacting with others at

work. Additionally, since disproportionately more women initially responded than men, a requirement that participants identified as male was implemented later in the recruitment phase in an effort to better balance the gender ratio of the sample. Participants were compensated $0.48 for their participation and were invited to participate in the larger study if they (a) reported being from a working-class background, (b) passed all quality checks, and (c) indicated they would be available to take the study during the specified time period. Accordingly, 216 eligible participants were invited to participate in the initial survey which included all between-subjects variables (e.g., CCD, OSD, stable control variables and additional demographics). Of those invited, 138 individuals participated in the initial survey (available for approximately 5 days, closed on Sunday evening) in exchange for $4.00 in compensation. The following Friday evening, a total of 132 participants who completed the initial survey and passed all attention checks received the first of eight weekly surveys, which were distributed on Friday evenings and available for completion through Sunday evenings for the duration of the study. Weekly surveys included all within-person variables (upward cross-class interactions, emotions, and withdrawal and agentic behaviors) and took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Participants were paid $3.00 for each weekly survey.

After eliminating weekly responses for participants who did not work during the week corresponding to the survey, a total of 74 individuals completed at least 3 weekly surveys and passed all attention checks in the weekly surveys, providing a total of 477 usable weekly observations (average weekly responses = 6.45, *SD* = 1.77). The final sample was 74.3% female, 68.9% white, an average of 28 years old (*SD* = 3.69), and reflected a variety of industries, including information technology, healthcare, education, government, law, and real estate. Participants worked an average of 42.01 hours per week (*SD* = 4.67) and had an average job

tenure of 3.21years (*SD* = 2.71). Twenty percent of participants rated themselves as growing up *Poor/Lower class* and 80% as growing up *Lower middle class*.

Measures

Initial Survey

Cultural Capital Diversification. CCD is assessed with nine items previously validated by Corwin et al. (2021). Example items include, "It doesn't matter if someone makes minimum wage or $250,000 a year, I'm able to bond with them," and "Adapting my behavior to fit the norms of different social classes (e.g., upper class vs. middle class) comes naturally to me" (α = .86). Items are rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale (see Appendix B for items from the initial and weekly surveys).

Organizational Support for Development. OSD is assessed using Kraimer and colleagues' (2011) six-item scale. Example items include, "My organization provides opportunities for employees to develop their managerial skills" and "My organization has programs and policies that help employees reach higher managerial levels" (α = .91). Items are rated on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) scale.

Weekly Survey

Upward Cross-Class Interactions. To my knowledge, there is no existing measure to assess the experience of upward cross-class interactions as they occur naturally in the work setting. Thus, I adapted four items from the social interaction (González-Romá et al., 2002) and intergroup relations literatures (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Page-Gould et al., 2014) to refer to upward cross-class interactions. For instance, the intergroup relations literature has assessed intergroup contact by asking participants (e.g., self-identified as African American or Black) how often they have contact or discussions with outgroup members (e.g., White individuals; see

Page-Gould et al., 2014). Thus, I reworded these items to ask participants how frequently they engage in discussions or have contact with "coworkers from a higher social class background than their own."

Following Hinkin and Tracey (1999) and in line with Baer et al. (2018), I recruited undergraduates from a large southern United States university to evaluate the definitional correspondence between the items and the provided definition for upward cross-class interactions. This data was collected as part of a separate two-part survey study. The content validation portion of the study was included in the first of two surveys which 150 participants completed. Because I am interested in upward cross-class interactions as they occur in the workplace specifically, I retained a final sample of 74 student participants who were currently employed. Participants rated the extent to which each item matched the provided definition based on a seven-point scale (1 = *Item is an extremely bad match;* 7 = *Item is an extremely good match*). The mean definitional correspondence score across the items was 5.45 (see Table 1 for all items and means).

Table 1
Upward Cross-Class Interaction Items

Item	Mean
1. Interacted with coworkers from a social class background higher than your own?	5.53
2. Talked to coworkers from a social class background higher than your own?	5.46
3. Had contact with coworkers from a social class background higher than your own?*	5.32
4. Engaged in discussions with coworkers from a social class background higher than your own?	5.49

N = 74
*Item was not retained in the final scale.

Consistent with prior research (Rodell, 2013), I removed the item with the lowest mean. This provided a three-item scale to assess upward cross-class interactions, which is in line with

other ESM studies that attempt to keep measures short to reduce fatigue (Gabriel et al., 2019). An example item includes, "Engaged in discussions with coworkers from a social class background higher than your own" (α = .94). Participants rated the frequency of each item within the past week on a 1(*Never*) to 5 (*Quite frequently*) scale.

Emotions. Participants rated all emotion items on a 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*A great deal*) scale after reading the following prompt: "This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Please indicate to what extent you have felt this way during the past week at work, using the response scale below. During the past week at work, I have felt…" *Shame* was assessed with four items from PANAS-X (Watson & Clark, 1994) validated by Bonner and colleagues (2017) that distinguishes shame from other negative self-conscious emotions like guilt, which is more focused on feelings about one's behavior. Items include "Ashamed," "Disgusted with self," "Angry at self," and "Dissatisfied with self" (α = .74). *Pride* was measured by three items adapted from Tracy and Robins (2007) by recent ESM studies (Zipay et al., 2021). Items include "Accomplished," "Successful," and "Achieving" (α = .89). This measure of pride was chosen for the high face validity of items for the theorizing presented in this dissertation.

Behaviors. Participants rated all behavior items on a 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Quite frequently*) scale after reading the following prompt: "Using the response scale below, please rate how frequently you engaged in the following during the past week at work. During the past week at work, I have…" *Withdrawal behavior* was assessed with four items from Lehman and Simpson (1992) used previously in weekly ESM studies (Schaubroeck et al., 2018). Sample items include "spent work time on personal matters," and "put less effort into the job than I should have" (α = .59). Agentic behavior was measured with four items adapted by Gabriel, Butts, et al. (2018)

from Moskowitz's (1994) interpersonal circumplex scale. Example items include, "asked another person to do something," and "expressed an opinion" (α = .62).

Control Variables

Given that employees from working-class backgrounds may adapt to new social class contexts over time (Dittmann, 2020), I controlled for length of time worked in a white-collar job overall. To account for variations in participants' social class background and current social class standing, I controlled for subjective social class using Adler et al.'s (2000) subjective ladder measure, which is the most widely used measure of subjective social class in the literature (Bjornsdottir et al., 2017). Participants were asked to think about society as a ladder where those with the most resources (i.e., education, money) are represented by the top rung and those with the least by the bottom rung. Participants then chose which rung best represents their place in society compared to others during (1) childhood and (2) currently.

Attention Checks

Attention checks were included in both the initial and weekly surveys. In the initial survey, the first attention check asked participants to "Please select 'Strongly agree' for this item," and the second attention check read "Please select 'Disagree' for this statement." Participants who failed either attention check were not invited back to participate in the weekly surveys. In the weekly survey, the attention check read, "Please select 'Quite a bit' for this item." Participants who failed the weekly attention check were excluded from the analyses.

Ethics Statement

IRB approval for this study is granted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Arkansas (Protocol # 2106342091; see Appendix A for Compliance Document). Informed consent is provided on the first page of the initial survey. Participants remain

anonymous via Prolific, which assigns a unique 24-digit alphanumeric identification code that can be used to match participants' surveys. All communication with participants occurs on the Prolific platform, which conceals the identities of participants from the researchers.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Descriptive statistics and correlations are reported in Table 2. Given the nested structure of the data, I first estimated a null model to determine the percentage of within-person variance for each weekly measure. Results of this analysis show that the within-person variance of the repeated measure variables ranges from 24% to 36% (see Table 3), suggesting that multilevel modeling is appropriate. Prior to estimating multilevel path models, I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) where CCD and OSD were modeled at the between-person level and weekly variables were modeled at the within-person level to determine model fit. This model fit the data reasonably well ($\chi 2$ [214] = 379.46, p = .000; CFI = .94; TLI = .93; RMSEA = .05; SRMRwithin = .05; SRMRbetween = .09), so I proceeded to estimate the multilevel path model using MPlus Version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2018) MLR estimator to test the hypothesized model. At the within-person level, upward cross-class interactions were specified as a predictor of shame and pride. The direct effects of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behavior and agentic behavior were also modeled. At the between-person level, I modeled the direct effects of CCD on shame and pride and the direct effects of OSD on withdrawal behaviors and agentic behaviors. CCD was also specified to moderate the within-person upward cross-class interactions – shame and upward cross-class interactions – pride relationships, while OSD was specified to moderate the within-person shame – withdrawal behavior and pride – agentic behavior relationships. Also at the between-person level, the effects of childhood social class, current social class, and white-collar experience were estimated on shame, pride, withdrawal behavior, and agentic behavior. All within-person relationships were specified with random slopes, and control variables were modeled with fixed slopes to avoid model complexity (Gabriel, Koopman, et al., 2018). CCD, OSD, and the between-person control variables

(childhood social class, current social class, and white-collar experience) were grand-mean centered, and within-person predictors were group-mean centered to reflect within-person effects (Gabriel et al., 2019).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Study Variables

Variable	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Level 1																
1. Upward Cross-Class Interactions	3.50	1.06	--	.07	.31**	-.04	.47**		.21	.04	-.09	.12	.05	-.25*	-.02	.09
2. Shame	1.51	.58	.002	--	-.18	.24*	.06		-.15	-.04	-.23*	-.07	-.14	.20	.04	-.15
3. Pride	3.23	.94	.17**	-.22*	--	-.41**	.34**		.33**	.23*	-.02	.15	.08	-.21	-.02	.12
4. Withdrawal Behavior	1.90	.64	-.01	.23**	-.13**	--	-.16		-.13	-.20	-.08	.06	-.10	.19	.08	-.09
5. Agentic Behavior	2.99	.87	.22**	.04	.32**	.08	--		.28*	.09	.09	.20	.16	-.23*	.27*	.21
6. Survey Week			-.14**	-.10*	-.10*	-.18**	-.07	--								
Level 2																
7. CCD	3.81	.60							--	.31**	-.00	.18	.02	-.08	.12	.04
8. OSD	3.38	.86								--	.10	-.04	-.08	.07	-.05	-.17
9. Social Class Background	3.51	1.01									--	.35**	.12	-.13	.26*	.14
10. Current Social Class	5.19	1.07										--	.15	.11	.09	.18
11. White-Collar Experience	5.07	3.07											--	-.21	.20	.78**
12. Gender	.74	.44												--	.07	-.28*
13. Race	.69	.47													--	.18
14. Age	28.23	3.69														--

Table 2 (Cont.)

Note: Level-1 $n = 477$; Level-2 $n = 74$. Gender was dummy coded as 0 for men and 1 for women. Race was dummy coded as 0 for Other and 1 for White. Within-person (Level 1) correlations are reported below the diagonal, and between-person (Level 2) correlations are reported above the diagonal. Correlations for the Level 1 variables represent within-person-centered relationships among the weekly variables. Level-1 variables were aggregated to estimate between-individual (Level-2) correlations. $^{**}p < .01$ $^{*}p < .05$

Table 3

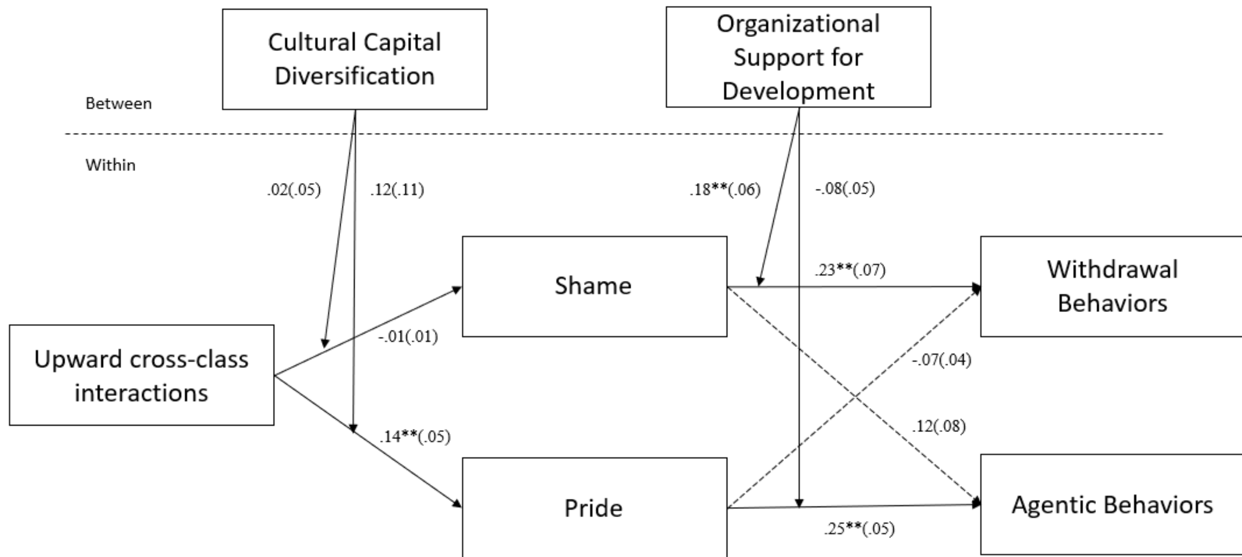
Percentage of Within-Individual Variance among Daily Variables

Construct	Within-individual Variance (σ^2)	Between-individual Variance (τ_{00})	% of Within-individual Variance
Upward Cross-Class Interactions	.49	1.02	32%
Shame	.16	.29	36%
Pride	.39	.79	33%
Withdrawal Behavior	.21	.37	36%
Agentic Behavior	.23	.71	24%

Note. The percentage of variance within-individuals was calculated as $\boldsymbol{\sigma}^2/(\boldsymbol{\sigma}^2 + \boldsymbol{\tau}_{00})$.

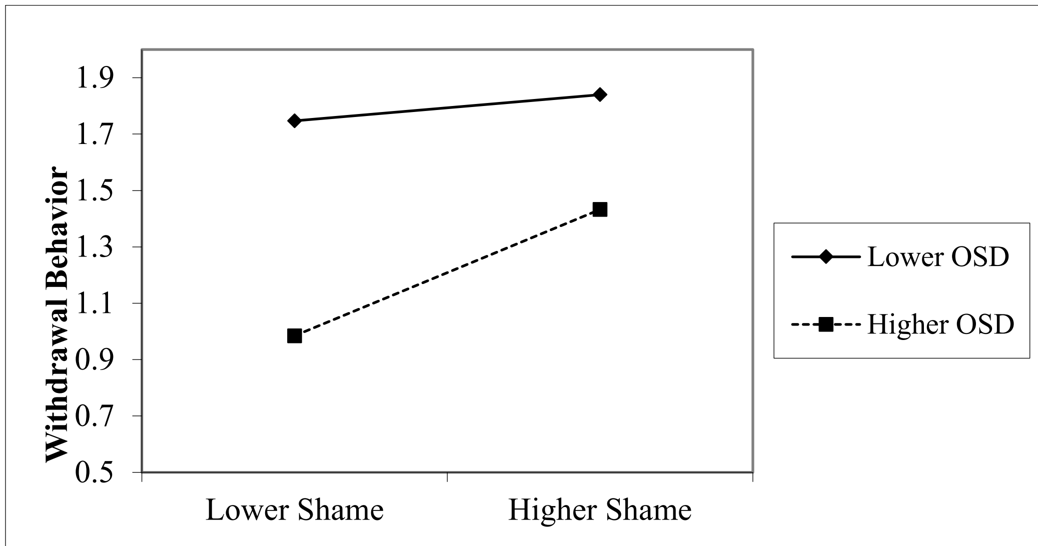
Results in Table 4 show unstandardized estimates from the multilevel path analysis using the MLR estimator (see also Figure 2). All indirect and conditional indirect effects were modeled and are reported in Table 5. As shown in Table 4, within individuals, the main effect of experiencing upward cross-class interactions on shame ($\gamma = -.01$, $SE = .012$, $p = .403$) was not significant, and thus Hypothesis 1 was not supported. However, the main effect of upward cross-class interactions on pride was significant and positive ($\gamma = .14$, $SE = .053$, $p = .007$), which was the opposite of my prediction in Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 3a and 3b were also not supported, as CCD did not moderate the relationship between upward cross-class interactions and shame ($\gamma = .02$, $SE = .048$, $p = .760$), or between upward cross-class interactions and pride ($\gamma = .12$, $SE = .110$, $p = .266$). Although shame was positively related to withdrawal behavior ($\gamma = .23$, $SE = .072$, $p = .001$), Hypothesis 4 was not supported, as the indirect effect of experiencing upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behavior via shame was not significant (-.00, 95% CI: -.008, .004). Additionally, although pride was positively associated with agentic behavior ($\gamma = .25$, $SE = .048$, $p = .000$), Hypothesis 5 was not supported. That is, the indirect effect of upward interactions on agentic behaviors via pride, although significant (.04, 95% CI: .005, .065), was in the opposite direction of what was originally hypothesized given the positive effect of upward interactions on pride. Hypothesis 6a posited that the positive relationship between shame and withdrawal behavior would be weaker for people with higher levels of OSD, and while this relationship was significant ($\gamma = .18$, $SE = .060$, $p = .003$), shame was unexpectedly positively related to withdrawal behavior when OSD was high (simple slope = .40, $SE = .089$, $p = .000$) and a nonsignificant relationship when OSD was low (simple slope = .08, $SE = .095$, $p = .393$; see Figure 3). Hypothesis 6b, which posited that OSD would moderate the positive relationship between pride and agentic behavior was not supported ($\gamma = -.08$, $SE = .048$, $p = .113$).

Figure 2
Multilevel Path Analysis Model



Note: Results of multilevel path analysis. Estimates are unstandardized. Standard errors are displayed in parentheses. The model explained 7% of the total variance in shame, 10% of the total variance in pride, 23% of the total variance in withdrawal behavior, and 22% of the total variance in agentic behavior. *p < .05. **p < .01.

Figure 3
Interaction of Shame and OSD Predicting Withdrawal Behavior



To test moderated mediation, I used the Model Constraint command in MPlus to calculate the conditional indirect effects of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal

behavior via shame and on agentic behavior via pride at high and low values (+/-1 SD) of CCD and OSD. Hypothesis 7 predicted that the indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behaviors via shame would be weaker for employees with higher (vs. lower) CCD and higher (vs. lower) perceptions of OSD. This was not supported when both CCD and OSD were high (indirect $effect_{[highhigh]}$ = .000, *SE* = .008, *p* = .959), nor when both CCD and OSD were low (indirect $effect_{[lowlow]}$ = -.001, *SE* = .004, *p* = .695). This indirect effect was also insignificant when CCD was high and OSD was low (indirect $effect_{[highlow]}$ = .000, *SE* = .002, *p* = .959), and when CCD was low and OSD was high (indirect $effect_{[lowhigh]}$ = -.007, *SE* = .015, *p* = .643). Hypothesis 8 predicted the indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on agentic behaviors via pride would be positive for employees with higher (vs. lower) CCD and higher (vs. lower) perceptions of OSD and negative for employees with lower (vs. higher) CCD and lower (vs. higher) perceptions of OSD. When both CCD and OSD were high, the relationship was positive and nearing significance (indirect $effect_{[highhigh]}$ = .039, *SE* = .023, *p* = .091), but the relationship remained positive when both CCD and OSD were low (indirect $effect_{[lowlow]}$ = .022, *SE* = .022, *p* = .331). When CCD was high, but OSD was low, the indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on agentic behavior was positive and significant (indirect $effect_{[highlow]}$ = .067, *SE* = .034, *p* = .051), but again, the relationship was also positive when CCD was low and OSD was high (indirect $effect_{[lowhigh]}$ = .013, *SE* = .013, *p* = .347). Overall, Hypothesis 8 remains unsupported.

Interestingly, although not formally hypothesized, results reveal that, at the between-person level CCD is positively related to pride, (γ = .47, *SE* = .145, *p* = .001) and negatively related to shame, (γ = -.17, *SE* = .08, *p* = .040), which suggests that, on average, people from working-class backgrounds with higher levels of CCD experience more pride and less shame.

Additionally, while OSD is not related to agentic behaviors at the between-person level, ($\gamma = .30$, $SE = .223$, $p = .181$), higher perceptions of OSD are related to less withdrawal behaviors at the between-person level, ($\gamma = -.34$, $SE = .11$, $p = .003$). The implications of these findings are elaborated on in the discussion section.

Table 4
Direct and Moderated Effects

	Shame		Pride		Withdrawal Behavior		Agentic Behavior	
Coefficients	*Effect*	*SE*	*Effect*	*SE*	*Effect*	*SE*	*Effect*	*SE*
Intercept	1.50**	.06	3.23**	.10	1.80**	.25	2.03**	.25
Control Variables (Level 2)								
Social Class Background	-.14*	.06	-.05	.13	-.03	.07	.03	.10
Current Social Class	.04	.09	.08	.10	.05	.07	.11	.10
White-collar experience	-.00	.00	.00	.00	-.00	.00	.00	.00
Survey Week	-.02*	.01	-.02	.02	-.03*	.01	-.00	.01
Moderators (Level 2)								
CCD	-.17*	.08	.47**	.15				
OSD					-.34**	.11	.29	.22
Independent Variables (Level 1)								
Upward Interactions	-.01	.01	.14**	.05	-.02	.03	.13**	.04
Mediators (Level 1)								
Shame					.23**	.07	.12	.08
Pride					-.07	.04	.25**	.05
Cross-Level Moderator Effects								
Upward Interaction x CCD	.02	.05	.12	.11				
Shame x OSD					.18**	.06		
Pride x OSD							-.08	.05
Pseudo-R^2	.07		.10		.23		.22	

Note. Estimates are unstandardized coefficients. Level-2 $N = 74$; Level-1 $N = 477$. $^{*}p < .05$ $^{**}p < .01$

Table 5

Indirect and Conditional Indirect Effects

Indirect Effect	CCD	γ	*SE*	OSD	γ	*SE*	CCD * OSD	γ	*SE*
Upward Cross-Class	--	-.002	.003	--			--		
Interactions → Withdrawal	Low	-.004	.009	Low	-.001	.001	Low Low	-.001	.004
Behavior (via Shame)	High	.000	.005	High	-.004	.005	Low High	-.007	.015
							High Low	.000	.002
							High High	.000	.008
Upward Cross-Class	--	-.011	.007	--			--		
Interactions → Withdrawal	Low	-.005	.006	Low	-.001	.008	Low Low	.006	.009
Behavior (via Pride)	High	-.016	.012	High	-.020	.012	Low High	.027	.027
							High Low	.017	.021
							High High	.083†	.044
Upward Cross-Class	--	.035*	.015	--			--		
Interactions → Agentic	Low	.017	.018	Low	.044*	.019	Low Low	.022	.022
Behavior (via Pride)	High	.053†	.027	High	.026†	.014	Low High	.018	.013
							High Low	.067†	.034
							High High	.039†	.023
Upward Cross-Class	--	-.001	.002	--			--		
Interactions → Agentic	Low	-.002	.005	Low	.000	.001	Low Low	-.006	.012
Behavior (via Shame)	High	.000	.003	High	-.003	.003	Low High	-.003	.007
							High Low	.000	.007
							High High	.000	.004

Note: †$p < .10$ *$p < .05$. **$p < .001$

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Through a sociocultural lens of social class and an integration of stereotype threat and cognitive appraisal theories, I examined the emotional and behavioral responses to upward cross-class interactions at work for employees from working-class backgrounds through an eight-week ESM study. More specifically, I theorized that employees from working class backgrounds may, overall, experience more shame and less pride in response to these interactions, resulting in more withdrawal behavior and less agentic behavior. However, I expected that these emotional responses would differ for employees with higher levels of CCD such that these individuals would not only be less likely to experience shame but to have increased feelings of pride. I also expected that employees with higher perceptions of OSD would be less likely to withdraw or to reduce agentic behavior in response to increased shame and reduced pride, and that for those with increased feelings of pride, they would be more likely to channel these emotions into agentic behavior. Although results of this study did not support many of predictions, an interesting pattern of findings emerged. In the paragraphs to follow, I summarize the findings and elaborate on points of interest. I then conclude with a discussion of theoretical and practical implications, followed by limitations and future directions.

Summary of Findings

Although few of the hypotheses were ultimately supported, some interesting findings emerged. First, while I did not find a relationship between upward cross-class interactions and shame, there was a positive direct effect of upward cross-class interactions on feelings of pride. Moreover, while I did not find support for the negative indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on withdrawal behaviors via shame, the indirect effect of upward cross-class interactions on agentic behaviors via pride was positive and significant. There are two possible

explanations for these findings, the first of which is a potential explanation for many of the null results. Due to the small sample size for this study (discussed as a limitation below), I did not temporally separate the independent and dependent variables. Thus, there is currently an issue of potential reverse causality, such that employees who have experienced more pride in a given week may also be more likely to engage in upward cross-class interactions, due to enhanced feelings of status and self-worth associated with feelings of pride (Hu & Kaplan, 2015). Moreover, there may be a greater opportunity to engage in agentic behaviors during such interactions.

A second, and more complicated explanation, is that employees from working-class backgrounds who have experienced social mobility may have adapted to white collar environments, allowing them to extract more value (e.g., pride) out of upward cross-class interactions rather than view them as a source of discomfort. While some have pointed out that upwardly mobile individuals may adapt over time to their new class context and a white-collar environment (Dittmann, 2020), there is evidence to suggest that this is not the case, as these individuals continue to report feeling out of place or reflecting on their stigmatized class background (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019; Lubrano, 2005). Moreover, I controlled for the total time participants' have spent as white-collar employees, and there was no effect on emotions or behaviors. Even so, Martin and Harrison (2022) recently argued and found that, contrary to longstanding theoretical arguments, upwardly mobile employees have high self-efficacy and are likely to enact voice behaviors at work—although they are less likely to be listened to. Future research with a larger sample size that accounts for temporal separation will help shed light on which side of the argument the findings of this study will ultimately land.

Another interesting finding of the current analyses is that OSD moderated the relationships between shame and withdrawal behaviors in the opposite direction than expected. While again, this may be due to the lack of consideration for lagged variables in the analyses, another explanation may be that perceptions of OSD are not a strong enough or salient enough indicator of support. I considered OSD to be a strong moderator for the present study, particularly given arguments that OSD can encourage upward mobility for employees and that upward cross-class interactions inflect a stereotype threat, which relates to concerns about others' perceptions about one's competence and performance (Kiazad et al., 2020; Swab et al., 2021). Yet, it may be that perceptions of organizational or supervisor support are more salient on a week-to-week basis for channeling emotions into behaviors, as employees are not always focused on their development or potential with the company. Moreover, these types of support occur at the more interpersonal—rather than policy—level, and thus may have more pertinence when it comes to interpersonal interactions.

With that said, I also found at the between-person level, that OSD was negatively associated with withdrawal behavior overall for people from working-class backgrounds, suggesting higher OSD levels are, in general, linked to less withdrawal behaviors. Thus, another possible interpretation of the moderating role of OSD on the shame – withdrawal relationship is that when OSD is low, employees' withdrawal behavior is not particularly contingent on feeling shame. Rather, people are more likely to be withdrawn overall, perhaps due to an overall negative view of the organization, or due to a negative reciprocity norm (Lynch et al., 1999; Shoss et al., 2013). Conversely, when support is high, people are less likely to withdraw in general, but are especially likely to withdraw when feeling shame. Avoiding withdrawal behaviors in response to OSD adheres to the norm of reciprocity, but engaging in reciprocity

serves many functions, including maintaining a positive self-image (Eisenberger et al., 2001). When there are higher perceptions of support, employees are more likely to view their organizational membership as an important part of their identity (Sluss et al., 2008). Thus, it is possible that, despite or maybe because of higher perceptions of support, employees experiencing feelings of shame opt for withdrawal as an alternative path to protect their self-image. In other words, when employees feel bad about themselves but feel supported by their organization, they may withdraw, at least in the short-term, to avoid additional events that may harm their organizational standing and ultimately lead to more feelings of shame.

I also found that pride and shame predicted two important work behaviors—agentic and withdrawal behaviors respectively—for a sample of upwardly mobile employees from working class backgrounds. This is the first study to link these emotions to important inequality reinforcing or reducing behaviors at work for this population. People from working-class backgrounds are at a disadvantage due to the value that organizations place on middle-class norms and behaviors of agency (Townsend & Truong, 2017). Regardless of any talent or efforts, inequality may be reinforced in the form of lower performance evaluations, lower pay, and less connected social networks for these individuals due to a lower comfort with enacting these agentic behaviors (e.g., Pitesa & Pillutla, 2019). That feelings of pride increase agentic behavior suggests a natural mechanism through which these employees may behave agentically with comfort, which may ultimately lead to more a more positive workplace experience. Moreover, scholars have argued that withdrawal behavior by employees from working-class backgrounds can reinforce inequality at work (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013), as withdrawing from opportunities or interactions with others ultimately reduces performance outcomes and future opportunities for enhanced social networks. Gaining a greater understanding as to the emotions

that may lead to withdrawal behavior for this population is a worthwhile endeavor given that people from working-class backgrounds face barriers at work (Pitesa & Pillutla, 2019; Townsend & Truong, 2017) and tend to experience more negative self-conscious emotions (e.g., Kraus & Park, 2014).

Overall, this study was motivated by (a) evidence that upwardly mobile individuals feel as if they are straddling a class divide, with one foot in both worlds (Lubrano, 2005; Reay, 2013) and (b) emerging thought that, alongside the barriers faced by socially mobile individuals, they also possess certain strengths or resources (e.g., the acquisition of new cultural tools that accompany social mobility; Martin & Côté, 2019; Phillips et al., 2020). In light of these motivations, perhaps the most interesting findings currently at hand are those that highlight the importance of CCD and OSD at the between-person level for white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds. That employees who have greater comfort navigating different social class contexts overall experienced more feelings of pride and fewer feelings of shame across the study period suggests that CCD may indeed be a strength for employees from working-class backgrounds that overpowers the negative effects of cultural mismatch theorized to occur for these individuals in white-collar organizations (Stephens et al., 2019). Moreover, the finding that employees from working-class backgrounds are, on average, less likely to engage in withdrawal behaviors when they have higher perceptions of OSD is particularly relevant given that (a) withdrawal behaviors are theorized to occur for working-class employees reminded of their stigmatized identities at work (Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013) and (b) employees from working-class backgrounds have better outcomes at work when they feel supported (Dittmann et al., 2020; Dittmann et al., 2021).

Theoretical and Practical Implications

Despite the lack of findings for several of the hypotheses, this study has both theoretical and practical implications. First, it is one of the first studies to empirically investigate cross-class interactions in the workplace, and relatedly, it is among the first to take into consideration one's social class background, rather than current social class, when considering how cross-class interactions may manifest at work. Given the wealth of qualitative evidence that suggests that social class background continues to be a source of stigma and pain, even after experiencing social mobility (e.g., Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019; Lubrano, 2005), this is a worthwhile endeavor. Second, I contribute to the sociocultural perspective of social class and stereotype threat theory by outlining the various ways in which such interactions may induce stereotype threat for white-collar employees. Relatedly, I contribute to the emerging dynamic perspective of social class (Phillips et al., 2020) and arguments for a greater focus on working-class strengths (e.g., Dittmann et al., 2020) by identifying between-person differences that may influence otherwise negative workplace experiences for people from working class backgrounds and considering CCD as a potential resource for these individuals. Third, I contribute to the literature on social class and emotions by identifying between-person differences that may influence the emotions experienced by employees from working-class backgrounds (Fiske, 2010; Fiske & Markus, 2012; Kraus et al., 2011; Kraus & Park, 2014). Relatedly, gaining a greater understanding into emotional mechanisms that may lead to certain inequality reducing or reinforcing behaviors at work is a valuable contribution, particularly given evidence that emotions are experienced at least in part through the lens of social class (e.g., Reay, 2005).

From a practical perspective, greater comfort with navigating different social class contexts at work, overall, appears to reduce negative emotions (i.e., shame) and increase positive

emotions (i.e., pride) for employees from working-class backgrounds. Given that people from lower social class backgrounds are more likely to experience negative emotions (e.g., Kraus et al., 2011; Kraus & Park, 2014), combined with the impact both negative and positive emotions have on important workplace behaviors (i.e., withdrawal and agentic behaviors), organizations may wish to take steps to ensure that employees feel comfortable when faced with class-based situations at work. Emerging evidence suggests that individuals may develop CCD via a variety of transitional life experiences that provide exposure to new values and norms (Corwin et al., 2022), and formal education programs focused on the impact that participation in sociocultural contexts (e.g., social class) has on individuals results in greater pride in one's class background and more cross-class relationships (Townsend et al., 2021). Taken together, this suggests that organizations could, as a first step, recognize social class as a dimension of diversity that deserves attention in formal training and development programs. Doing so may not only increase comfort for people from working-class backgrounds, thus improving emotional outcomes at work, but reduce unconscious and conscious class-based stigma that employees from less privileged backgrounds face in organizations.

That higher perceptions of OSD were related to fewer withdrawal behaviors in this sample of employees from working-class backgrounds also provides a potential implication for managers and organizations. Organizations reinforce inequality through various Human Resources practices (e.g., hiring, promotion, compensation; Amis et al., 2020). While supporting the development and career progression of all employees is likely to benefit both employees and organizations, implementing and advertising fair and supportive policies and procedures that communicate to employees from working-class backgrounds that their careers are valued to the

organization may reduce withdrawal behaviors, ultimately leading to higher performance and more equitable outcomes along organizational pathways.

Limitations and Future Directions

The findings of this dissertation, and the potential for this study to contribute both theoretically and practically, should be considered in light of its limitations. First, due to the relatively small Level 2 sample size, I proceeded with cross-sectional data analyses for this dissertation. However, to better understand the temporal dynamics of the hypothesized relationships, larger samples, where it is easier to lag data over multiple time periods and which increase statistical power would be ideal. Additionally, more females were represented in the sample then men, which may influence responses if there are gender differences associated with the variables of interest. For example, agency is more commonly a trait associated with men (e.g., Rudman & Glick, 2001), and therefore more gender balance may lend itself to greater variance concerning agentic behavior. To address these limitations, future research should examine the relationships in this study among a larger, more gender-balanced sample.

Second, a potential criticism of many ESM studies is that all variables are self-reported, which may contribute to common method variance (CMV; Podsakoff et al., 2012). However, several steps were taken to combat CMV. First, weekly variables were person-mean centered and between-person variables were grand mean centered, which accounts for potential between-person confounding effects (Gabriel et al., 2019). In addition, several of the hypotheses referred to interactive effects, which are unlikely to be impacted by CMV (Siemsen et al., 2010).

As another limitation, our study focused only on upward cross-class interactions. While valuable in that employees from working-class backgrounds face many barriers in the workplace (Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019: Townsend & Truong, 2017) scholars may also wish to delve into

the emotional and behavioral responses to downward cross-class interactions. Given the necessary and specific eligibility criteria for this study, it was unreasonable to examine both upward and downward cross-class interactions in a single study. Additionally, there is precedent for examining the experience of one social class context (e.g., Dittmann et al., 2020; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019). Moreover, and as discussed throughout this dissertation, the working-class experience varies from the middle-class experience, and thus it is possible that different theoretical mechanisms may be necessary to explain the emotional and behavioral reactions of employees experiencing downward interactions. For instance, people from more affluent backgrounds may experience scorn or even anger in downward interactions, as they are prompted to defend their own privilege (Fiske, 2010; Gray & Kish-Gephart, 2013). Nonetheless, although downward cross class interactions are likely qualitatively different experiences than upward cross-class interactions, future research examining such interactions will paint a more complete picture of the complexity and impact of cross-class interactions in the workplace.

Relatedly, the consideration of self-conscious emotions in response to upward cross-class interactions was a logical one, particularly given that self-conscious emotions are a more common response to stereotype threat and may be more likely to be experienced by those from working-class backgrounds (Kraus & Park, 2014). Yet, because emotions are a classed experience (Reay, 2005), there may be other emotions that are relevant, particularly when moving the focus away from the self. For instance, envy or anger are other-directed emotions that may be experienced in response to upward cross-class interactions (Fiske, 2010). Thus, future research may want to take this into consideration.

Researchers may also wish to dive into the nuances of what it means to be “working class.” Someone who grew up in a two-parent, dual-income household with parents who held

steady employment has had vastly more privilege and a drastically different experience than someone who grew up in a single-parent household or in a household that lacked steady income or employment. Yet, depending on each individual's subjective perception of their social class background, in combination with objective indicators such as parental education, income, and/or occupation, both of these people may be qualified as coming from a working-class background in quantitative research, despite anyone's guess that their very different experiences may dissimilarly impact outcomes of interest. Indeed, evidence has demonstrated that values, norms, preferences, and material resources attributed to the working-class (i.e., interdependence, close connections to family and friends, trust in relationships) does not extend to those in poverty (Stephens et al., 2014). As social class research continues to grow, research that takes into consideration how these various nuances ultimately impact whether a person from a working-class background develops CCD or experiences cultural mismatch long after upward mobility would be valuable for better understanding how social class manifests in the workplace.

Conclusion

Given the growing evidence that upwardly mobile individuals continue to experience disadvantage at various stages of the employment process despite similar qualifications, it is valuable to gain insight into how upward cross-class interactions at work influence emotions and behaviors. Thus, this dissertation set out to investigate the emotional and behavioral responses to upward cross-class interactions at work among a sample of white-collar employees from working-class backgrounds at a relatively early stage of their career. Although, many of the hypotheses were not supported, a number of insightful findings emerged. That upward cross-class interactions are related to pride, and ultimately, engagement in agentic behaviors suggests that these interactions, although potentially uncomfortable, can be beneficial for people from

working-class backgrounds. Moreover, employees who feel more comfort navigating different social class contexts are more likely to experience feelings of pride and less likely to experience feelings of shame, which is both indicative of a working-class strength and of the need for organizations to increase comfort across class divides. Finally, that employees from working-class backgrounds are less likely to withdraw when they feel supported suggests a potential intervention point for organizations. This finding is particularly important given that the onus should not be placed on the individual to improve conditions of inequality. As both inequality and social class research continues to grow, shedding light on the various pathways through which inequality is reproduced in organizations will be a valuable endeavor.

REFERENCES

Adler, N. E., Epel, E. S., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. R. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy, White women. *Health Psychology*, *19*, 586-592. https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-6133.19.6.586

Amis, J. M., Mair, J., & Munir, K. A. (2020). The organizational reproduction of inequality. *Academy of Management Annals*, *14*, 195-230. https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2017.0033

Ardoin, S. (2018). Helping Poor-and Working-Class Students Create Their Own Sense of Belonging. *New Directions for Student Services*, *162*, 75-86. https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20263

Arnett, R. D., & Sidanius, J. (2018). Sacrificing status for social harmony: Concealing relatively high status identities from one's peers. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *147*, 108-126. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2018.05.009

Aronson, J. (2002). Stereotype threat: Contending and coping with unnerving expectations. In J. Aronson (Ed.), *Improving academic achievement: Impact of psychological factors on education* (pp. 279-301). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-012064455-1/50017-8

Ashford, S. J., De Stobbeleir, K., & Nujella, M. (2016). To seek or not to seek: Is that the only question? Recent developments in feedback-seeking literature. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *3*, 213-239. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-041015-062314

Aydin, A. L., Ullrich, J., Siem, B., Locke, K. D., & Shnabel, N. (2019). The effect of social class on agency and communion: Reconciling identity-based and rank-based perspectives. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *10*, 735-745. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550618785162

Baer, M. D., Van Der Werff, L., Colquitt, J. A., Rodell, J. B., Zipay, K. P., & Buckley, F. (2018). Trusting the "look and feel": Situational normality, situational aesthetics, and the perceived trustworthiness of organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *61*, 1718-1740. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2016.0248

Barber, S. J., & Mather, M. (2013). Stereotype threat can both enhance and impair older adults' memory. *Psychological Science*, *24*, 2522-2529. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797613497023

Barclay, L. J., Skarlicki, D. P., & Pugh, S. D. (2005). Exploring the role of emotions in injustice perceptions and retaliation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *90*, 629-643. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.90.4.629

Barling, J., & Weatherhead, J. G. (2016). Persistent exposure to poverty during childhood limits later leader emergence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *101*, 1305-1318. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000129

Beal, D. J. (2015). ESM 2.0: State of the art and future potential of experience sampling methods in organizational research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *2*, 383-407. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-032414-111335

Beall, A. T., & Tracy, J. L. (2020). Evolution of pride and shame. In *Cambridge Handbook of Evolutionary Perspectives on Human Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.

Becker, J. C., Kraus, M. W., & Rheinschmidt-Same, M. (2017). Cultural expressions of social class and their implications for group-related beliefs and behaviors. *Journal of Social Issues*, *73*, 158-174. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12209

Bettencourt, G. M. (2020). When I Think About Working Class, I Think About People That Work for What They Have: How Working-Class Students Engage in Meaning Making About Their Social Class Identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, *61*, 154-170. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2020.0015

Bettencourt, G. M. (2021). I Belong Because It Wasn't Made for Me: Understanding Working-Class Students' Sense of Belonging on Campus. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 1-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2021.1872288

Bjornsdottir, R. T., Alaei, R., & Rule, N. O. (2017). The perceptive proletarian: Subjective social class predicts interpersonal accuracy. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior*, *41*, 185-201. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10919-016-0248-6

Bjornsdottir, R. T., & Rule, N. O. (2017). The visibility of social class from facial cues. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *113*, 530-546. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000091

Blanton, H., Christie, C., & Dye, M. (2002). Social identity versus reference frame comparisons: The moderating role of stereotype endorsement. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *38*, 253-267. https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.2001.1510

Bonner, J. M., Greenbaum, R. L., & Quade, M. J. (2017). Employee unethical behavior to shame as an indicator of self-image threat and exemplification as a form of self-image protection: The exacerbating role of supervisor bottom-line mentality. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *102*, 1203-1221. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000222

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste.* (R. Nice, Trans.). Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1994). Structures, habitus, power: Basis for a theory for symbolic power. In N. B. Dirks, G. Eley, & S. B. Ortner (Eds.), *Culture/power/history: A reader in contemporary social theory* (pp. 55-199) Princeton University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780691228006-007

Brown, D. J., Ferris, D. L., Heller, D., & Keeping, L. M. (2007). Antecedents and consequences of the frequency of upward and downward social comparisons at work. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *102*, 59-75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2006.10.003

Byrne, D. (1971). *The attraction paradigm.* Academic Press.

Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & MacLean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, *30*, 78-95. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2005.15281431

Conroy, D. E., & Pincus, A. L. (2011). Interpersonal impact messages associated with different forms of achievement motivation. *Journal of Personality*, *79*, 675-706. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2011.00693.x

Conroy, S. A., Becker, W. J., & Menges, J. I. (2017). The meaning of my feelings depends on who I am: Work-related identifications shape emotion effects in organizations. *Academy of Management Journal*, *60*, 1071-1093. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2014.1040

Corwin, E. S., Simon, L. S., & Tilton, J. (2021). Cultural capital diversification: The development and validation of a scale. Academy of Management Annual Meeting.

Corwin, E. S., Simon, L. S., Moergen, K. J. N., & Tilton, J. (2022). Bridging the class divide: The diversification of cultural capital and boundary spanning behaviors. 2022 Dismantling Bias Conference, Purdue University, Krannert School of Management.

Côté, S. (2011). How social class shapes thoughts and actions in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *31*, 43-71. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.riob.2011.09.004

Côté, S., Kraus, M. W., Carpenter, N. C., Piff, P. K., Beermann, U., & Keltner, D. (2017). Social affiliation in same-class and cross-class interactions. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *146*, 269-285. https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000258

Cozzarelli, C., Wilkinson, A. V., & Tagler, M. J. (2001). Attitudes toward the poor and attributions for poverty. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 207-227. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00209

Crant, J. M. (2000). Proactive behavior in organizations. *Journal of Management*, *26*, 435-462. https://doi.org/10.1177/014920630002600304

Crocker, J., Major, B., & Steele, C. (1998). Social stigma. In D. T. Gilbert, & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 504–553). McGraw-Hill.

Croizet, J. C., & Claire, T. (1998). Extending the concept of stereotype threat to social class: The intellectual underperformance of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *24*, 588-594. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167298246003

Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 631–648. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.4.631

Dasborough, M. T., Hannah, S. T., & Zhu, W. (2020). The generation and function of moral emotions in teams: An integrative review. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *105*, 433-452. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000443

DeOrtentiis, P. S., Van Iddekinge, C. H., & Wanberg, C. R. (2022). Different starting lines, different finish times: The role of social class in the job search process. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 107*, 444–457. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000915

Dittmann, A. G. (2020). *Social Class at Work: How Social Class Background Shapes Employees' Experiences and Outcomes in White-Collar Organizations* [Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Dittmann, A. G., Stephens, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. (2020). Achievement is not class-neutral: Working together benefits people from working-class contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *119*, 517-539. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000194

Dittmann, A. G., Stephens, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. (2021). Research: How our class background affects the way we collaborate. *Harvard Business Review.*

Durante, F., Fiske, S. T., Kervyn, N., Cuddy, A. J. C., Akande, A. D., Adetoun, B. E., … Storari, C. C. (2013). Nations' income inequality predicts ambivalence in stereotype content: How societies mind the gap. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *52*, 726–746. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12005

Durante, F., Tablante, C. B., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). Poor but warm, rich but cold (and competent): Social classes in the stereotype content model. *Journal of Social Issues*, *73*, 138-157. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12208

Eder, P., & Eisenberger, R. (2008). Perceived organizational support: Reducing the negative influence of coworker withdrawal behavior. *Journal of Management*, *34*, 55-68. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206307309259

Eagly, A. H., & Johannesen-Schmidt, M. C. (2001). The leadership styles of women and men. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 781-797. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00241

Fang, R. T., & Saks, A. M. (2020). Class advantage in the white-collar labor market: An investigation of social class background, job search strategies, and job search success. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 106,* 1695-1713. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000842

Fang, R. T., & Tilcsik, A. (2022). Prosocial Occupations, Work Autonomy, and the Origins of the Social Class Pay Gap. *Academy of Management Journal*, Advance Online Publication.

Fessler, D. M. T. (2007). From appeasement to conformity: Evolutionary and cultural perspectives on shame, competition, and cooperation. In J. L. Tracy, R. W. Robins, & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *The self-conscious emotions: Theory and research* (pp. 174–193). Guilford.

Fiske, S. T. (2010). Envy up, scorn down: how comparison divides us. *American Psychologist*, *65*, 698. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.65.8.698

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2006). Universal dimensions of social cognition: warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *11*, 77–83.

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

Fiske, S. T., & Durante, F. (2019). Mutual status stereotypes maintain inequality. In *The social psychology of inequality* (pp. 335-348). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-28856-3_21

Fiske, S. T., & Markus, H. R. (2012). *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Fiske, S. T., Moya, M., Russell, A. M., & Bearns, C. (2012). The secret handshake: Trust in cross-class encounters. In S. T. Fiske & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction* (pp. 234-251). Russell Sage Foundation.

Fredrickson, B. L. (2003). Positive emotions and upward spirals in organizations. In K. S. Cameron, J. E. Dutton, & R. E. Quinn (Eds.), *Positive organizational scholarship: Foundations of a new discipline* (pp. 163–175). Berrett-Koehler.

Gabriel, A. S., Butts, M. M., Yuan, Z., Rosen, R. L., & Sliter, M. T. (2018). Further understanding incivility in the workplace: The effects of gender, agency, and communion. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *103*, 362-382. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000289

Gabriel, A. S., Koopman, J., Rosen, C. C., & Johnson, R. E. (2018). Helping others or helping oneself? An episodic examination of the behavioral consequences of helping at work. *Personnel Psychology*, *71*(1), 85-107. https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12229

Gabriel, A. S., Podsakoff, N. P., Beal, D. J., Scott, B. A., Sonnentag, S., Trougakos, J. P., & Butts, M. M. (2019). Experience sampling methods: A discussion of critical trends and considerations for scholarly advancement. *Organizational Research Methods*, *22*, 969-1006. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428118802626

Garcia, S. M., Hallahan, M., & Rosenthal, R. (2007). Poor expression: Concealing social class stigma. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *29*, 99-107. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973530701330835

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (2001). An ambivalent alliance. *American Psychologist*, *56*, 109–118. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.56.2.109

Goffman, E. (1963). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity.* Prentice Hall.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays in face-to-face behavior.* Pantheon.

Goller, M., & Harteis, C. (2017). Human agency at work: Towards a clarification and operationalisation of the concept. In M. Goller & S. Paloniemi (Eds.), *Agency at work* (pp. 85-103). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-60943-0_5

González-Romá, V., Peiró, J. M., & Tordera, N. (2002). An examination of the antecedents and moderator influences of climate strength. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*, 465-473. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.3.465

Gorman, T. J. (2000). Cross-class perceptions of social class. *Sociological Spectrum*, *20*, 93-120. https://doi.org/10.1080/027321700280044

Grandey, A. A. (2008). Emotions at work: A review and research agenda. *Handbook of Organizational Behavior*, 235-261. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849200448.n14

Gray, B., & Kish-Gephart, J. J. (2013). Encountering social class differences at work: How "class work" perpetuates inequality. *Academy of Management Review*, *38*, 670-699. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2012.0143

Haworth, C. L., & Levy, P. E. (2001). The importance of instrumentality beliefs in the prediction of organizational citizenship behaviors. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *59*, 64-75. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.2000.1784

Higgins, C. A., Judge, T. A., & Ferris, G. R. (2003). Influence tactics and work outcomes: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, *24*, 89-106. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.181

Hinkin, T. R., & Tracey, J. B. (1999). An analysis of variance approach to content validation. *Organizational Research Methods*, *2*, 175-186. https://doi.org/10.1177/109442819922004

Hoyt, C. L. (2005). The role of leadership efficacy and stereotype activation in women's identification with leadership. *Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, 11*, 2-14. https://doi.org/10.1177/107179190501100401

Hoyt, C. L., & Blascovich, J. (2007). Leadership efficacy and women leaders' responses to stereotype activation. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 10,* 595- 616. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430207084718

Hu, X., & Kaplan, S. (2015). Is "feeling good" good enough? Differentiating discrete positive emotions at work. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *36*, 39-58. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.1941

Hulin, C. L. (1991). Adaptation, persistence, and commitment in organizations. In M. D. Dunnette & L. M. Hough (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology* (pp. 445–506). Consulting Psychologists Press.

Hurst, A. L. (2010). *The burden of academic success: Managing working-class identities in college.* Lexington Books.

Hurst, A. L., & Nenga, S. K. (2016). *Working in class: Recognizing how social class shapes our academic work*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Hyde, S. A., Casper, W. J., & Wayne, J. H. (2020). Putting role resources to work: The cross-domain thriving model. *Human Resource Management Review*, 100819. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hrmr.2020.100819

Islam, M. R., & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimensions of contact as predictors of intergroup anxiety, perceived out-group variability, and out-group attitude: An integrative model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19,* 700–710. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167293196005

Jackson, C. L., Colquitt, J. A., Wesson, M. J., & Zapata-Phelan, C. P. (2006). Psychological collectivism: A measurement validation and linkage to group member performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *91*, 884-899. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.91.4.884

Johns, M., Inzlicht, M., & Schmader, T. (2008). Stereotype threat and executive resource depletion: examining the influence of emotion regulation. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *137*, 691-705. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013834

Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *33*, 1-27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1994.tb01008.x

Kallschmidt, A. M., & Eaton, A. A. (2019). Are lower social class origins stigmatized at work? A qualitative study of social class concealment and disclosure among white men employees who experienced upward mobility. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *113*, 115-128. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2018.08.010

Kalokerinos, E. K., von Hippel, C., & Zacher, H. (2014). Is stereotype threat a useful construct for organizational psychology research and practice?. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *7*, 381-402. https://doi.org/10.1111/iops.12167

Kastberg, S., & Miller, D. (1996). Of blue collars and ivory towers: Women from blue-collar backgrounds in higher education. In K. D. Arnold, D. Noble, & R. F. Subotnik (Eds.), *Remarkable women: Perspectives on female talent development* (pp. 49-67). Hampton Press.

Kay, A. C., Jost, J. T., & Young, S. (2005). Victim derogation and victim enhancement as alternate routes to system justification. *Psychological Science*, *16*, 240-246. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0956-7976.2005.00810.x

Kiazad, K., Kraimer, M. L., Seibert, S. E., & Sargent, L. (2020). Understanding organizational embeddedness and career success: Who and what you know. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *41*, 678-693. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2464

Kish-Gephart, J. J., & Campbell, J. T. (2015). You don't forget your roots: The influence of CEO social class background on strategic risk taking. *Academy of Management Journal*, *58*, 1614-1636. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2013.1204

Kraimer, M. L., Seibert, S. E., Wayne, S. J., Liden, R. C., & Bravo, J. (2011). Antecedents and outcomes of organizational support for development: The critical role of career opportunities. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *96*, 485-500. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021452

Kraus, M. W., & Callaghan, B. (2016). Social class and prosocial behavior: The moderating role of public versus private contexts. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *7*, 769-777. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550616659120

Kraus, M. W., Horberg, E. J., Goetz, J. L., & Keltner, D. (2011). Social class rank, threat vigilance, and hostile reactivity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *37*, 1376-1388. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167211410987

Kraus, M. W., & Keltner, D. (2009). Signs of socioeconomic status: A thin-slicing approach. *Psychological Science*, *20*, 99-106. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02251.x

Kraus, M. W., & Mendes, W. B. (2014). Sartorial symbols of social class elicit class-consistent behavioral and physiological responses: A dyadic approach. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *143*, 2330-2340. https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000023

Kraus, M. W., & Park, J. W. (2014). The undervalued self: Social class and self-evaluation. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *5*, 1-9. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.01404

Kraus, M. W., Park, J. W., & Tan, J. J. (2017). Signs of social class: The experience of economic inequality in everyday life. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *12*, 422-435. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691616673192

Kraus, M. W., Piff, P. K., Mendoza-Denton, R., Rheinschmidt, M. L., & Keltner, D. (2012). Social class, solipsism, and contextualism: how the rich are different from the poor. *Psychological Review*, *119*, 546-572. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028756

Kraus, M. W., Tan, J. J., & Tannenbaum, M. B. (2013). The social ladder: A rank-based perspective on social class. *Psychological Inquiry*, *24*, 81-96. https://doi.org/10.1080/1047840X.2013.778803

Kraus, M. W., Torrez, B., Park, J. W., & Ghayebi, F. (2019). Evidence for the reproduction of social class in brief speech. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *116*, 22998-23003. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1900500116

Kray, L. J., & Shirako, A. (2009). Stereotype threat in organizations: An examination of its scope, triggers, and possible interventions. In M. Inzlicht & T. Schmader (Eds.), *Stereotype threat: Theory, process, and application.* Oxford University Press.

Laurin, K., Engstrom, H. R., & Alic, A. (2019). Motivational accounts of the vicious cycle of social status: An integrative framework using the United States as a case study. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *14*, 107-137. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691618788875

Laurison, D., & Friedman, S. (2016). The class pay gap in higher professional and managerial occupations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*, 668-695. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416653602

Lazarus, R. S. (1991a). Cognition and motivation in emotion. *American Psychologist*, *46*, 352. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.46.4.352

Lazarus, R. S. (1991b). Progress on a cognitive-motivational-relational theory of emotion. *American Psychologist*, *46*, 819. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.46.8.819

Lazarus, R. S. (1993). From psychological stress to the emotions: A history of changing outlooks. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *44*, 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.44.020193.000245

Lazarus, R. S. (2006). Emotions and interpersonal relationships: Toward a person-centered conceptualization of emotions and coping. *Journal of Personality*, *74*, 9-46. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2005.00368.x

Lazarus, R. S., & Cohen-Charash, Y. (2001). Discrete emotions in organizational life. In R. L. Payne & C. Cooper (Eds.), *Emotions at work: Theory, research and applications for management*, (pp. 48-81). Wiley.

Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping.* Free Press.

Lehman, W. E., & Simpson, D. D. (1992). Employee substance use and on-the-job behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *77*, 309-321. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.77.3.309

Lips-Wiersma, M., Wright, S., & Dik, B. (2016). Meaningful work: differences among blue-, pink-, and white-collar occupations. *Career Development International, 21*, 534-551. https://doi.org/10.1108/CDI-04-2016-0052

Loignon, A. C., & Woehr, D. J. (2018). Social class in the organizational sciences: a conceptual integration and meta-analytic review. *Journal of Management*, *44*, 61-88. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206317728106

Lott, B. (2002). Cognitive and behavioral distancing from the poor. *American Psychologist*, *57*, 100-110. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.57.2.100

Loveday, V. (2016). Embodying deficiency through 'affective practice': Shame, relationality, and the lived experience of social class and gender in higher education. *Sociology*, *50*, 1140-1155. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515589301

Lubrano, A. (2005). *Limbo: Blue-collar roots, white-collar dreams*. John Wiley & Sons.

Lucas, K. (2011). The working class promise: A communicative account of mobility-based ambivalences. *Communication Monographs, 78,* 347-369. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2011.589461

Lynch, P. D., Eisenberger, R., & Armeli, S. (1999). Perceived organizational support: Inferior versus superior performance by wary employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *84*, 467. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.84.4.467

Manstead, A. S. (2018). The psychology of social class: How socioeconomic status impacts thought, feelings, and behaviour. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *57*, 267-291. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12251

Markus, H. R., & Fiske, S. T. (2012). Introduction: A wide-angle lens on the psychology of social class. In S. T. Fiske & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction* (pp. 1-11). Russell Sage Foundation.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (2010). Cultures and selves: A cycle of mutual constitution. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *5*, 420-430. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610375557

Martin, S. R., & Côté, S. (2019). Social class transitioners: Their cultural abilities and organizational importance. *Academy of Management Review*, *44*, 618-642. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2017.0065

Martin, S. R., Côté, S., & Woodruff, T. (2016). Echoes of our upbringing: How growing up wealthy or poor relates to narcissism, leader behavior, and leader effectiveness. *Academy of Management Journal*, *59*, 2157-2177. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2015.0680

Martin, S. R., & Harrison, S. (2022). Upward Mobility, the Cleft Habitus, and Speaking Up: How Class Transitions Relate to Individual and Organizational Antecedents of Voice. *Academy of Management Journal*, (ja). https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2020.1550

Martin, S. R., Innis, B. D., & Ward, R. G. (2017). Social class, leaders and leadership: A critical review and suggestions for development. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *18*, 49-54. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.08.001

Martin, S. R., Kish-Gephart, J. J., & Detert, J. R. (2014). Blind forces: Ethical infrastructures and moral disengagement in organizations. *Organizational Psychology Review*, *4*, 295-325. https://doi.org/10.1177/2041386613518576

Mascolo, M. F., & Fischer, K. W. (1995). Developmental transformations in appraisals for pride, shame, and guilt. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride* (pp. 64–113). Guilford Press.

Mendes, W. B., Blascovich, J., Major, B., & Seery, M. (2001). Challenge and threat responses during downward and upward social comparisons. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *31*, 477-497. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.80

Miranda, G. A., Welbourne, J. L., & Sariol, A. M. (2020). Feeling shame and guilt when observing workplace incivility: Elicitors and behavioral responses. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *31*, 371-392. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrdq.21395

Mollaret, P., & Miraucourt, D. (2016). Is job performance independent from career success? A conceptual distinction between competence and agency. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *57*, 607-617. https://doi.org/10.1111/sjop.12329

Moskowitz, D. S. (1994). Cross-situational generality and the interpersonal circumplex. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66*, 921–933. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.66.5.921

Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (2018). Mplus user's guide (8th ed.).

Nelissen, R. M., & Meijers, M. H. (2011). Social benefits of luxury brands as costly signals of wealth and status. *Evolution and Human Behavior*, *32*, 343-355. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2010.12.002

Oldmeadow, J. A., & Fiske, S. T. (2010). Social status and the pursuit of positive social identity: Systematic domains of intergroup differentiation and discrimination for high-and low-status groups. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *13*, 425-444. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209355650

Osborne, J. W. (2001). Testing stereotype threat: Does anxiety explain race and sex differences in achievement? *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, *26*, 291-310. https://doi.org/10.1006/ceps.2000.1052

Page-Gould, E., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Mendes, W. B. (2014). Stress and coping in interracial contexts: The influence of race-based rejection sensitivity and cross-group friendship in daily experiences of health. *Journal of Social Issues*, *70*, 256-278. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12059

Pajo, K., Coetzer, A., & Guenole, N. (2010). Formal development opportunities and withdrawal behaviors by employees in small and medium-sized enterprises. *Journal of Small Business Management*, *48*, 281-301. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-627X.2010.00295.x

Palan, S., & Schitter, C. (2018). Prolific.ac—A subject pool for online experiments. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Finance*, *17*, 22-27. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbef.2017.12.004

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

Phillips, L. T., Martin, S. R., & Belmi, P. (2020). Social class transitions: Three guiding questions for moving the study of class to a dynamic perspective. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *14*, e12560. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12560

Phillips, L. T., Stephens, N. M., Townsend, S. S., & Goudeau, S. (2020). Access is not enough: Cultural mismatch persists to limit first-generation students' opportunities for achievement throughout college. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *119*, 1112. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000234

Pickering, R. M. (2014). Getting to the heart of social and educational disadvantage: Exploring the impact of social interactions across the class divide. [Doctoral dissertation, University of Maine]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.

Piff, P. K., Kraus, M. W., Côté, S., Cheng, B. H., & Keltner, D. (2010). Having less, giving more: the influence of social class on prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *99*, 771. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020092

Piff, P. K., Kraus, M. W., & Keltner, D. (2018). Unpacking the inequality paradox: The psychological roots of inequality and social class. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 53-124). Academic Press. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.aesp.2017.10.002

Pitesa, M., & Pillutla, M. M. (2019). Socioeconomic mobility and talent utilization of workers from poorer backgrounds: The overlooked importance of within-organization dynamics. *Academy of Management Annals*, *13*, 737-769. https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2017.0115

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2012). Sources of method bias in social science research and recommendations on how to control it. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *63*, 539-569. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-120710-100452

Radmacher, K., & Azmitia, M. (2013). Unmasking class: How upwardly mobile poor and working-class emerging adults negotiate an "invisible" identity. *Emerging Adulthood*, *1*, 314-329. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696813502478

Reay, D. (2004). Gendering Bourdieu's concepts of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class. *The Sociological Review*, *52*, 57-74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2005.00524.x

Reay, D. (2005). Beyond consciousness? The psychic landscape of social class. *Sociology*, *39*, 911-928. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038505058372

Reay, D. (2013). Social mobility, a panacea for austere times: Tales of emperors, frogs, and tadpoles. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *34*, 660-677. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2013.816035

Ridgeway, C. L., & Fisk, S. R. (2012). Class rules, status dynamics, and "gateway" interactions. In S. T. Fiske & H. R. Markus (Eds.), *Facing social class: How societal rank influences interaction* (pp. 131-151). Russell Sage Foundation.

Rivera, L. A., & Tilcsik, A. (2016). Class advantage, commitment penalty: The gendered effect of social class signals in an elite labor market. *American Sociological Review*, *81*, 1097-1131. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416668154

Rotundo, M., & Sackett, P. R. (2002). The relative importance of task, citizenship, and counterproductive performance to global ratings of job performance: A policy-capturing approach. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *87*, 66-80. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.87.1.66

Roberson, L., & Kulik, C. T. (2007). Stereotype threat at work. *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *21*, 24-40. https://doi.org/10.5465/amp.2007.25356510

Rodell, J. B. (2013). Finding meaning through volunteering: Why do employees volunteer and what does it mean for their jobs?. *Academy of Management Journal*, *56*, 1274-1294. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2012.0611

Rosen, C. C., Dimotakis, N., Cole, M. S., Taylor, S. G., Simon, L. S., Smith, T. A., & Reina, C. S. (2020). When challenges hinder: An investigation of when and how challenge stressors impact employee outcomes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *105*, 1181-1206. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000483

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

Sayer, A. (2005). *The Moral Significance of Class*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511488863

Schaubroeck, J. M., Lam, L. W., Lai, J. Y., Lennard, A. C., Peng, A. C., & Chan, K. W. (2018). Changing experiences of work dirtiness, occupational disidentification, and employee withdrawal. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *103*, 1086-1100. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000330

Scheff, T. (2001). Working class emotions and relationships: Secondary analysis of classic texts by Sennett and Cobb, and Willis. http://scheff.faculty.soc.ucsb.edu/main.php?id=22.html

Schmader, T., Johns, M., & Forbes, C. (2008). An integrated process model of stereotype threat effects on performance. *Psychological Review*, *115*, 336-356. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.115.2.336

Sennett, R., & Cobb, J. (1972). *The hidden injuries of class*. WW Norton & Company.

Shoss, M. K., Eisenberger, R., Restubog, S. L. D., & Zagenczyk, T. J. (2013). Blaming the organization for abusive supervision: The roles of perceived organizational support and supervisor's organizational embodiment. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *98*, 158. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030687

Siemsen, E., Roth, A., & Oliveira, P. (2010). Common method bias in regression models with linear, quadratic, and interaction effects. *Organizational Research Methods, 13*, 456–476. https://doi.org/10.1177/1094428109351241

Skeggs, B. (1997). *Formations of class & gender: Becoming respectable*. Sage.

Skeggs, B. (2008). Making class through fragmenting culture. In A. Lin (Ed.), *Problematizing identity: Everyday sruggles in language, culture, and education* (pp. 35-51). Routledge.

Sluss, D. M., Klimchak, M., & Holmes, J. J. (2008). Perceived organizational support as a mediator between relational exchange and organizational identification. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *73*, 457-464. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2008.09.001

Smith, C. A., & Ellsworth, P. C. (1985). Patterns of cognitive appraisal in emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *48*, 813-838. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.48.4.813

Smith, C. S., & Hung, L. C. (2008). Stereotype threat: Effects on education. *Social Psychology of Education*, *11*, 243-257. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-008-9053-3

Smith, C. A., & Lazarus, R. S. (1991). Emotion and adaptation. In L. A. Pervin (Ed.), *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*, (pp. 609-637). Guilford Press.

Spector, P. E., Rosen, C. C., Richardson, H. A., Williams, L. J., & Johnson, R. E. (2019). A new perspective on method variance: A measure-centric approach. *Journal of Management, 45*, 855–880. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206316687295

Spencer, B., & Castano, E. (2007). Social class is dead. Long live social class! Stereotype threat among low socioeconomic status individuals. *Social Justice Research*, *20*, 418-432. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-007-0047-7

Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women's math performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *35*, 4-28. https://doi.org/10.1006/jesp.1998.1373

Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, *52*, 613-629. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.52.6.613

Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*, 797-811. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.797

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, *41*, 157–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01134.x

Stephens, N. M., Dittmann, A. G., & Townsend, S. S. (2017). Social class and models of competence: How gateway institutions disadvantage working-class Americans and how

to intervene. In C. Dweck, A. Elliot, & D. Yeager (Eds.), *Handbook of competence and motivation: Theory and application* (pp. 512-528). Guilford Press.

Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Fryberg, S. A. (2012a). Social class disparities in health and education: Reducing inequality by applying a sociocultural self model of behavior. *Psychological Review*, *119*, 723-744. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029028

Stephens, N. M., Townsend, S. S., Markus, H. R., & Phillips, L. T. (2012b). A cultural mismatch: Independent cultural norms produce greater increases in cortisol and more negative emotions among first-generation college students. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48,* 1389-1393. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.07.008

Stephens, N. M., & Townsend, S. S. (2013). Rank is not enough: Why we need a sociocultural perspective to understand social class. *Psychological Inquiry*, *24*, 126-130. https://doi.org/10.1080/1047840X.2013.795099

Stephens, N. M., Townsend, S. S., & Dittmann, A. G. (2019). Social-class disparities in higher education and professional workplaces: The role of cultural mismatch. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *28*, 67-73. https://doi.org/10.1177/0963721418806506

Stephens, N. M., Markus, H. R., & Townsend, S. S. (2007). Choice as an act of meaning: the case of social class. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*, 814-830. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.93.5.814

Swab, R. G., Javadian, G., Gupta, V. K., & Pierce, C. A. (2021). Stereotype threat theory in organizational research: Constructive analysis and future research agenda. *Group and Organization Management.* https://doi.org/10.1177/10596011211016989

Swencionis, J. K., Dupree, C. H., & Fiske, S. T. (2017). Warmth-competence tradeoffs in impression management across race and social-class divides. *Journal of Social Issues*, *73*, 175-191. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12210

Swencionis, J. K., & Fiske, S. T. (2016). Promote up, ingratiate down: Status comparisons drive warmth-competence tradeoffs in impression management. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *64*, 27-34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2016.01.004

Swencionis, J. K., & Fiske, S. T. (2018). Cross-status interactions: Concerns and consequences. *Social Cognition*, *36*, 78-105. https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2018.36.1.78

Tangney, J. P. (1995). Shame and guilt in interpersonal relationships. In J. P. Tangney & K. W. Fischer (Eds.), *Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride* (pp. 114 –139). Guilford Press.

Tangney, J. P., Stuewig, J., & Mashek, D. J. (2007). Moral emotions and moral behavior. *Annual Review of Psychology, 58,* 345–372. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070145

Tomaka, J., Blascovich, J., Kibler, J., & Ernst, J. M. (1997). Cognitive and physiological antecedents of threat and challenge appraisal. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *73*, 63-72. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.73.1.63

Townsend, S. S., Eliezer, D., Major, B., & Mendes, W. B. (2014). Influencing the world versus adjusting to constraints: Social class moderates responses to discrimination. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *5*, 226-234. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550613490968

Townsend, S. S., Stephens, N. M., & Hamedani, M. G. (2021). Difference-education improves first-generation students' grades throughout college and increases comfort with social group difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *47*, 1510-1519. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220982909

Townsend, S. S., & Truong, M. (2017). Cultural models of self and social class disparities at organizational gateways and pathways. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *18*, 93-98. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.05.005

Tracy, J. L., & Robins, R. W. (2007). The psychological structure of pride: a tale of two facets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*, 506-525. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.3.506

Tracy, J. L., Robins, R. W., & Schriber, R. A. (2009). Development of a FACS-verified set of basic and self-conscious emotion expressions. *Emotion*, *9*, 554-559. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015766

Tracy, J. L., Weidman, A. C., Cheng, J. T., & Martens, J. P. (2014). The fundamental emotion of success, power, and status. In M. Tugade, M. Shiota, & L. Kirby (Eds.), *Handbook of Positive Emotions* (pp. 294-310). Guilford Publications.

Truong, M., Townsend, S. S., Smallets, S., & Stephens, N. M. (2021). Crossing Up or Down: When Is Anticipating Cross-Class Interactions more Threatening than Same-Class Interactions?. Working paper.

van Doesum, N. J., Tybur, J. M., & van Lange, P. A. (2017). Class impressions: Higher social class elicits lower prosociality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 68,* 11-20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2016.06.001

van Quaquebeke, N., Zenker, S., & Eckloff, T. (2009). Find out how much it means to me! The importance of interpersonal respect in work values compared to perceived organizational practices. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *89*, 423-431. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-008-0008-6

Varnum, M. E., & Kitayama, S. (2017). The neuroscience of social class. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *18*, 147-151. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.07.032

Verbeke, W., Belschak, F., & Bagozzi, R. P. (2004). The adaptive consequences of pride in personal selling. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *32*, 386-402. https://doi.org/10.1177/0092070304267105

Walton, G. M., Murphy, M. C., & Ryan, A. M. (2015). Stereotype threat in organizations: Implications for equity and performance. *Annual Review Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, *2*, 523-550. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-orgpsych-032414-111322

Watson, D., & Clark, L. A. (1994). *The PANAS-X: Manual for the positive and negative affect schedule-expanded form*. University of Iowa. https://doi.org/10.17077/48vt-m4t2

Wilkins, A. C., & Pace, J. A. (2014). Class, race, and emotions. In J. Stets, & J. Turner (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of emotions: Volume II* (pp. 385-409). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-9130-4_18

Way, N. (1998). *Everyday courage: The lives and stories of urban teenagers.* New York University Press.

Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. E. (2017). The enemy between us: The psychological and social costs of inequality. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *47*, 11-24. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2275

Williams, L. A. (2018). Emotions of excellence: Communal and agentic functions of pride, moral elevation, and admiration. *The Function of Emotions*, 235-252. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77619-4_12

Woolum, A., Foulk, T., Lanaj, K., & Erez, A. (2017). Rude color glasses: The contaminating effects of witnessed morning rudeness on perceptions and behaviors throughout the workday. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *102*, 1658-1672. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000247

Zipay, K., Mitchell, M. S., Baer, M., Sessions, H., & Bies, R. (2021). Lenient reactions to misconduct: Examining the self-conscious process of being lenient to others at work. *Academy of Management Journal*, *64*, 351-377. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2018.0123

Zweig, M. (2004). *What's class got to do with it?: American society in the twenty-first century*. Cornell University Press.

Zweig, M. (2006). Six points on class. *Monthly Review*, *58*, 116-126. https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-058-03-2006-07_11

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: COMPLIANCE DOCUMENT

To:	Emily Corwin
From:	Justin R Chimka, Chair IRB Expedited Review
Date:	08/05/2021
Action:	**Exemption Granted**
Action Date:	08/05/2021
Protocol #:	2106342091
Study Title:	Weekly ESM Study of Upward Cross-Class Interactions at Work

The above-referenced protocol has been determined to be exempt.

If you wish to make any modifications in the approved protocol that may affect the level of risk to your participants, you must seek approval prior to implementing those changes. All modifications must provide sufficient detail to assess the impact of the change.

If you have any questions or need any assistance from the IRB, please contact the IRB Coordinator at 109 MLKG Building, 5-2208, or irb@uark.edu.

cc: Lauren Simon, Investigator

APPENDIX B: STUDY MEASURES

Screener Survey Items

Participants were considered to be from a working-class background if they responded that with "Poor/Lower class" or "Lower middle class" best represented their family's social class while they were growing up and if neither of their parents had obtained a four-year degree or higher (Stephens et al., 2007, 2011). Participants were presented with a definition of blue-collar versus white-collar jobs developed for the purposes of this study from the relevant literature (e.g., Bettencourt, 2020, 2021; Hurst, 2010; Lips-Wiersma et al., 2016), then asked to indicate which type of job they worked in currently. Those who identified themselves as white-collar and reported 10 years or less of total white-collar work experience were invited to participate in the full study. See below for questions discussed here.

Social Class Screeners

Which of the following best describes **your family's** social class **while you were growing up?**

Poor/Lower class

Lower middle class

Middle class

Upper middle class

Rich/Upper class

The following questions will refer to your "first parent/guardian" and "second parent/guardian." These questions refer to the two people that were your primary caretakers throughout your childhood and adolescence. These people may have been a parent, stepparent, grandparent, or other family member or unrelated guardian that was primarily responsible for your care.

What is the highest level of education attained by your **first parent/guardian**?

- GED
- High school diploma
- Some college (attended but did not graduate)
- Vocational degree or certificate
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's or professional degree (e.g., MBA)
- Law degree, PhD, MD, or Ed.D
- Unknown

What is the highest level of education attained by your **second parent/guardian**?

- GED
- High school diploma

- Some college (attended but did not graduate)
- Vocational degree or certificate
- Associate's degree
- Bachelor's degree
- Master's or professional degree (e.g., MBA)
- Law degree, PhD, MD, or Ed.D
- Unknown

Generally speaking, how would you describe your **primary job**?

Blue-Collar Jobs

- Typically require a high school diploma or less (e.g., janitors or factory workers)
- May require an apprenticeship or vocational certificate for skilled positions (e.g., welders or CNAs)
- Often include manual labor (i.e., factory worker, janitor) or other physical activities like standing for long periods of time or assisting patients (wait staff, bar tender, retail worker, hairdresser, care worker), although this is not the case for some positions (i.e., entry-level receptionists, call center workers)
- Often (but not always) require employees to wear a uniform or personal protective equipment (PPE)
- Usually do **not** include the hiring or firing of other workers, administration, or organization of others' work (though this may differ for line leads, shift supervisors, etc.)
- Usually are not considered prestigious
- Are often paid an hourly wage or are salary non-exempt (e.g., eligible for overtime wages)
- Additional examples include electricians, plumbers, landscapers/groundskeepers, construction workers, road workers, shop assistants, cashiers, office clerks

White-Collar Jobs

- Typically require a college degree or significant professional training
- Usually do **not** involve manual labor but instead involve work that is professional, managerial, or administrative in nature
- May include responsibilities such as hiring and firing other workers and administering and organizing others' work
- Are often considered prestigious
- Are often paid a salary wage (though this may not be the case for some lawyers, doctors, or consultants, for example)
- Additional examples include managers, some business owners, accountants, teachers, engineers, librarians, graphic designers, or social workers

Approximately how long have you been employed in white collar positions? That is, how long have you considered yourself to be "white collar" overall, in total?

- Years
- Months

Initial Survey Items

Cultural Capital Diversification

Using the response scale below, please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each item **in general (not how you feel today, but how you usually feel about each item)**.

- I can relate to people from any educational background.
- Rich or poor, my life experiences make it easy to interact with anyone.
- It doesn't matter if someone makes minimum wage or $250,000 a year, I'm able to bond with them.
- Adapting my behavior to fit the norms of different social classes (e.g., upper class vs. middle class) comes naturally to me.
- I can easily change the topic of conversation to interest the person I am speaking to no matter his/her social class (e.g., upper class vs. middle class).
- It's easy for me to develop good relationships with people, regardless of how much money they have.
- I can just as naturally talk to coworkers who aren't very educated as I can to coworkers who have advanced degrees.
- It's easy for me to adjust my behavior to fit the social class of the people around me.
- I can find something to talk about with nearly anyone at work, whether it is the janitor or the CEO.

Organizational Support for Development

Using the response scale below, please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each item **in general (not how you feel today but how you usually feel about each item)**.

- My organization has programs and policies that help employees to advance in their functional specialization.
- My organization provides opportunities for employees to develop their specialized functional skills.
- My organization has programs and policies that help employees to reach higher managerial levels.
- My organization has career development programs that help employees develop their specialized functional skills and expertise.
- My organization provides opportunities for employees to develop their managerial skills.
- My organization has career development programs that help employees develop their managerial skills.

Social Class Background Ladder (Control)

The following question asks about your standing in society **during your childhood**. Think of the **ladder below** as representing where people stand in our society. At the top of the ladder are the people who are best off—those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are the people who are worst off—those who have the least money, least education, and

worst jobs or no job. The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to people at the very top, and the lower you are, the closer you are to the bottom.

Select the rung on the ladder that best describes **where your family stood on the ladder *during your childhood*** (click on the rung).

Current Social Class Ladder (Control)

The following question asks about **your current standing** in society. Think of the **ladder below** as representing where people stand in our society. At the top of the ladder are the people who are best off—those who have the most money, most education, and best jobs. At the bottom are the people who are worst off—those who have the least money, least education, and worst jobs or no job. The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to people at the very top, and the lower you are, the closer you are to the bottom.

Select the rung on the ladder that best describes **where you currently stand** (click on the rung).

Weekly Survey Items

Upward Cross-Class Interactions

Using the response scale below, please rate how frequently you engaged in the following **during the past week at work.**

During the past week at work, how frequently have you…

- Interacted with coworkers from a social class background **higher** than your own?
- Talked to coworkers from a social class background **higher** than your own?
- Engaged in discussions with coworkers from a social class background **higher** than your own?

Pride

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Please indicate to what extent you have felt this way **during the past week at work,** using the response scale below.

During the past week at work, I have felt...

- Accomplished
- Successful
- Achieving

Shame

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Please indicate to what extent you have felt this way **during the past week at work,** using the response scale below.

During the past week at work, I have felt...

- Ashamed
- Disgusted with self
- Angry at self
- Dissatisfied with self

Agentic Behavior

Using the response scale below, please rate how frequently you engaged in the following **during the past week at work.**

During the past week at work, I have...

- Taken the lead in planning/organizing a project or activity.
- Asked another person to do something.

- Assigned someone to a task.
- Expressed an opinion.

Withdrawal Behavior

Using the response scale below, please rate how frequently you engaged in the following **during the past week at work.**

During the past week at work, I have...

- Spent work time on personal matters.
- Arrived late to work or meetings.
- Put less effort into my job than I should have.
- Taken a long lunch or rest break.