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Equal homes, unequal perceptions?

*A study examining the influence of status conditions and group membership characterized
by names on perceived status, competence and warmth*

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Abstract

The Stereotype Content Model proposes that perceived social structure, such as competition and status, predicts stereotypes on the dimensions of warmth and competence. The dimension of warmth includes elements of sociability and morality. Competence includes agency and status. In general, high-status individuals are evaluated as being more competent and warm than their low-status counterparts. Group membership might have an effect on this too since ingroup members are perceived as being more competent and warm than outgroup members. It is hypothesized that status, characterized by house type, and group membership, characterized by names, interact with each other and influence homeowner's competence and warmth evaluations. It is expected that low-status homeowners are evaluated lower in their competence and warmth than high-status homeowners and an outgroup homeowner is evaluated lower in their competence and warmth than the ingroup homeowner, with the interaction between the two variables enhancing this effect. Results show a main effect of status but not of group membership. No interaction between status and group membership is present. Interestingly, it was found that the outgroup homeowner was consistently evaluated lower in warmth, regardless of their status. Possible real world implications for this result might be increased inequality and decreased standard of life for the outgroup. The results provide future research directions regarding the influence of different competition contexts and different types of outgroups which are briefly touched upon in the discussion.

Keywords: *Stereotype Content Model, warmth, competence, status, group membership, ingroup, outgroup*

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Theory

The Stereotype Content Model

Stereotypes are present everywhere around the world, also in Dutch society, whether they are seemingly harmless ('women are kind and caring') or are starting to be seen as societal problems ('ethnic minorities are incompetent'). In order to paint a more complete picture of how and why these kinds of stereotypes emerge, Fiske, Cuddy and Glick (2007) have proposed the Stereotype Content Model (SCM). The SCM proposes that perceived social structure, such as competition and status, predicts stereotypes on the dimensions of warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, 2018). Thus, competitive groups are perceived as cold, while cooperative groups are perceived as warm. Furthermore, relative status (from perceiver to target) predicts competence stereotypes. High-status groups are stereotyped as more competent than low-status groups (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). In the meantime, researchers have created a more comprehensive model than the SCM in which communion (getting along) and agency (getting ahead) have been discussed to be the most important in social evaluation (Abele, Ellemers, Fiske, Koch, & Yzerbyt, 2020). However, for the sake of the current study, the SCM will be used as the main framework, and thus, instead of agency and communion, warmth and competence will be the focus of the current study. In particular, the conjoined influence of perceived status and perceived group membership on warmth and competence evaluations will be thoroughly discussed and examined.

Warmth and competence

The dimension of warmth includes elements of sociability, such as kindness, and morality, such as honesty (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

Competence on the other hand includes agency and status. Correct evaluations of these dimensions are beneficial to survival as it might provide valuable information about an individual's willingness to cooperate or compete with the perceiver (Fiske et al., 2002). For example, a warmth-evaluation can provide information about the intent with which the individual will carry out their actions. Additionally, a competence evaluation can provide valuable information about the ability of the individual to carry out said intent (Bodenhausen, Kang, & Peery, 2012; Fiske et al., 2002). With this information in mind, the perceiver can decide how to engage in interaction with the individual. When the individual seems more likely to compete with the perceiver (for resources for example), the perceiver can decide to steer clear from interaction. When the perceiver is fairly sure the individual will want to

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cooperate, the perceiver can decide to interact. Both the warmth and competence dimensions emerge consistently in social evaluations, however, research showed that warmth has primacy over competence (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Hack, Goodwin, & Fiske, 2013; Ybarra, Chan, & Park, 2001).

Social evaluations can elicit four different stereotypes regarding warmth and competence; high warmth/high competence, high/low, low/low and low/high. These four different stereotypes predict four emotions (admiration, pity, contempt, envy) which in turn, through the Behaviour from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map, predict discrimination in the form of active help or harm and passive help or harm (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). For example, the elderly are a group that is stereotyped as warm but incompetent, eliciting pity. In Dutch society they are being actively helped through pensions and elderly discounts but in turn are passively harmed in the form of neglect by putting them in elderly homes. Furthermore, anger and contempt are directed towards those who are perceived as a drain on society and whose negative outcomes are perceived as stemming from their own choices rather than from uncontrollable circumstances (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). Native Dutch people are for example more likely to feel contempt towards Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, attributing the low-status jobs immigrants often occupy to their incompetence instead of external factors (Dijker, 1987; Dijker, Koomen, Van den Heuvel, & Frijda, 1996).

Status stereotypes

According to the BIAS map, passive facilitation happens to high-status groups, whereas low-status groups are more likely to be passively harmed (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). This phenomenon can be seen in day-to-day life; high-status groups, such as white men, are seen to become more influential and affluent, whereas low-status groups, such as ethnic minorities, still face both active and passive discrimination like physical violence and labour discrimination (Bryant-Davis, Adams, Alexandre, & Gray, 2017; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Lazos, 2012). Ethnic minorities are less likely to get invited for a job interview than their white majority counterparts and are also less likely to occupy higher academic level jobs (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, & Faulk, 2012; Lazos, 2012; McGinnity, & Lunn, 2011). Andriessen et al. (2012) specifically found that applicants with a Dutch name were more likely to receive an invitation for a job interview than applicants with a non-Dutch name, while the submitted resumés for both groups were identical. Furthermore, generally speaking, immigrants and ethnic minorities also receive a lower warmth evaluation compared to the

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white majority in the United States and in the Netherlands (Lee & Fiske, 2006; Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). This often results in active harm in the form of physical and verbal aggression towards ethnic minorities.

According to the SCM, disadvantages such as labour discrimination and aggression occur because low-status groups are predominantly evaluated as less competent and warm than high-status groups (Cuddy et al., 2009). Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007) managed to research the extent to which the SCM correctly predicts how social structure influences stereotypes on the warmth and competence dimensions, by conducting an experiment in which status was manipulated. In this study, two conditions were used, a high- and a low-status one. The different conditions were represented by an image of an expensive and a less-expensive house respectively. The participants were asked to imagine the person that would live there and rate this imaginary homeowner on their perceived warmth and competence. It was found that status influenced the way in which the anonymous imaginary homeowner was perceived on the warmth and competence dimensions. Homeowners in the high-status condition were attributed more competence and warmth than their low-status counterparts (Oldmeadow, & Fiske, 2007). However, this research did not take into account the possible effects that a target's perceived group membership can have on warmth and competence evaluations while categorization on the basis of group membership is an important part of the SCM.

Perceived group membership

Perceived group membership can influence behaviour towards a target through outgroup derogation and ingroup favouritism. Specifically, through outgroup derogation, members of an outgroup are less likely to be aided when in need of help and generally evoke negative emotions such as anxiety, insecurity or threat when encountered by ingroup members (Pryor et al., 2004; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985). Additionally, ingroup favouritism can influence behaviour towards an ingroup member. Ingroup favouritism is the tendency to favour one's ingroup when it comes to behaviour, decisions and attitudes (Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979). Ingroup members are treated more favourably and experience advantages that outgroup members do not. Ingroup members are most often evaluated as more agreeable and competent and experience milder punishments than outgroup members (Everett, Faber, & Crockett, 2015). In- and outgroup membership can be determined by characteristics as seemingly negligible as accents, facial features and names (Gaither, Pauker, Slepian, & Sommers, 2016; Henrich, & Henrich, 2007; Kasof, 1993).

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Integration of literature

As was found by Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007), status matters in the evaluation of individuals' warmth and competence. Individuals that are perceived to be low-status because of the house they are said to own are generally evaluated as less warm and competent than individuals that own a high-status house. The influence that status has on warmth and competence can subsequently influence the behaviour that is exuded towards low-status individuals and bring them disadvantages that they would otherwise not experience (SCM, BIAS map; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick 2007). Furthermore, it can increase the inequality present in today's society as low-status individuals get less opportunities to increase their status while high-status individuals are known to be actively facilitated in benefiting themselves (Cuddy et al., 2008; Cuddy et al., 2009).

Additionally, perceived group membership is known to influence the evaluation of individuals' warmth and competence, possibly through the processes of outgroup derogation and ingroup favouritism (Cuddy et al., 2009; Pryor et al., 2004; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985; Turner et al., 1979). Group membership is known to predict success on the labour market and subsequently influences welfare and wellbeing (McGinnity, & Lunn, 2011). Ingroup members are known to be generally favoured and evaluated higher in warmth and competence than outgroup members (Cuddy et al., 2009; Everett et al., 2015). This results in ingroup members experiencing benefits that outgroup members do not by being chosen for a better job or getting the benefit of the doubt when pulled over by police (Andriessen et al., 2012; Bryant-Davis et al., 2017). At the same time, outgroup members are actively prevented from experiencing benefits through disadvantaging and derogating them (Pryor et al., 2004; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985). This fosters the inequality present in society because ingroup members increasingly experience more benefits relative to outgroup members. Subsequently, outgroup members experience increasingly more disadvantages relative to ingroup members (Everett et al., 2015; Pryor et al., 2004; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985). Thus, both status and perceived group membership play a part in warmth and competence evaluations and can indirectly affect individuals' lives in extensive ways. Therefore it is important to further the understanding of the interaction between status and perceived group membership regarding the joint influence they have on warmth and competence evaluations.

The current study

The proposed research question for the current research is as follows: What is the influence of status stereotypes when combined with an ingroup- or outgroup name on a homeowner's

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perceived status, competence and warmth? Several hypotheses have been formulated in order to provide an answer to the research question. First of all, just as Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007) found, it is expected that low-status homeowners will be evaluated significantly lower on their perceived status, competence and warmth evaluation than high-status homeowners. Furthermore, based on research showing that ingroup members are generally evaluated higher regarding perceived status, warmth and competence than outgroup members, it is expected that homeowners with an ingroup name will be evaluated higher than outgroup members on their perceived status, warmth and competence (Cuddy et al., 2009). In the current Dutch research context, Dutch males are part of the ingroup, whereas non-Dutch males with a non-western background are part of the outgroup.

Additionally, several hypotheses have been formulated in order to find an answer to the extent of the joint influence of status and perceived group membership. It is argued that in Dutch society, homeownership by the Dutch ingroup is more salient than homeownership by the non-Dutch outgroup. Consequently, it is expected that there will be no difference in status, competence and warmth evaluation between the ingroup condition and control condition in both the low-status house and high-status house condition. Furthermore, both outgroup derogation and ingroup favouritism are expected to have an influence on the status, competence and warmth evaluations. Therefore, it is expected that ingroup membership yields a more positive status, competence and warmth evaluation than outgroup membership, with status condition interacting with group membership. It is hypothesized that this will result in a more positive evaluation of high status ingroup members than high status outgroup members while low status ingroup members are evaluated less favourably than high status ingroup members, but low status outgroup members are evaluated a lot less favourably than high status ingroup members. Figure 1 provides a schematic overview of the expected effects.

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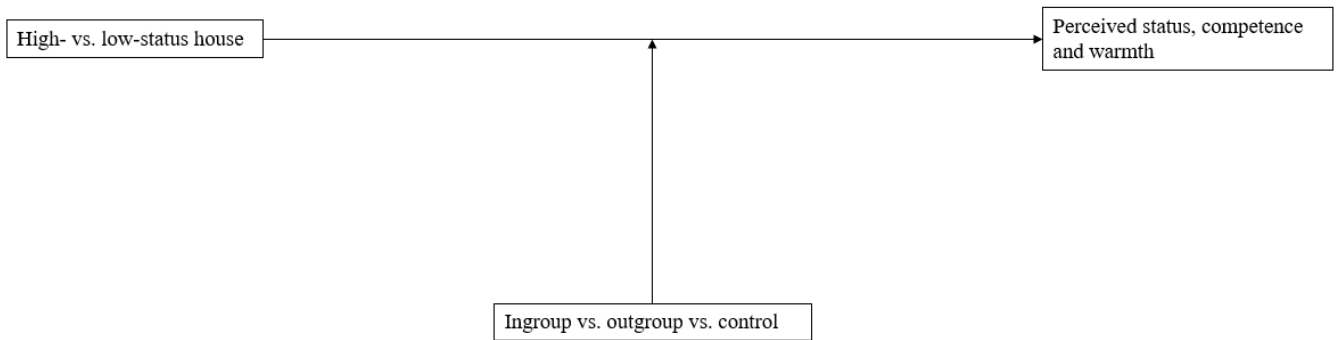


Figure 1

Moderation Model of the Proposed Effect

Note. Ingroup membership and control group increase and outgroup membership decreases perceived status, competence and warmth in both status conditions. It is proposed that there is an interaction between status and group membership. Summarized: high status ingroup = ++, low status ingroup = +, high status outgroup = -, low status outgroup = --.

Method

Participants and design

Participants were gathered using the personal network of the researcher. Additionally, the Utrecht University platform of SONA was used to reach participants. A total of 154 participants were gathered. The sample had an average age of 28,36 years ($SD = 11.91$). 42 participants indicated to be male ($M = 34.12$, $SD = 14.88$), 108 indicated to be female ($M = 26.21$, $SD = 9.82$) and no participants filled out 'other' when asked for their sex. 142 participants indicated to identify most with the Dutch culture, 9 participants indicated to identify most with a western culture other than Dutch. Finally, only 3 participants indicated to identify most with a non-western culture. Most participants indicated to have obtained a university Bachelor's degree as their highest education (69; 44,8%).

The current study's design was a 2 (House: high-status vs. low-status house; between-participants) \times 5 (Name: no name vs. Dutch male name vs. non-Dutch male name vs. female Dutch name vs. gender-neutral Dutch name; within-participants) mixed design. Which house condition participants encountered was randomised between participants. In both the high-status and low-status conditions all five names were presented and randomised within participants, with the exception of the no name-condition, which was shown first in both status conditions. Both the female Dutch name and the gender-neutral Dutch name were

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included for data collection purposes related to other research. Hence, these names were not included in the data-analyses reported here.

Manipulation

Status. The status stereotypes were induced by using a high-status and low-status house. These houses were represented by an image of an expensive, higher class house and a cheaper, lower class house respectively (Figure 2; Figure 3). Since Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007) did not share any images of the two houses they used for their study, it was decided to stay as close to their descriptions as possible, while adhering to Dutch architecture.

Group membership. Group membership was indicated by using different names. The names that were used in this study represented the different group memberships where the Dutch male name (Ruben) represented the ingroup and the non-Dutch male name (Erdem) represented the outgroup. All names were picked from a set of stimuli from a pilot study which showed significant differences between the evaluations on morality, sociability, status and competence of these different stimuli groups (Van Nunspeet, Pireddu, & Ellemers, manuscript in preparation). The pairing and order of the different stimuli (house × name) were randomised between and within participants respectively.



Figure 2

An Example of a High-Status House.

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Figure 3

An Example of a Low-Status House.

Measures

In order to measure target evaluation, three separate measures were used.

Perceived target status. Perceived status was measured in a similar vein as in the study of Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007), by presenting participants with three items that asked the participant to score the target on. The three items were “How prestigious are the jobs held by those in this house likely to be?”, “How economically successful do you think these people would be?”, and “How prestigious a car do you think these people would drive?”. The answer options ranged from ‘not at all’ to ‘extremely’ on a six point Likert-scale ranging from 1-6. In the no name condition the perceived status was used as a manipulation check for the effectiveness of the different houses in conveying status. Cronbach’s α over all conditions was .975. None of the used items needed to be reversed.

Perceived target competence. In order to measure the target’s competence evaluation, the participant was asked to score the target on both their competence. This was done in a similar vein as in the study of Oldmeadow and Fiske (2007). Competence items included ‘competent’, ‘intelligent’, ‘efficient’ and ‘capable’. These were to be scored through a six point Likert-scale with response options ranging from ‘not at all’ to ‘extremely’ from 1-6. Cronbach’s α for these items over all conditions was .958. None of the used items needed to be reversed.

Perceived target warmth. The target’s warmth evaluation was measured similarly to the competence evaluation. Warmth items included ‘friendly’, ‘warm’, ‘trustworthy’ and ‘sincere’. A debate is present in the literature regarding the dimensions of warmth. Some argue that warmth can be split into two dimensions. For exploratory purposes, a factor

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analysis was conducted in order to examine whether or not the warmth measures consisted of more than one dimension. The factor analysis suggested there was only one dimension represented in these four items, which explained 87,99% of the variance. Cronbach's α over all conditions for these items was .935. None of the used items needed to be reversed.

Procedure

The experiment was conducted through Qualtrics where the participant was directed to through an online link. After clicking the link, the participant was presented with an informed consent. After they agreed to participate in the experiment, the experiment commenced. Each participant was either assigned to the high-status or low-status condition and thus was shown only high-status or low-status houses respectively. The participant was presented with a screen on which an image of a house was shown, corresponding to the condition they were previously assigned to. In the no-name condition the participant was instructed to look at the image and to try to imagine what kind of person would live in such a house. The participant was asked to form an impression of the person's house, hobbies and social life. They were asked to answer the questions about the perceived status of the target and score the target on their competence and warmth after having a complete image of the person. Next, the participant was presented with a screen on which another image of a house is shown. They were presented with an altered version of the previous instruction. The alteration was as follows: "*Ruben lives in the depicted house. Try to imagine what kind of person Ruben is. Form an impression on what his life looks like, his hobbies and his social life. When you have a complete image of Ruben, answer the following questions.*". Afterwards, the participant once again had to answer questions regarding the homeowner's perceived status and competence and warmth evaluation. After completing this, the participant was once again presented with another image of a high-status house. They received the same instructions as in the previous screen, however, instead of Ruben, the name was changed to the outgroup name, Erdem. Furthermore, for both the Dutch female name and the Dutch gender neutral name, participants were presented with a house corresponding with the assigned condition. The same instructions as were used in the ingroup and outgroup name conditions were used, with only small alterations in order to adhere to the corresponding pronouns.

In total, the participant was presented with a high-status house five times, each time combined with another name (no name, Dutch male, non-Dutch male, Dutch female, Dutch gender neutral). For all participants, the no-name condition was shown first as it functioned as a control condition. The order in which the other name-conditions were presented was

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randomised within participants. The procedure for both of the conditions were exactly the same regarding instructions. Only the presented images of the houses differed.

After scoring the fifth combination of house \times name, the participant was asked to fill out their demographic information. Upon completion of this, the participant was presented with a screen thanking them for their participation as well as a debriefing with information about the study's objective. The experiment had a duration of approximately fifteen minutes.

Results

The data was analysed by using IBM SPSS 26 (2019). A repeated measures ANOVA was carried out in order to test the hypotheses of the current study.

After checking assumptions for a repeated measures ANOVA, it was found that there were four potential outliers present in the current data. However, it was decided to include these outliers in order to reflect reality as closely as possible¹. Furthermore, the data were not normally distributed, violating another assumption. However, since the repeated measures ANOVA is a test that is not sensitive to normality, it was decided to still run this test instead of a non-parametric alternative.

General repeated measures ANOVA

In order to test the hypotheses, one repeated measures ANOVA was carried out including group membership and target evaluation as within-subjects factors and with status condition as between-subjects factor. Mauchly's Test of Sphericity indicated a breach of sphericity regarding group membership, $\chi^2(2) = 12,97, p = .002$ and target evaluation, $\chi^2(2) = 56,26, p < .001$. Since Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ was larger than 0,75 in both cases, Huynh-Feldt's correction was used.

To examine if the first hypothesis, namely that low-status homeowners were evaluated significantly lower than high-status homeowners, can be accepted or not, it was checked whether or not there was a main effect of status present. The results indicated there was a main effect of status condition present, $F(1, 152) = 129,54, p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$. The high-status house was perceived as higher in status ($M = 4.33, SD = 0.70$) than the low-status house ($M = 3.41, SD = 0.70$). Therefore, the first hypothesis can be accepted.

In order to examine the second hypothesis, stating that ingroup members will be evaluated significantly higher than outgroup members on all target evaluations, it was

¹ The same results regarding significance were found after carrying out a repeated measures ANOVA on the dataset where the outliers were deleted.

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checked whether or not a main effect of group membership was present. The results indicated that there was no main effect of group membership present $F(1.88, 451.30) = 1.98, p = .143$. Therefore, the second hypothesis can be rejected.

Furthermore, in order to examine the third hypothesis, stating that group membership and status condition jointly influence target evaluations, it was checked whether or not there was an interaction effect present. The results suggested that there was no interaction present between group membership, status condition and type of evaluation, $F(2.97, 451.30) = 2.58, p = .054$. Interestingly, the significance level is close to .05, indicating there might be an effect present that is worth unfolding.

Due to the significance level of the interaction between group membership, status condition and the target evaluations and the main effect of status, it was decided to separate the target evaluations in order to examine how the different evaluations behaved independently.

Separation of target evaluations

For each different target evaluation (status, competence, warmth), separate repeated measures ANOVAs were carried out in order to explore how these different evaluations were influenced by the independent variables of status condition and group membership.

Status. For status, Mauchly's Test of Sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity had not been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 0.52, p = .77$. As expected, the results indicated there was a main effect present of status condition on target's status evaluation, $F(1, 152) = 515.21, p < .001, \eta^2 = .77$. The high-status house ($M = 4.87, SD = 0.75$) was perceived as higher in status than the low-status house (Low: $2.82, SD = 0.69$). Furthermore, the results suggested there was no main effect of group membership regarding target's status evaluation, $F(2, 304) = 0.10, p = .908$. Additionally, the results indicated there was no interaction between group membership and status condition present in the current sample, $F(2, 304) = 1.92, p = .148$.

Competence. For competence, Mauchly's Test of Sphericity indicated a breach of sphericity, $\chi^2(2) = 6.52, p = .038$. Since Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ was bigger than 0.75, Huynh-Feldt's correction was used. The results indicated there was a main effect of status condition, $F(1, 152) = 75.63, p < .001, \eta^2 = .33$. High-status homeowners ($M = 4.4, SD = 0.71$) were evaluated as significantly more competent than low-status homeowners ($M = 3.53, SD = 0.74$). Furthermore, the results suggested there was no main effect of group membership present, $F(1.95, 297.26) = 0.32, p = .722$. Additionally, the results suggested there was no

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interaction effect between group membership and status condition on target's competence evaluation, $F(1.96, 297.26) = 1.03, p = .357$.

Warmth. For warmth, Mauchly's Test of Sphericity indicated that the assumption of sphericity had not been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 2.32, p = .314$. Contrary to the other separate target evaluations, the results suggested there was no main effect of status condition on warmth, $F(1, 152) = 2.53, p = .114$. Interestingly, the results suggested a main effect of group membership on target's warmth evaluation, $F(2, 304) = 4.65, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$. The result suggests that the outgroup condition ($M = 3.70, SD = 0.90$) is evaluated as less warm than the control ($M = 3.85, SD = 0.75$) and ingroup ($M = 3.87, SD = 0.93$) condition. Furthermore, the results suggested there was no interaction of group membership and status condition on target's warmth evaluation, $F(2, 304) = 2.29, p = .103$.

Discussion

Earlier research has shown that status, group membership and perceived status, competence and warmth can indirectly affect individuals' lives in extensive ways (Cuddy et al., 2009; Pryor et al., 2004; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985). Therefore, the goal of the current study was to further the understanding in how status and group membership influence a homeowner's perceived status, competence and warmth. Since earlier research has focused mainly on the separate influence of status and group membership, this study also aimed to further the understanding of their possible interaction. This was done by carrying out an experiment where status and group membership were manipulated between- and within-participants respectively. Status was manipulated by using different images of a high- or low-status house, while group membership was manipulated by using names representing the in- or outgroup.

The results show that high-status homeowners were perceived as higher in their status and competence than low-status homeowners, this is according to the expectations. Contrary to status and competence, warmth perception was not influenced by which house was owned. This is not according to the expectation. Group membership did not influence perceived status and competence, which is not according to the hypothesis. Interestingly, group membership did influence warmth perception since outgroup homeowners were evaluated as less warm than their ingroup counterparts. This effect is according to the expectations. Additionally, the anonymous homeowner and ingroup homeowner were perceived in a similar fashion, no difference was found between their perceived status, competence and warmth. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that perceived status, competence and warmth would show the same effect

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as one another in all possible house and group membership pairings. The results show that perceived status, competence and warmth do not in fact show the same effect, which is not according to the expectation. Moreover, the results indicate there is no interaction present between group membership and homeowners' status when looking at perceived status, warmth and competence. This is unlike what was hypothesized.

Alternative explanations

A possible explanation for warmth not showing a positive relation to homeowner's status might be found in the former's relation with competition. Fiske and colleagues (1999; 2002) have argued that warmth is generally more related to competition between groups than to status, where more competition equals lower warmth perception. In the current study, most of the participants were part of the ingroup, who might have felt a sense of competition between themselves and the outgroup homeowner, resulting in the consistently lower warmth evaluation of the outgroup homeowner. To elaborate on this, it might have been the case that the outgroup homeowner was seen as a threat regardless of which house they owned. Threat can be elicited by perceived competition which enhances negative attitudes towards an outgroup (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Both the high-status outgroup homeowner and low-status outgroup homeowner might have elicited feelings of competition, regardless of the specifics of this competition. For example, the low-status outgroup homeowner could have been seen as competitive since valuable governmental resources such as social welfare might be allocated to them, resulting in less governmental resources left to be allocated to the perceiver. The perceiver might be feeling contempt and thus perceive the outgroup homeowner as less warm (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). For the high-status outgroup homeowner, one might feel their status, and thus economic success, will result in less of a share for the perceiver, resulting in envy and a low warmth evaluation of the outgroup homeowner (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Therefore, the outgroup homeowner might have been consistently evaluated as less warm regardless of which house they were said to live in.

Furthermore, manipulating status by using a generally quantifiable possession (house), could have had more effect on competence evaluation than it had on warmth evaluation. It is argued that competence ratings are generally more quantifiable by assessing one's academic, professional and economic success, making this a more objective matter, contrary to warmth ratings, which are generally believed to be more subjective (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2010). This might have led to group membership not playing a part in perceived status and perceived

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competence since participants might have felt they had already reached an extensive assessment of the homeowner's status and competence after judging the house's characteristics. Therefore, the homeowner's group membership might not have been necessary to add to this assessment. Additionally, the influence of group membership on warmth and not the other evaluations, can be explained since group membership and people's attitudes towards a certain group are more of a subjective matter. For example, past experiences with a certain name are different from person to person, resulting in different attitudes per person towards the same group. It can be argued that the influence of objective matters (such as house type) on perceived status and perceived competence is so solid that group membership did not influence the homeowner's evaluation. Additionally, this can insinuate that group membership was only able to affect the homeowner's warmth evaluation, since warmth relies more on subjective matters (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007).

Limitations

Since the current study did not include a diverse participant sample regarding cultural background, it can be argued that the results do not yield a conclusion that can easily be generalised to the whole Dutch population. The current participant sample only included nine people (6%) that did not identify most with a Dutch cultural background, whereas 24,9% of the Dutch population has a different cultural background other than Dutch (CBS, 2021). The sample's inability to adequately reflect Dutch population might have influenced the results of the current study. Since mostly people with a Dutch cultural background participated in the current study, it is possible that this has strengthened the effect of the outgroup homeowner consistently being evaluated as less warm than the ingroup homeowner, regardless of house type. The reason for this might be found in a greater effect of outgroup derogation, since mostly people that were a part of the ingroup participated in the current study. However, Fiske et al. (2002) found that competence and warmth evaluations of different groups were stable across different cultures. This might suggest that cultural background does not play an immense role. Nonetheless, the inability of the sample to correctly reflect the Dutch population should be taken into account when interpreting the current study's results.

Furthermore, it might be argued that the saliency of the homeowner's identity was insufficient. The names which were used might not have been properly noticed by participants which might have led group membership to not be manipulated successfully and thus influencing the results. Future research can tackle this limitation in several ways. First of all, the names can be presented in bold text in order to catch the attention of the participant.

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Additionally, one might want to add an attention check at the beginning of the study in order to filter out careless participants (Kung, Kwok, & Brown, 2018). However, both of these solutions must be approached carefully, as the former might give away too much of the study's goal, thus influencing participants' answers. The latter might result in participants dropping out of the experiment which will lead to less responses. Future research should consider both options and decide which of these might be the best fit for that particular future study.

Implications

Most importantly, the fact that an outgroup homeowner is structurally evaluated as less warm in comparison to an ingroup homeowner, regardless of their house, might suggest that the outgroup is structurally seen as competition to the perceiver (BIAS map; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008). According to the BIAS map, competition elicits active harm, which might suggest that outgroup members are actively harmed by ingroup members, resulting in an increase of negative behaviour towards outgroup members, possibly through outgroup derogation. Being actively harmed can eventually lead to more inequality in society and lower social and economic welfare for the outgroup, resulting in more criminality, homelessness and mental issues (Byrne, Henwood, & Orlando, 2021; Hagan & Peterson, 1995; Pickett & Wilkinson, 2010). This negatively impacts society and is therefore undesirable.

Additionally, status does not influence a homeowner's warmth evaluation but group membership does. What does this tell us about how society might treat people based on their status or presumed group membership? The results raise ample new questions to be considered regarding the specifics of group membership's influence on warmth evaluation. For example, does a similar effect occur for other outgroups as well, or is the current effect isolated to the current outgroup? Moreover, in the current study, the manipulation of status by house type did not influence the homeowners' warmth evaluation. This might indicate that more factors play a role in warmth evaluation. In order to reach more understanding in how and by what factors warmth evaluation is influenced, future research is desirable.

Furthermore, in the current study, both the anonymous homeowner and ingroup homeowner were evaluated similarly regarding perceived status, competence and warmth. This suggests evidence for the earlier assumption that homeownership by an ingroup member is more salient in the current sample than homeownership by an outgroup member.

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Future directions

Future research can start to look into what happens to the different evaluations when status is made more ambiguous and subjective instead of quantifiable and objective such as in the current study. For example, instead of a low- and high-status house, middle class houses can be used to induce a more ambiguous status condition. Additionally, different job positions can be used as status indicators since different jobs may carry a different kind of status.

Expanding on research in this way can provide us with more understanding of the extent to which status influences competence and warmth evaluations. It can provide insight into what kind of and at what point status stimuli play a significant role in these kinds of evaluations. These results can then be translated and applied to the real world.

Furthermore, one can also think about adding to the homeowner's profile. Currently, either an ingroup or an outgroup name were used, but one might think a more elaborate homeowner identity could influence the results. In future research for example, a combination of faces and names can be used. Gaither et al. (2016) found that racially ambiguous faces make social categorization harder. In the future, it might be researched how pairing racially ambiguous and racially unambiguous names with racially ambiguous and racially unambiguous faces in order to see how social categorization and its difficulty influences a homeowner's evaluation. This will provide further insight in how social categorization might influence people's behaviour in the real world. Additionally, it might be interesting to include different kinds of outgroups in future research. That way, it can be researched whether the same effect occurs for different outgroups or that the current effect is a result of the particular identity of the current outgroup. This might provide insight and clarification on whether or not outgroup derogation plays a part in this effect.

Moreover, since perceived competition is a part of the SCM and might have played a role in the current study, it might be desirable to include this measure in future research. For future research, it might be interesting to include different kinds of contexts, consisting of various degrees of competition, in order to explore whether or not the current results hold up in these different contexts. Different contexts might include professional contexts, such as job competition, or leisurely contexts, such as sports. Adding to literature in this way will ensure the expansion of knowledge regarding the effects of competition and its influence on people's behaviour. This will provide valuable directions for future interventions and social policies in order to strive for more equality.

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Conclusion

The current study shows that a homeowner's house influences their perceived status and competence, but not their warmth. A high-status house led to a higher perceived status and competence evaluation for the homeowner, while this effect was not present for their perceived warmth. Additionally, group membership influences homeowner's perceived warmth, but not their perceived status and competence. Outgroup membership structurally led to lower perceived warmth. Future research should consider expanding on this effect, particularly on the influence of different competition contexts.

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