

## Web Appendix

# Conspicuous Consumption of Time: When Busyness and Lack of Leisure Time Become a Status Symbol

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## PILOT STUDY (Introduction)

Participants ( $N = 140$ , 71% female,  $M_{age} = 23$ ) recruited for a lab study at Columbia University were told about three hypothetical people with varying levels of busyness within subjects. All participants read: “Imagine the following three people. Person A appears to be busier than average. Person B appears to have an average level of busyness. Person C appears to be less busy than average.” Participants were then asked a number of questions regarding persons A, B, and C. Specifically, respondents rated their level of agreement with the following statements (1 Strongly disagree, 7 Strongly agree): “This person spends many hours at work;” “This person spends many hours doing home-related chores and activities;” “This person spends many hours doing hobbies and/or leisure activities;” “This person likes to do things fast and multi-task;” “This person has a meaningful job.”

Analyzing the data using a one-way repeated-measures ANOVA, participants inferred that the more-busy person spent more time at work ( $M = 5.83$ ,  $SD = .87$ ) than the average-busy person ( $M = 4.75$ ,  $SD = .74$ ), or the less-busy person ( $M = 3.3$ ,  $SD = .99$ ,  $F(2, 278) = 352.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Perceptions of household work did not differ significantly across the different levels of busyness ( $M_{more-busy} = 4.21$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ;  $M_{average-busy} = 4.35$ ,  $SD = .91$ ;  $M_{less-busy} = 4.12$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ;  $F(2, 278) = 1.25$ , NS). Participants perceived a more-busy person to spend less time on leisure ( $M = 3.43$ ,  $SD = 1.32$ ) than the average-busy person ( $M = 4.24$ ,  $SD = .93$ ) or the less-busy person ( $M = 5.03$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ,  $F(2, 276) = 73.83$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In addition, participants inferred that the more-busy person engaged in significantly more activities at once ( $M = 5.18$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ) than the average-busy person ( $M = 4.53$ ,  $SD = .82$ ), or the less-busy person ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = 1.21$ ,  $F(2, 278) = 63.51$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Finally, the busier individual was seen as having a

more meaningful job ( $M = 4.78$ ,  $SD = 1.02$ ) than the average busy person ( $M = 4.45$ ,  $SD = .8$ ), or the less busy person ( $M = 3.84$ ,  $SD = .95$ ,  $F(2, 278) = 45.16$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Though the differences between Person A (busier than average) and Person C (less busy than average) were significant for all three dimensions (quantity, speed, and meaning), the effect size of the quantity dimension ( $\omega^2 = .71$ ) was more than two times and three times bigger than the effect sizes of the other two dimensions ( $\omega_{speed}^2 = .31$  and  $\omega_{meaning}^2 = .24$ ), suggesting that quantity of work is the dimension generating the biggest effect and discriminating the most when people think about differences in busyness.

#### PILOT STUDY: HUMBLEBRAGGING ON SOCIAL MEDIA (Additional results)

We first coded 1,100 tweets using a binary coding method determining whether the tweet contained a brag about being busy, or did not. For a subset of 438 tweets, we conducted a more detailed coding procedure where beyond identifying tweets that contained busy brags, we coded the remaining tweets by type of brag (e.g., celebrity status, fancy events, name dropping, etc.). The outcome of this more detailed coding procedure of the 438 tweets is presented here:

1. 28% of brags about “Celebrity Status / Being Famous or Successful / Having Many Fans.”

Examples: (1) *“Ugh! I hate it when amazing out of state photographers ask me to shoot, but they won't cover travel expenses. Argh!”* (2) *“When people stop me in grocery stores and tell me they love my music it makes everything I do all worth it.”* (3) *“I love how my FANS can't spell for shit. You know how many times I been told I am "The world's Greatest "RAPER" -- Thanks. I appreciate it.”*

2. 17% of brags about “Fancy Events / Belonging to High-Status Groups.” Examples: (1) “*What happens @ preOscar party when someone carrying red wine plows into u..*” (2) “*At the Grammys and I forgot my wallet, if any of ya are here will ya loan me 20.00 for some food.*”
3. 12% of brags about “Name Dropping.” Examples: (1) “*On my way to get interviewed by Oprah at the coffee shop I went to growing up with my family.*” (2) “*How am I supposed to play after Phil Keaggy tonight??*”
4. 11% of brags about “Spending Time at Work / Being Busy.” Examples: (1) “*The CNN-LA green room is a cold and lonely place at 7 on a Sunday morning!*” (2) “*Ok finished one column now on to the next one I write for so many magazines n websites it’s overwhelming at times.*”
5. 11% of brags about “Physical Attractiveness.” Examples: (1) “*Ha-ha, I love when people ask me if I model!!*” (2) “*Note to self: Do not look attractive while grocery shopping. Mom’s will stare, in a bad way.*”
6. 5% of brags about “Money / Conspicuous Consumption.” Examples: (1) “*Private jet with Wi-Fi to Orlando. Wow. The Refugee kid has come a long way. But never forgotten where he came from.*” (2) “*Man I hate when a limos CD player or mp3 player don’t work.*”
7. 16% of miscellaneous brags.

## STUDY 1A: VISUAL STIMULI – Busy Facebook Posts (A), Leisurely Facebook Posts (B)

## A: Busy Facebook Posts

The screenshot shows a Facebook News Feed interface. At the top, there is a search bar with the text "Search for people, places and things" and a magnifying glass icon. Below the search bar, there are two buttons: "Update Status" and "Add Photos/Video". A text input field contains the placeholder text "What's on your mind?". To the right of the input field is a "Post" button. Below the input field, there is a "SORT" dropdown menu. The main content area displays three posts from Sally Fisher:

- Friday at 5pm** Sally Fisher: Still at work!
- Friday noon** Sally Fisher: Quick 10-minute lunch.
- Thurs. at 2pm** Sally Fisher: Oh, I have been working non-stop all week!

On the left side of the page, there is a navigation menu with the following sections:

- FAVORITES**
  - Welcome
  - News Feed**
  - Messages
  - Events
  - Photos
  - Browse
  - Find Friends
- FRIENDS**
  - Close Friends
  - Family
- APPS**
  - App Center
  - Games Feed
  - Music
  - Notes
  - Links

## B: Leisurely Facebook Posts

The screenshot shows a Facebook News Feed interface, identical in layout to the previous one. At the top, there is a search bar with the text "Search for people, places and things" and a magnifying glass icon. Below the search bar, there are two buttons: "Update Status" and "Add Photos/Video". A text input field contains the placeholder text "What's on your mind?". To the right of the input field is a "Post" button. Below the input field, there is a "SORT" dropdown menu. The main content area displays three posts from Sally Fisher:

- Friday at 5pm** Sally Fisher: Done with work!
- Friday noon** Sally Fisher: Enjoying a long lunch break.
- Thurs. at 2pm** Sally Fisher: I haven't worked much this week, had lots of free time!

On the left side of the page, there is a navigation menu with the following sections:

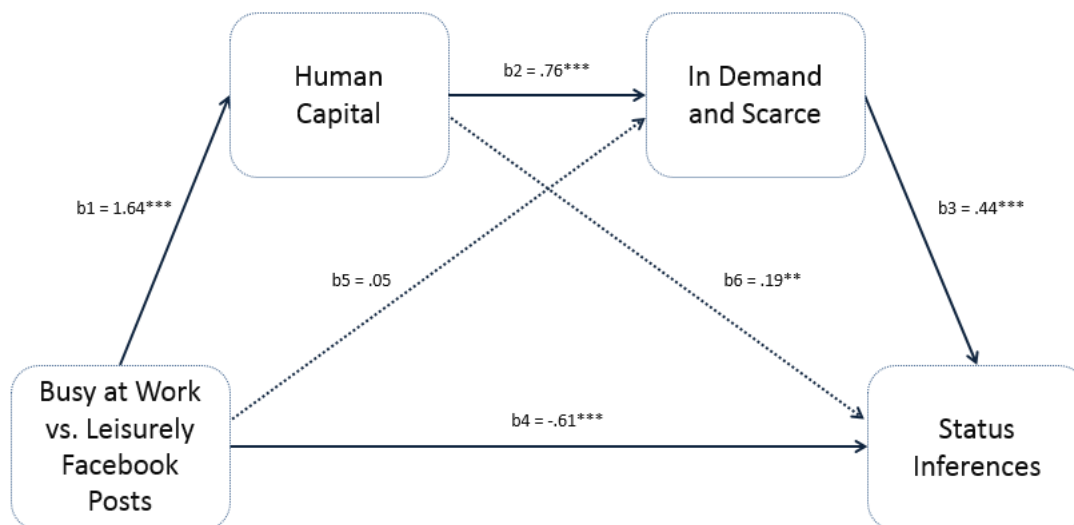
- FAVORITES**
  - Welcome
  - News Feed**
  - Messages
  - Events
  - Photos
  - Browse
  - Find Friends
- FRIENDS**
  - Close Friends
  - Family
- APPS**
  - App Center
  - Games Feed
  - Music
  - Notes
  - Links

## STUDY 1A: TABLE – CORRELATIONS AMONG MEASURES AND FACTOR LOADINGS

	<b>Social Status</b>	<b>Financial Wealth</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Socioeconomic Ladder (MacArthur)</b>	<b>Status (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012)</b>	<b>Respect (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012)</b>	<b>Factor Loadings (66% variance explained)</b>
<b>Social Status</b>							0.729
<b>Financial Wealth</b>	0.501***						0.869
<b>Income</b>	0.470***	0.828***					0.874
<b>Socioeconomic Ladder (MacArthur)</b>	0.601***	0.726***	0.660***				0.852
<b>Status (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012)</b>	0.583***	0.673***	0.722***	0.640***			0.866
<b>Respect (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012)</b>	0.405***	0.392***	0.458***	0.447***	0.524***		0.655

Note. \*\*\* indicates  $p < .001$

STUDY 1A: FIGURE - MEDIATION VIA HUMAN CAPITAL AND SCARCITY ON  
PERCEIVED STATUS



Note. Multiple-step mediation analysis with 5,000 bootstrap samples (model 6 in PROCESS; Hayes 2013). Coefficients significantly different from zero are indicated by asterisks (\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ).

The total indirect effect was significant (.89; 95% C.I. from .67 to 1.12).

The indirect effect through human capital and scarcity (the effect hypothesized in H2) was significant (.55; 95% C.I. from .37 to .75).

The indirect effect through human capital was significant (.32; 95% C.I. from .09 to .58).

The indirect effect through scarcity was not significant (.02; 95% C.I. from -.09 to .25).

This is the only mediation (out of 5 cases) when the direct effect ( $b_4 = -.61$ ,  $p < .001$ ) significantly changes sign as compared to the initial total effect ( $c = 1.63$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, this result may be spurious because we fail to observe it again in all the subsequent analyses.

## STUDY 1A (Replication)

## Humblebragging about Busyness through Social Media

We recruited 244 respondents through Amazon Mechanical Turk (42% female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 33$ , American). We randomly assigned participants to one of two conditions: *busy-Facebook-posts* or *leisurely-Facebook-posts*. The stimuli and status measure (social status, wealth, income,  $\alpha = .79$ ) were identical to those reported in the paper for the female target individual. Sally was perceived as higher status in the busy posts condition than in the leisurely posts condition ( $M = 3.88$ ,  $SD = 1.14$  vs.  $M = 3.21$ ,  $SD = 1.09$ ,  $F(1, 242) = 20.69$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

STUDY 1B: TABLE – MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

	<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>
<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	0.875	(0.507-0.74)	(0.462-704)	(0.187-0.512)
<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	0.399	0.744	(0.691-0.847)	(0.38-0.661)
<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	0.356	0.605	0.830	(0.624-0.814)
<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>	0.128	0.280	0.524	0.826

Note. Matrix shows AVE (diagonal), squared correlation (below the diagonal), and confidence intervals (above diagonal).

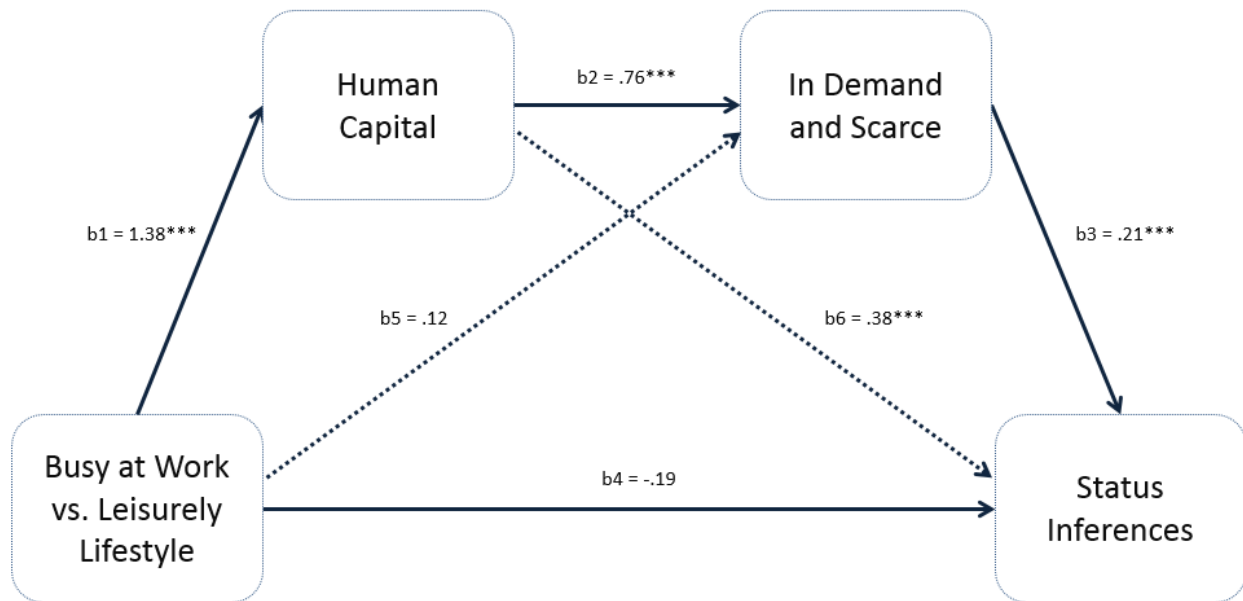


STUDY 2A: TABLE – MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

	<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>
<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	0.733	(0.586-0.734)	(0.522-0.676)	(0.184-0.421)
<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	0.442	0.780	(0.691-0.817)	(0.457-0.644)
<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	0.362	0.581	0.846	(0.515-0.705)
<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>	0.089	0.310	0.377	0.739

Note. Matrix shows AVE (diagonal), squared correlation (below the diagonal), and confidence intervals (above diagonal).

STUDY 2A: FIGURE - MEDIATION VIA HUMAN CAPITAL AND SCARCITY ON  
PERCEIVED STATUS



Note. Multiple-step mediation analysis with 5,000 bootstrap samples (model 6 in PROCESS; Hayes 2013). Coefficients significantly different from zero are indicated by asterisks ( $*p < .05$ ;  $**p < .01$ ;  $***p < .001$ ).

The total indirect effect was significant (.75; 95% C.I. from .54 to .99).

The indirect effect through human capital and scarcity (the effect hypothesized in H2) was significant (.41; 95% C.I. from .24 to .62).

The indirect effect through human capital was significant (.29; 95% C.I. from .08 to .54).

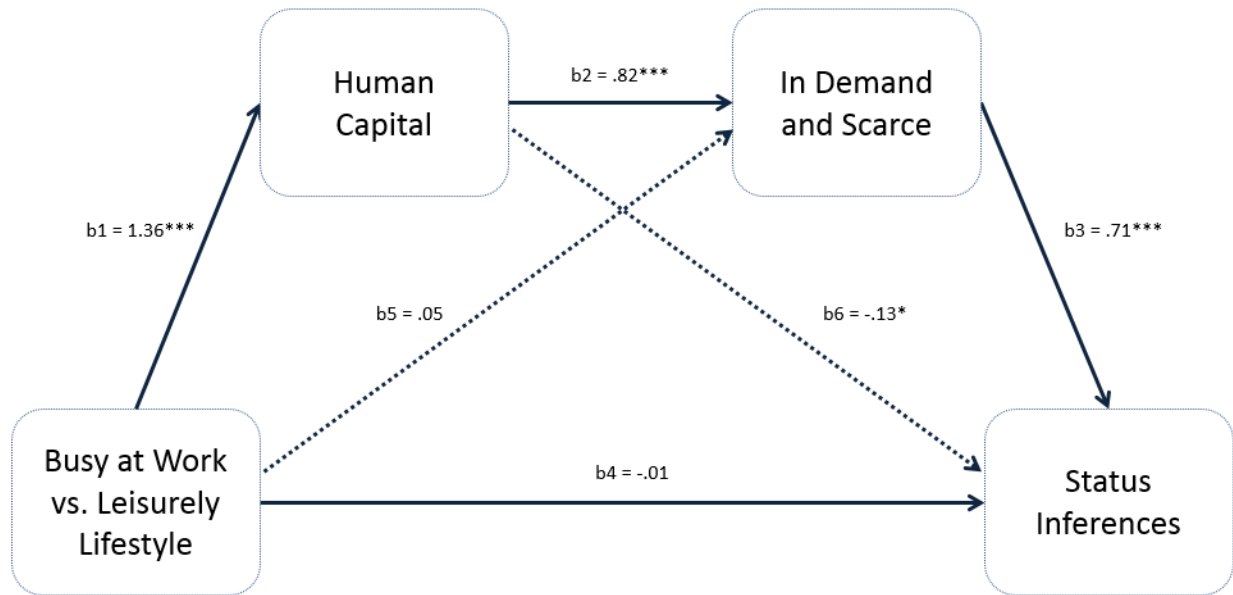
The indirect effect through scarcity was not significant (.05; 95% C.I. from -.04 to .15).

STUDY 2B: TABLE – MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

	<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>
<b>Busyness level</b> <i>independent variable</i>	0.835	(0.549-0.707)	(0.419-0.596)	(0.216-0.428)
<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	0.397	0.782	(0.653-0.771)	(0.370-0.563)
<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	0.261	0.513	0.901	(0.687-0.810)
<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>	0.106	0.224	0.570	0.840

Note. Matrix shows AVE (diagonal), squared correlation (below the diagonal), and confidence intervals (above diagonal).

STUDY 2B: FIGURE - MEDIATION VIA HUMAN CAPITAL AND SCARCITY ON  
PERCEIVED STATUS



Note. Multiple-step mediation analysis with 5,000 bootstrap samples (model 6 in PROCESS; Hayes 2013). Coefficients significantly different from zero are indicated by asterisks ( $*p < .05$ ;  $**p < .01$ ;  $***p < .001$ ).

The total indirect effect was significant (.65; 95% C.I. from .42 to .89).

The indirect effect through human capital and scarcity (the effect hypothesized in H2) was significant (.79; 95% C.I. from .59 to 1.04).

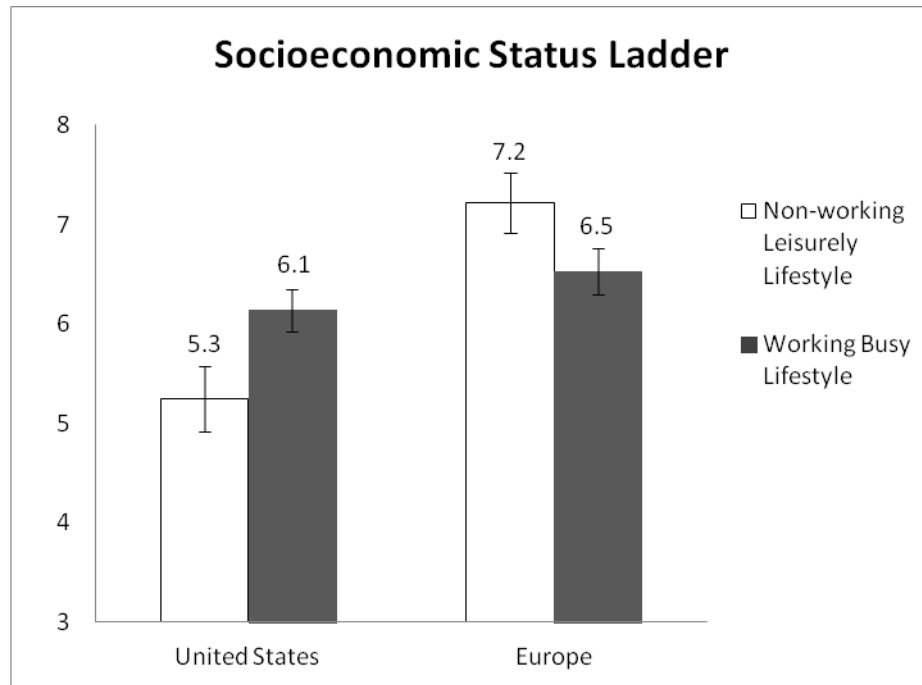
The indirect effect through human capital was significant (-.18; 95% C.I. from -.36 to -.02).

The indirect effect through scarcity not significant (.03; 95% C.I. from -.19 to .26).

## STUDY 3 (Additional Results)

To analyze respondents' inferences on socioeconomic status ladder, we conducted a 2 (*working busy lifestyle* vs. *non-working leisurely lifestyle*) x 2 (U.S. vs. Europe) ANOVA with ratings on the socioeconomic status ladder as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed no significant main effect for long hours of work and lack of leisure ( $F(1, 204) = .12$ , NS), a significant main effect of country ( $F(1, 204) = 17.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and more importantly, a significant cross-over interaction ( $F(1, 204) = 7.98$ ,  $p = .005$ ) depicted in the figure below. We then conducted the same analysis on the status and respect measure (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012) as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed no significant main effect for long hours of work and lack of leisure ( $F(1, 206) = 1.76$ , NS), no significant main effect for country ( $F(1, 206) = 2.05$ , NS), and the predicted significant cross-over interaction ( $F(1, 206) = 6.72$ ,  $p = .010$ ). Finally, to rule out potential demand effects, we conducted the same analysis on the three measures divorced from status (i.e., niceness, honesty, and attractiveness; Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012) as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed a significant main effect for lifestyle condition ( $F(1, 206) = 12.46$ ,  $p = .001$ ), a marginally significant main effect for country ( $F(1, 206) = 3.63$ ,  $p = .058$ ), and a non-significant interaction ( $F(1, 206) = .39$ , NS). This last result contributes to ruling out concerns of demand effects.

FIGURE: STUDY 3 RESULTS – CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AS BOUNDARY  
CONDITION



Note. Error bars denote standard errors.

### STUDY 3 (Replication)

#### The Busyness Effect and Cross-cultural Differences: Americans vs. Italians

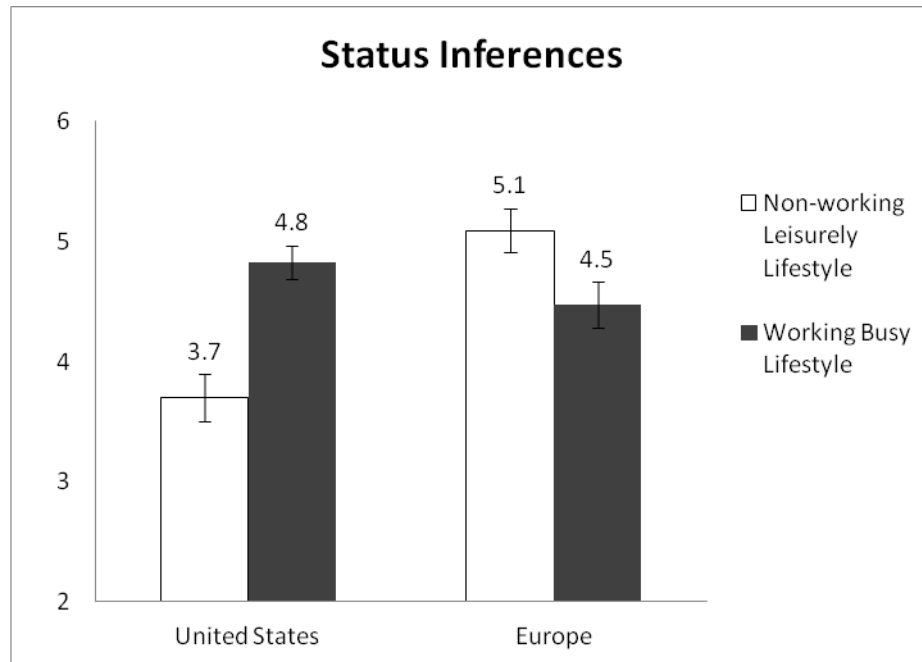
We recruited 94 Italian participants through Qualtrics (49% female;  $M_{age} = 40$ ) and 99 U.S. participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk (33% female;  $M_{age} = 35$ ). Participants responded to a paid online survey in their native language (i.e., either English or Italian). All participants read a short description of a 35-year-old individual named Jeff (or “Giovanni” for Italians). We randomly assigned participants to one of two conditions: *working busy lifestyle* or *non-working leisurely lifestyle*. Participants in the *working busy lifestyle* condition read,

“Imagine Jeff, he is 35 years old. Jeff works. He has a busy lifestyle and his calendar is always full.” In contrast, participants in the *non-working leisurely lifestyle* condition read, “Imagine Jeff, he is 35 years old. Jeff does not work and has a leisurely lifestyle.” Using the same measures reported in the paper, participants answered the three-item status measure (social status, wealth, income;  $\alpha = .84$ ) and three manipulation checks (busy, work, leisure-reversed;  $\alpha = .85$ ).

*Results.* The analysis of the manipulation check confirmed that Jeff was seen as busier at work in the *working busy lifestyle* condition than in the *non-working leisurely lifestyle* condition by both Italians ( $M = 5.52, SD = .93$  vs.  $M = 2.45, SD = 1.04, F(1, 91) = 201.77, p < .001$ ) and Americans ( $M = 5.44, SD = .96$  vs.  $M = 1.92, SD = .84, F(1, 97) = 377.2, p < .001$ ).

To analyze respondents’ status inferences, we conducted a 2 (*working busy lifestyle* vs. *non-working leisurely lifestyle*) x 2 (U.S. vs. Italy) ANOVA with status as the dependent variable. The analysis revealed no significant main effect for busyness ( $F(1, 189) = 1.87, NS$ ), a significant main effect of country ( $F(1, 189) = 7.87, p = .006$ ), and a significant cross-over interaction ( $F(1, 189) = 22.26, p < .001$ ) depicted in the figure below. As predicted, Americans granted greater status to the individual conducting a busy lifestyle than to the non-working individual conducting a leisurely lifestyle ( $M = 4.82, SD = 1.01$  vs.  $M = 3.7, SD = 1.35, F(1, 189) = 19.8, p < .001$ ). In contrast, we obtained the opposite pattern of results from Italian respondents who granted less overall status to the working, busy individual than to the non-working, leisure individual ( $M = 4.47, SD = 1.11$  vs.  $M = 5.09, SD = 1.42, F(1, 189) = 5.39, p = .023$ ). All the preceding effects held when controlling for demographic factors (i.e., gender, income, and age).

FIGURE: STUDY 3 (Replication) RESULTS – CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AS  
BOUNDARY CONDITION



Note. Error bars denote standard errors.

#### STUDY 4A (Follow-up study)

*Follow-up Study.* We recruited 153 respondents (62% female,  $M_{\text{age}} = 23$ , American) for a lab study at Harvard University (we made sure respondents had not previously participated in study 4A). In this study, we held the Peapod brand constant and we randomly assigned participants to one of two conditions manipulating busyness at work (more-busy vs. less-busy). All participants read the same description of Peapod as in the main study and busyness at work was manipulated through an extra statement at the end of the description. Specifically, in the more-busy condition, the additional statement read, “He buys at Peapod because he is very busy



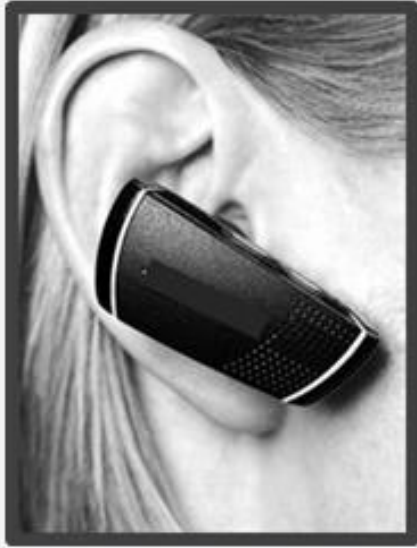
at work and does not have time to shop for groceries.” In the less-busy condition, the additional statement read, “He buys at Peapod because he is not very busy at work and has a lot of time to search for products online.” After reading the description, participants answered the same questions as in the main study to rate Matthew’s perceived level of social status (3 items,  $\alpha = .84$ ). As expected, participants rated Matthew to have higher status in the more-busy condition ( $M = 5.04, SD = .89$ ) than in the less-busy condition ( $M = 4.24, SD = .96, F(1, 150) = 28.73, p < .001$ ).

#### STUDY 4B: PRETEST

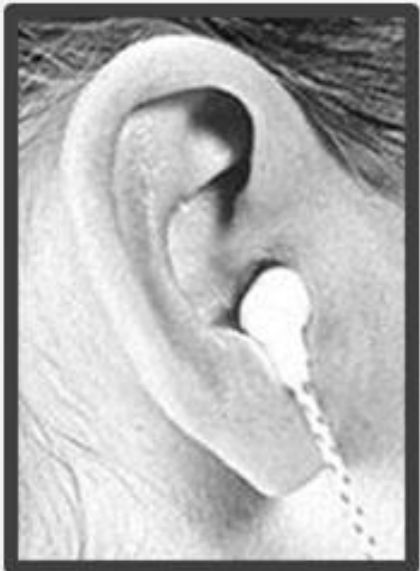
We recruited 140 participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk (90% female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 36$ ) for an online study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: *Bluetooth* or *headphones*. Participants in the *Bluetooth* condition read, “Please take a look at the Bluetooth below and answer the questions that follow” and saw a picture of a female head with a hands-free Bluetooth headset (see below for the picture). Participants in the *headphones* condition read, “Please take a look at the headphones below and answer the questions that follow” and saw a picture of a female head with a pair of headphones for music and leisure (see below for the picture). Next, we measured the three manipulation check questions on busyness employed in the paper (e.g., “this person probably spends many hours at work;”  $\alpha = .65$ ). As expected, we find that the person wearing the Bluetooth is perceived as working longer hours and spending less time on leisure ( $M = 5.38, SD = .97$ ) than the person wearing the headphones ( $M = 4.14, SD = .73, F(1, 138) = 75.45, p < .001$ ).

## STUDY 4B: VISUAL STIMULI – Bluetooth (A), Headphones (B)

A: Bluetooth (busyness product)



B: Headphones (leisure product)



STUDY 4B: TABLE – MEASUREMENT OF DISCRIMINANT VALIDITY

	<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>
<b>Human Capital</b> <i>mediator 1</i>	0.858	(0.422-0.72)	(0.497-722)
<b>Scarcity</b> <i>mediator 2</i>	0.343	0.724	(0.519-0.728)
<b>Status</b> <i>dependent variable</i>	0.375	0.399	0.819

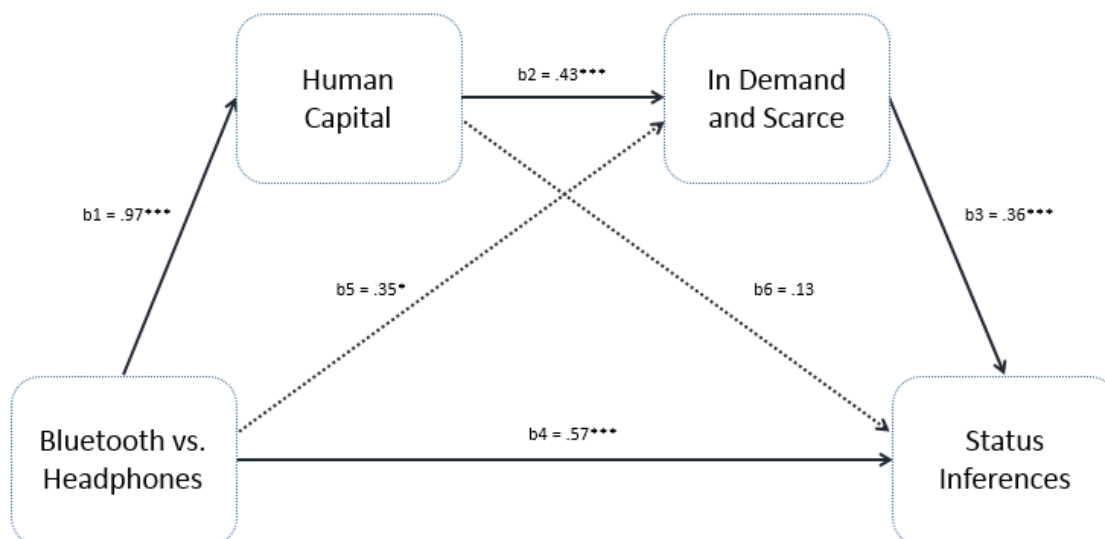
Note. Matrix shows AVE (diagonal), squared correlation (below the diagonal), and confidence intervals (above diagonal).

#### STUDY 4B (Mediation Results)

We conducted a multiple-step mediation analysis using model 6 in PROCESS (Hayes 2013) to determine whether the relationship between the manipulation (*Bluetooth – busy lifestyle* vs. *headphones – leisurely lifestyle*) and perceptions of Anne’s status was mediated by perceptions of human capital characteristics and scarcity, always controlling for innovativeness ratings and price of the product. Estimated path coefficients and results on all indirect effects are reported in the figure below. As predicted, we find a significant indirect effect for the mediation path through human capital and scarcity (.15; 95% C.I. from .06 to .31). We also ran the same analysis with the mediators in reverse order (scarcity first and human capital second). The indirect effect with this model was not significant (.04; 95% C.I. from -.01 to .13).

The same multiple-step mediation analysis conducted on the other two measures of status as dependent variables revealed the same pattern of results. For the socioeconomic status ladder, the size of the indirect effect through human capital and scarcity was .21 (95% C.I. from .07 to .46). Likewise, for ratings of status and respect, the size of the indirect effect through human capital and scarcity was .09 (95% C.I. from .02 to .24).

FIGURE: STUDY 4B – RESULTS – MEDIATION VIA HUMAN CAPITAL AND SCARCITY ON PERCEIVED STATUS



Note. Multiple-step mediation analysis with 5,000 bootstrap samples (model 6 in PROCESS; Hayes 2013). Coefficients significantly different from zero are indicated by asterisks (\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ).

The total indirect effect was significant (.4; 95% C.I. from .19 to .67).

The indirect effect through human capital and scarcity (the effect hypothesized in H2) was significant (.15; 95% C.I. from .06 to .31).

The indirect effect through human capital was not significant (.12; 95% C.I. from -.04 to .3).

The indirect effect through scarcity was not significant (.13; 95% C.I. from -.03 to .34).

## STUDY 4B (Replication)

*Method.* We recruited 140 participants (about 70 per condition) for a lab study at Columbia University. Participants (71% female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 23$ ) were randomly assigned to one of two between-subjects conditions: *Bluetooth – busy lifestyle* versus *headphones – leisurely lifestyle* condition. Participants read a short paragraph about an individual named Anne and saw a picture of her using a product (same visual stimuli). In the *Bluetooth* condition, participants read the following description, “Imagine Anne, a 35-year-old woman. She is wearing a hands-free Bluetooth headset for her cell phone. It seems that she is always wearing her hands-free headset.” In the *headphones* condition, participants read the following description, “Imagine Anne, a 35-year-old woman. She is wearing a pair of headphones for music and leisure. It seems that she is always wearing her headphones.” Because we were particularly concerned about demand effects in this study, we collected all the status measures used in study 1A. Precisely as in study 1A, participants rated Anne’s social status (3 items,  $\alpha = .78$ ), they located her on the socioeconomic status ladder, and they rated her on two status-related dimensions (2 items,  $\alpha = .8$ ) and three non-status-related dimensions (3 items,  $\alpha = .76$ ; Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky, 2012). In addition, for the two mediators and manipulation checks, we collected the same measures from previous studies on human capital (3 items,  $\alpha = .8$ ), scarcity on the job market (3 items,  $\alpha = .81$ ), and busyness (3 items,  $\alpha = .84$ ). Finally, respondents were asked to estimate the price of the product [What is the price of the product that Anne is wearing? (Insert a number)], and to rate the extent to which they perceived the products as innovative and technological (1 Not at all, 7 Extremely; 2 items,  $\alpha = .8$ ) to control for the possibility that differences between

conditions could be driven by perceptions of expensiveness and innovativeness, rather than perceptions of busyness and lack of leisure.

*Results.* The analysis of the manipulation checks revealed that Anne was seen more busy when wearing a Bluetooth ( $M = 5.49, SD = .72$ ) than when wearing headphones ( $M = 3.66, SD = .87, F(1, 138) = 186.65, p < .001$ ). Compared to participants in the *headphones* condition, participants in the *Bluetooth* condition perceived Anne as higher in social status, financial wealth, and income ( $M = 5.14, SD = .71$  vs.  $M = 3.78, SD = .59, F(1, 138) = 148.88, p < .001$ ), they placed her on a higher rung on the socioeconomic status ladder ( $M = 7.11, SD = 1.16$  vs.  $M = 5.14, SD = 1.08, F(1, 138) = 107.54, p < .001$ ), and they also saw her as higher in status and respect ( $M = 4.89, SD = .67$  vs.  $M = 3.72, SD = .71, F(1, 138) = 100.4, p < .001$ ). Importantly, participants indicated no significant difference on how nice, honest, and attractive the individual was between the *Bluetooth* condition and the *headphones* condition ( $M = 4.04, SD = .62$  vs.  $M = 3.88, SD = .75, F(1, 138) = 1.87, NS$ ). In addition, participants perceived Anne to possess higher human capital characteristics in the *Bluetooth* condition ( $M = 5.54, SD = .84$  vs.  $M = 3.8, SD = .88, F(1, 138) = 142.5, p < .001$ ), and to be more in demand and scarce ( $M = 4.75, SD = .88$  vs.  $M = 3.41, SD = .82, F(1, 138) = 87.12, p < .001$ ). Because indeed the Bluetooth was perceived as a more technological and innovative ( $M = 4.2, SD = .93$  vs.  $M = 3.04, SD = .97, F(1, 138) = 52.53, p < .001$ ) and a more expensive device than the headphones ( $M = \$99.56, SD = 143.34$  vs.  $M = \$28.32, SD = 27.82, F(1, 138) = 16.44, p < .001$ ), we also conducted all the analyses above controlling for these variables and found the same results between conditions for all measures.

We then conducted a multiple-step mediation analysis using model 6 in PROCESS (Hayes 2013) to determine whether the relationship between the manipulation (*Bluetooth – busy lifestyle* vs. *headphones – leisurely lifestyle*) and perceptions of Anne’s status (status, wealth,

income) was mediated by perceptions of human capital characteristics and scarcity. A bootstrap analysis with 5,000 resamples demonstrated a significant indirect effect for the mediation path through human capital and scarcity (.31; 95% C.I. from .14 to .53). We also ran the same analysis with the mediators in reverse order (scarcity first and human capital second). The indirect effect was not significant when the mediators were reversed (.09; 95% C.I. from -.04 to .24). The same multiple-step mediation analysis conducted on the other two measures of status as dependent variables revealed the same pattern of results. For the socioeconomic status ladder, the size of the indirect effect through human capital and scarcity was significant (.49; 95% C.I. from .19 to .85). Likewise, the size of the indirect effect through human capital and scarcity was significant for ratings of status and respect (.23; 95% C.I. from .09 to .43).

#### FOLLOW-UP STUDY (General Discussion)

##### The Effect of Busyness on Status Perceptions Controlling for Economic Class

The aim of this follow-up study is to further establish that more-busy people are accorded more status than less-busy people, and secondly to confirm whether these effects consistently apply across economic classes. Thus, we test the effects of busyness versus non-busyness across different levels of socioeconomic background of the target individual described in the experiment.

*Method.* We recruited 483 participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk (41% female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 31$ ). In a mixed design, participants were randomly assigned to one of four between-subjects socioeconomic background conditions: *wealthy*, *upper middle class*, *lower middle class*,

and *lower class*. In each condition, participants were told: “Imagine the following three people who all come from [wealthy/upper middle/lower middle/lower class] families.” All participants then read the identical stimuli regarding three people: “Person A appears to be more busy than average. Person B appears to have an average level of busyness. Person C appears to be less busy than average.” Next, we measured our main dependent variable, social status. Specifically, participants were asked how much they agreed with statements regarding the social status of persons A, B, and C (three repeated measures): “This person has high social status” (1 Strongly disagree, 7 Strongly agree). Finally, participants answered to two manipulation checks: 1. “This person spends many hours at work,” and 2. “This person spends many hours doing hobbies and/or leisure activities” (1 Strongly disagree, 7 Strongly agree).

*Results.* We first analyzed the manipulation check items by conducting a repeated measures ANOVA with socioeconomic background of the target individual as the between subjects factor (wealthy, upper middle class, lower middle class, and lower class), level of busyness as the within subjects factor (more-busy, average-busy, and less-busy), and hours spent at work as the dependent variable. There was a main effect of busyness ( $F(2, 956) = 617.87, p < .001$ ) and no significant interaction with socioeconomic background ( $F(6, 956) = 1.03, NS$ ). Participants accorded more hours worked to the more-busy individual ( $M = 5.76, SD = 1.16$ ) than to the average-busy individuals ( $M = 4.76, SD = .95, F(1, 478) = 352.29, p < .001$ ) and to the less-busy individual ( $M = 3.20, SD = 1.31, F(1, 478) = 757.81, p < .001$ ). The between subjects test revealed a non-significant effect of socioeconomic background ( $F(3, 478) = 1.34, NS$ ).

The same analysis on the leisure manipulation check exhibited an opposing effect such that the more-busy individual was perceived to spend less time on leisure. There was a main



effect of busyness ( $F(2, 952) = 257.63, p < .001$ ) and no significant interaction with socioeconomic background ( $F(6, 952) = .41, NS$ ). Participants accorded less time spent on leisure to the more-busy individual ( $M = 3.32, SD = 1.41$ ) than to the average-busy individual ( $M = 4.13, SD = 1.00, F(1, 476) = 176.82, p < .001$ ) and to the less-busy individual ( $M = 5.14, SD = 1.28, F(1, 476) = 308.71, p < .001$ ). The between subjects test revealed a non-significant effect of socioeconomic background ( $F(3, 476) = 2.42, NS$ ).

We then analyzed the main dependent variable, social status, with a similar repeated measures ANOVA. As expected, there was a main effect of busyness ( $F(2, 956) = 70.82, p < .001$ ) and no significant interaction with socioeconomic background ( $F(6, 956) = .87, NS$ ). Regardless of socioeconomic background of the target individual described in the experiment, we find that participants accorded higher status to the more-busy individual ( $M = 4.83, SD = 1.46$ ) than to the average-busy individual ( $M = 4.41, SD = .98, F(1, 478) = 48.96, p < .001$ ) and to the less-busy individual ( $M = 3.89, SD = 1.42, F(1, 478) = 83.39, p < .001$ ). As expected, the between subjects test revealed an effect of socioeconomic background ( $F(3, 478) = 6.66, p < .001$ ). Though the results of socioeconomic status are not directly relevant to our hypotheses, they are consistent with a positive trend where socioeconomic background and status were associated, independent of busyness.

In sum, we find that regardless of socioeconomic background, a more-busy individual is accorded more status than a less-busy individual.

## REFERENCES

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