WEB APPENDIX

Trickle-Round Signals:

When Low Status Is Mixed with High

SILVIA BELLEZZA

JONAH BERGER

Examples of Downscale Tastes Adopted by High-Status Individuals or Luxury Brands

- Consumer Trends and Styles
 - Sarah Jessica Parker shopping at the *Via Sannio* flea market in Rome, Italy.



o Celebrities' roots hair (Drew Barrymore, Kylie Jenner, Gigi Hadid, Madonna).



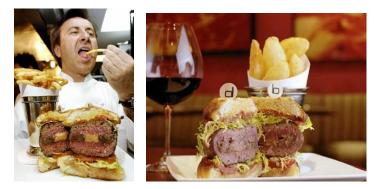
• Chiara Ferragni's party in a supermarket.



- Food
 - Chef Cracco (left) and his use of commercial potato chips (Chips with Kale Purée, Cheese, and Radish, center; Caprine Cheese, Black Sesame, Lettuce, right).



• Chef Daniel Boulud (left) and his signature luxury burgers (Burger with Foie Gras and Truffle; right).



- Fashion and Luxury Goods
 - Moschino's Fresh fragrance.



• Moschino's collections inspired by McDonald's fast food (2014; left) and garbage (2017; center and right).



• Balenciaga leather bag, priced \$2,145 (left) and IKEA tote bag, priced \$.99 (right).



 Golden Goose Superstar Taped Sneaker, priced \$530 (left); Maison Margiela Fusion Sneaker with glue, priced \$1,655 (right).





Pilot: Social Status and Distinction

The first objective of this pilot is to demonstrate that the upper strata have high chronic desires for distinction from the middle class. The second objective is to show that distinction is different from uniqueness and authenticity. Notably, uniqueness and authenticity are the key components of the broader construct of autonomy (Warren et al. 2019). Although we are looking at the actor side, it is important to demonstrate how distinction relates to these two key components of autonomy because prior work has established that autonomy is the mechanism underlying attributions of coolness and status in the eyes of others based on deviance from the norm (Bellezza, Gino, and Keinan 2014; Warren and Campbell 2014).

Method. We recruited 203 wealthy respondents (67% female, $M_{age} = 55$, American, household yearly gross income of \$121,000 or more) for a paid online survey through Qualtrics.

First, we collected social status, among other demographic information (gender and age). Consistent with our conceptualization of status and prior work measuring social status (Adler et al. 2000; Holt 1998; Jain 1975; Kraus and Keltner 2009), we collected a series of measures tapping into economic capital and cultural capital. Specifically, to measure economic capital, we collected the following measures: "How would you rate the socioeconomic background of your family?" (1 = not wealthy at all, 7 = extremely wealthy); The ladder of socioeconomic status (1 = 1^{st} step – bottom of the ladder, $10 = 10^{th}$ step – top of the ladder; figure W1). In addition, we measured cultural capital using the occupational status and educational attainment of respondents' family: "Select the occupation of your mother, your father, you, and your spouse/partner (if you have one)" (Blue collar or service; Clerical or self-employed; Professional or managerial; Other, e.g., student, homemaker¹); "Select the highest level of education of your

¹ As in Adler et al. (2000), no value was assigned for "Other."

mother, your father, you, and your spouse/partner (if you have one)" (High school degree; College degree; Master's degree; Higher degree, including doctorate and law degree)². A composite measure of social status was created by standardizing each variable and averaging them. Though not a requirement for formative indicators like social status (Bollen and Lennox 1991), all measures were positively correlated with each other (all r > .22, p < .001).

Next, we measured distinction. We adapted an existing measure of distinction (Berger and Ward 2010) substituting the word "mainstream" for "middle-status" (r = .72, p < .001): "When purchasing clothing and apparel, how important is it to you to choose items that differentiate you from middle-status consumers?" and "How important is it for you to avoid items that typical middle-status consumers would buy?" (1 = not important at all, 7 = extremely important).

Need for uniqueness was measured with three items from the Need for Uniqueness scale (Tian, Bearden, and Hunter 2001): (1) "Often when buying merchandise, an important goal is to find something that communicates my uniqueness"; (2) "I actively seek to develop my personal uniqueness by buying special products or brands"; (3) "I'm often on the lookout for new products or brands that will add to my personal uniqueness" (1 = strongly agree, 7 = strongly disagree; 3 items α = .96). These specific three items were selected from the original scale as they all refer to products and brands.

Authenticity was measured adapting the same three uniqueness items above to the construct of authenticity: (1) "Often when buying merchandise, an important goal is to find something that communicates my authenticity"; (2) "I actively seek to develop my personal authenticity by buying genuine products or brands"; (3) "I'm often on the lookout for genuine

² As in Adler et al. (2000), we ordinally coded occupation (i.e., 1, 2, 3) and education (i.e., 1, 2, 3, 4).

products or brands that will add to my personal authenticity" (1 = strongly agree, 7 = strongly disagree; 3 items α = .94).

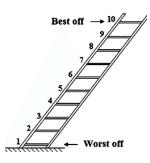
Results (Social Status and Distinction). We examined the relationship between distinction and status by regressing distinction (dependent variable) on social status (independent variable). Consistent with the notion that high-status individuals have greater desire to distinguish themselves from the middle status, social status was significantly and positively related to distinction (b = .71, SE = .15, t(201) = 4.76, p < .001, $R^2 = .101$; figure W2). We also conducted the analyses with economic capital (first two measures) and cultural capital (last two measures) separately and found similar results when examining these constructs in isolation ($b_{economic} = .66$, SE = .12, t(201) = 5.42, p < .001, $R^2 = .128$; $b_{cultural} = .30$, SE = .13, t(201) = 2.35, p = .020, $R^2 =$.027). As a further check, we also tested quadratic and cubic models but found no evidence for these patterns (the linear coefficient was the only significant one). Moreover, the relationship was equally significant (b = .69, SE = .15, t(199) = 4.62, p < .001, $R^2 = .110$) when controlling for gender and age (none of the two demographic variables was significant).

Note that, although this data is correlational, the most plausible direction of the relationship between constructs is that social status influences one's desire for distinction. Given that social status is the quintessential formative construct (Bollen and Lennox 1991), the reverse direction does not seem reasonable (e.g., that one's desire for distinction may lead to higher parents' occupational status).

FIGURE W1: THE MACARTHUR LADDER OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States.

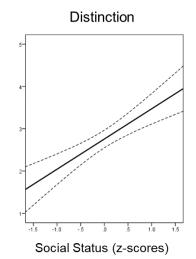
At the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the bottom are the people who are the worst off – who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. The higher up you are on this ladder, the closer you are to the people at the very top; the lower you are, the closer you are to the people at the very bottom.



Where would you place yourself on this ladder?

1st step (bottom of									10th step (top of the
the ladder)	2nd step	3rd step	4th step	5th step	6th step	7th step	8th step	9th step	ladder)
\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc	\bigcirc

FIGURE W2: DISTINCTION AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS



NOTE. — Dashed lines represent 95% confidence intervals.

Results (Distinction, Uniqueness, and Authenticity). A principal components analysis (unrotated factor solution) on the eight items revealed three separate factors. The first factors captured 56.6% of the variance and its components were the three uniqueness and the three authenticity items (all factor loadings from .79 to .89; table W1). The two distinction items tapped into a second, separate factor capturing 20.3% of the variance (factor loadings .85 and .89 table W1). The third factor captured 13.1% of the variance and none of the factor loadings reached the .5 threshold, indicating that this was a rather marginal factor. These results suggest that distinction constitutes its own construct, separate from authenticity or need for uniqueness.

TABLE W1: PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS - FACTOR LOADINGS

Component Matrix

	1	2
Authenticity 1	.789	
Authenticity 2	.856	
Authenticity 3	.858	
Uniqueness 1	.843	
Uniqueness 2	.889	
Uniqueness 3	.866	
Distinction 1		.850
Distinction 2		.890

NOTE. — Coefficients > .50.

Pilot Study: Restaurant Menus

To provide a preliminary test of our theory in the field, we examine restaurant menus. Food is a core domain of culture, and its link to identity and social class has made it a rich area to study status dynamics (Bourdieu 1984; Freedman and Jurafsky 2011; Johnston and Baumann 2007; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2005). Building on these approaches, we examine the types of dishes offered by different restaurants in a dataset of more than 137,000 menu items.

The analysis consists of three main steps. First, we systematically identify traditionally lowbrow items (e.g., Hot Dogs, Mac 'n Cheese). Second, we examine the distribution of lowbrow items across different restaurant tiers. If high-status actors choose lowbrow items to differentiate themselves, as we suggest, then despite their downscale connotation, high-end restaurants should offer some of these lowbrow items. Third, textual analysis tests whether, as predicted, when offering lowbrow items, high-end restaurants mix and match them with highbrow ingredients.

Method

We scraped all New York restaurant menus from menupages.com in spring 2015. To simplify comparisons, we focused on one cuisine, American food, leading to a dataset of 137,377 menu items offered by 1,309 restaurants, divided into five price tiers by menupages (i.e., \$1, \$2, \$3, \$4, \$5).

Step 1: Lowbrow Items Generation

To generate a list of lowbrow items, we randomly selected 25 restaurants, 5 restaurants per price tier. To confirm price categorization of the 25 restaurants selected for step 1, we

crosschecked Menupages price ratings with two other restaurant websites (i.e., yelp! and OpenTable). If there was a discrepancy of more than 2\$s (e.g., 1\$ on Menupages vs. 4\$ on OpenTable), we dropped the restaurant and randomly picked another.

We took all dishes these restaurants offered (N = 1,520), removed price and restaurant information, and randomized their order. Two hypotheses-blind, trained, and independent coders rated whether each dish was associated with lowbrow food (r = .63, p < .001), where lowbrow was described as: "The dish, or part of it, includes links to downscale, low-status, or workingclass recipes, ingredients, or places. These dishes are the foods of common people, typically made from very accessible and inexpensive ingredients. Good examples might include Fried Chicken, Mac 'n Cheese, and Peanut Butter and Jelly. Examples of things that have no association with lowbrow might include Steak Tartare or Ahi Tuna." Coders used three scores ("0" indicated not at all associated with lowbrow, "1" some level of association, and "2" high level of association). Note that we asked them to code a dish as lowbrow if *any* part of the dish has that association. While Tuna Tartare Tacos include tuna tartare, a high-end ingredient, they also include tacos, a traditionally lowbrow item. Thus, this dish would be coded as having a lowbrow association.

352 dishes were perceived as strongly lowbrow by both coders. Many were variants of the same main item (e.g., "Cheese Hot Dogs," "Sloppy Hot Dogs," and "Simple Grilled Hot Dogs" are all examples of "Hot Dogs"), so we clustered variants, leading to the following 51 more general lowbrow items: Bagels; Biscuits; Buns; Burger; Burrito; Cheese Steak; Chicken Cutlets; Chicken Fingers; Chicken Nuggets; Chicken Strips; Chicken Tenders; Chicken Wings; Chips; Cinnamon Roll; Cookies; Corn Bread; Corn Dogs; Donuts; Fried Chicken; Fried Fish; Fried Plantains; Fried Shrimp; Fries; Frites; Grilled Cheese; Grits; Hash Brown; Hot Dogs; Jalapeno Poppers; Mac 'n Cheese; Meatballs; Meatloaf; Mozzarella Sticks; Nachos; Onion Rings; Pancake; Peanut Butter & Jelly; Pizza; Pork Chop; Pot Pie; Potato Skins; Pretzel; Pulled Pork; Quesadilla; Ribs; Sausage; Shepherd's Pie; Sliders; Sundae; Tacos; Waffles.

Step 2: Status and Offering Lowbrow Items

Next, we examine the relationship between status and offering lowbrow items. We use price to represent status, specifically, the average price of entrées at a given restaurant (M = \$18.9; SD = \$6.6).³ Although this approach slightly reduces the sample (N = 860, as not all restaurants listed prices or categorized their offerings), it accurately represents the distribution of middle and high-end restaurants (see table W2) and it overcomes some of the limitations of the dataset. First, Menupages classification is purely categorical, which makes it difficult to know where to draw the line between low, middle, and high-status restaurants. Second, there are very few \$1 restaurants (only 2% of the dataset). Consequently, we use a more continuous measure.

				Number of	
	Number of			Restaurants with	
Price	Restaurants on	Ave	erage Price of	info on AVG Price	% Represented in
Categorization on	Menupages	Ent	rée/Main Dish	of Entrée/Main	the new dataset
Menupages	original dataset (a)	(\$)		(b)	(b) / (a)
\$	30	\$	6.5	2	7%
\$\$	216	\$	12.5	74	34%
\$\$\$	435	\$	16.7	297	68%
\$\$\$\$	365	\$	19.2	282	77%
\$\$\$\$	263	\$	24.2	205	78%
Total	1309	\$	18.9	860	66%

TABLE W2: DISTRIBUTION OF RESTAURANTS PER PRICE TIER

³ As one would expect, average entrée prices were higher at more expensive restaurants (M = \$6.5, \$12.5, \$16.7, \$19.2, and \$24.1 at \$1-\$5 restaurants, respectively).

We conducted regressions predicting the average probability (varying from 0 to 1) of offering any of the lowbrow items identified in step 1 based on average entrée price, controlling for the number of dishes offered by each restaurant.⁴ We tested linear, quadratic, and cubic models. The cubic (F(4, 855) = 81.74, p < .001) model accounted for the highest variance ($R^2 = .277$), with significant R^2 changes with respect to both linear ($F_{change}(2, 855) = 5.77, p = .003$) and quadratic ($F_{change}(1, 855) = 8.16, p = .004$) models. Specifically in the cubic model, price ($\beta = .80, t(855) = 2.64, p = .009$), its squared term ($\beta = -1.86, t(855) = -3.13, p = .002$), and its cubic term ($\beta = .92, t(855) = 2.86, p = .004$) were all significant predictors. The number of items offered was also significant ($\beta = .47, t(855) = 15.97, p < .001$). The negative and significant squared price term suggests that, consistent with traditional theories of status, as restaurant price increases, restaurants are less likely to offer lowbrow items. Moreover, the significant and positive cubic term suggests that, consistent with trickle-round dynamics, this pattern changes for expensive restaurants.

Alternative Explanations. Ancillary analyses cast doubt on a number of alternative explanations. We followed the same "Items Generation" procedure (step 1) to identify food items perceived as (1) retro or old-fashioned, (2) exotic, or (3) popular, but even after removing items that fit these characteristics, the results still hold.

Old-fashioned/Retro Items. One might wonder whether these results could be driven by nostalgia or comfort foods. Maybe there is a larger trend towards comfort foods or food from childhood, and high-end restaurants couple these items with high-end ingredients to appeal to high-status consumers. To generate a list of items perceived as old-fashioned, two independent coders rated a random selection of about 1,600 dishes (as in step 1). Specifically, they rated the

⁴ Removing this variable from the analysis does not affect the following results and significance of the effects.

extent to which each dish was associated with old-fashioned/retro food (r = .58, p < .001): "The dish, or part of it, reminds of something old, and possibly entails reference to traditional food or cuisine at least 20 years prior to the present. Good examples might include meatloaf, tater tots, and sundaes. Examples of things that have no association with retro or old-style food might include seared salmon or baby kale salad." Coders used three scores ("0" indicated not at all associated with old-fashioned, "1" some level of association, and "2" high level of association).

Based on the results, we identified 28 items perceived as clearly old-fashioned by both raters (e.g., apple pie, brownie). In particular, 11 of these items coincided with the lowbrow items identified in step 1: Biscuits; Cookies; Corn Bread; Fried Chicken; Grits; Meatballs; Meatloaf; Pancake; Pot Pie; Sliders; Sundae. We therefore removed these 11 items perceived as lowbrow *and* old-fashioned and performed the same analysis as in step 2 on the remaining 40 lowbrow items.

Results hold even in the absence of these items. The cubic (F(4, 855) = 63.28, p < .001) model accounted for the highest variance ($R^2 = .228$), with significant R^2 changes with respect to both linear ($F_{change}(2, 855) = 5.73, p = .003$) and quadratic ($F_{change}(1, 855) = 9.03, p = .003$) models. Specifically in the cubic model, price ($\beta = .84, t(855) = 2.66, p = .008$), its squared term ($\beta = -1.98, t(855) = -3.23, p = .001$), and its cubic term ($\beta = 1.0, t(855) = 3.01, p = .003$) were all significant predictors. The number of items offered was also significant ($\beta = .40, t(855) = 13.42, p < .001$).

Unusual/Exotic Items. To generate a list of items perceived as unusual and exotic, two independent coders went through a similar rating task of randomly selected dishes as in step 1. Specifically, they rated the extent to which each dish was associated with unusual food (r = .70, p < .001): "The dish, or part of it, includes links to recipes or ingredients unknown, exotic, or

perceived as unusual by mainstream American eaters. Good examples might include wagyu, pastrami, sautéed kohlrabi fried, stracciatella, and O-a-chian. Examples of things that have no association with foreign or unfamiliar food might include steak and eggs or grilled salmon fillet with greens." Coders used three scores ("0" indicated not at all associated with unusual, "1" some level of association, and "2" high level of association).

Based on the results, we identified 55 items perceived as clearly unusual and exotic by both raters (e.g., Bouillabaisse, Pigeon, Sea Urchin). None of these items coincided with any of the lowbrow items identified in step 1. As a matter of fact, many of the identified exotic items, such as Quail or Escargot for example, coincided with items that were rated as a "0" on association with lowbrow. Thus the alternative explanation tied to a potential preference for unusual and exotic items by high-end restaurants cannot possibly explain our results.

Popularity. Two independent raters (r = .62, p < .001) rated the popularity of the identified 51 lowbrow (1 = not popular at all, 7 = extremely popular). Based on the results, we identified 12 items perceived as popular by both raters: Bagels; Burger; Chicken Nuggets; Chicken Wings; Chips; Fried Chicken; Fries; Hot Dogs; Nachos; Pancake; Peanut Butter & Jelly; Pizza. We therefore removed these 12 items perceived as popular and performed the same analysis as in step 2 on the remaining 39 lowbrow items.

Results hold even in the absence of these items. The cubic (F(4, 855) = 74.99, p < .001) model accounted for the highest variance ($R^2 = .267$), with significant R^2 changes with respect to both linear ($F_{change}(2, 855) = 8.26, p < .001$) and quadratic ($F_{change}(1, 855) = 11.13, p = .001$) models. Specifically in the cubic model, price ($\beta = 1.02, t(855) = 3.33, p = .001$), its squared term ($\beta = -2.21, t(855) = -3.68, p < .001$), and its cubic term ($\beta = 1.09, t(855) = 3.34, p = .001$) were all significant predictors. The number of items offered was also significant ($\beta = .46$, t(855) = 15.75, p < .001).

Step 3: Mixing and Matching High and Low

Finally, we test our mix-and-match hypothesis. We examine whether, *when* offering lowbrow items, high-status restaurants do so in a way that combines high and low (e.g., Lobster Mac n' Cheese rather than Cheddar Mac n' Cheese).

For the 51 lowbrow items identified in step 1, we use textual analysis to determine the more frequent co-occurring ingredients (e.g., steak and bacon) that appear when these dishes are offered by high-end (i.e., average entre price greater than 1 SD above the mean) and other restaurants.⁵ There were over 33,000 words used in combination with the 51 lowbrow items (including qualifiers and conjunctions). Many food words appeared only once or twice, so we focused on those appearing at least 0.2% of times in either restaurant group, leading to 76 unique words of food paired with the lowbrow items (see full list of words and frequencies at the end of the study). Two independent coders rated how lowbrow/highbrow each ingredient was (1 = extremely lowbrow, 7 = extremely highbrow; r = .53, p < .001). We then computed a weighted average for the "highbrowness" of ingredients that co-occurred when the lowbrow items were offered by high-end versus less expensive restaurants.

Consistent with our mix-and-match perspective, when offering lowbrow items, high-end restaurants tended to mix them with more highbrow ingredients ($M_{High-End} = 4.45$, SD = 1.38) than other restaurants ($M_{Other} = 3.93$, SD = 1.37; t(1, 5,903) = 11.58, p < .001, d = .38). Examining highbrow ingredients (i.e., rated by coders as 6 or higher on highbrow association),

⁵ The same text analysis based on Menupages categorization (i.e., 4\$ and 5\$ restaurants as "high-end") leads to similarly significant results and to the same conclusions.

such as Truffle, Angus Beef, Lamb, Lobster, Crab, Duck, Prime Beef, Mahi, Kobe Beef, Tartare, Yellowfin, and Ahi (tuna) shows that these items are more than twice as likely to be paired with lowbrow items at high-end restaurants than at other restaurants (8.4% vs. 4.0%, $\chi^2(1) = 95.69$, p < .001, $\varphi = .08$). Furthermore, this was not driven by expensive restaurants offering these highbrow items more generally. Looking across expensive restaurant menus more generally, the base rate of occurrence of these highbrow items (i.e., probability of finding these ingredients in any given dish) was lower than the detected percentages (5.5% vs. 8.4%, $\chi^2(1) = 37.47$, p < .001, $\varphi = .04$).

Discussion

This pilot study provides preliminary evidence for our theorizing in the field. First, while mid-priced restaurants are less likely to offer lowbrow items than cheap restaurants, as traditional status theories might predict, as price continues to increase the relationship changes. Second, text analysis illustrates that high-end restaurants use multiple available dimensions to simultaneously mix and match high and low signals. Dishes such as Lobster Mac 'n Cheese, White Truffle Pizza, and Kobe Beef Sliders imbue traditionally lowbrow dishes with highbrow ingredients. Thus, rather than simply adopting lowbrow items, high-status restaurants and chefs do so in a way that distinguishes them from lower-status competition.

Ingredients Frequently Co-Occurring with Lowbrow Items

Frequency of Occurrence at HIGH-END Restaurants

Frequency of Occurrence at HIG	H-END Restaurants
steak	3.3%
turkey	1.9%
truffle	1.8%
bacon	1.7%
salad	1.4%
bread	1.4%
bbq	1.3%
chocolate	1.2%
tuna	1.1%
sandwich	1.0%
angus beef	0.9%
lamb	0.9%
apple	0.9%
cream	0.9%
lobster	0.9%
cheddar	0.89
crab	0.8%
fudge	0.89
shrimp	0.89
duck	0.8%
lime	0.7%
salmon	0.6%
	0.6%
<mark>prime beef</mark> buffalo	
	0.6%
skirt steak	0.6%
veggie/vegetarian	0.6%
buttermilk	0.5%
sirloin steak	0.5%
parmesan	0.5%
ricotta	0.5%
egg/eggs	0.5%
beef	0.5%
fish	0.5%
mahi	0.5%
mushrooms	0.5%
blueberry	0.4%
gravy	0.4%
mussels/moules	0.4%
tartare	0.4%
edamame	0.3%
panini	0.3%
spinach	0.39
vegetables	0.3%
brownie	0.3%
butter	0.3%
cajun	0.39
maple	0.39
veal	0.39
goat	0.39
lemon	0.39
tomato yellowfin	0.3%
	0.3%
kobe beef	0.2%
chickpea	0.29
ahi (tuna)	0.2%
artichoke	0.2%
banana	0.29
caesar	0.2%
pommes	0.2%
Sum highbrow	8.3%

steak	3.0%
turkey	2.8%
veggie/vegetarian	2.2%
bacon	2.0%
bba	1.8%
sandwich	1.7%
chocolate	1.4%
fish	1.0%
shrimp	1.0%
cheddar	0.9%
lamb	0.9%
egg/eggs	0.8%
buttermilk	0.8%
truffle	0.8%
sirloin steak	0.7%
cream	0.7%
vegetables	0.7%
buffalo	0.6%
angus beef	0.6%
salmon	0.6%
apple	0.5%
garlic	0.5%
salad	0.5%
butter	0.5%
gravy	0.5%
tuna	0.5%
tomato	0.4%
banana	0.4%
guacamole	0.4%
mushrooms	0.4%
lobster	0.4%
mussels/moules	0.4%
bean/beans	0.4%
kobe beef	0.4%
ham	0.4%
whole wheat	0.4%
blueberry	0.4%
parmesan	0.4%
ricotta	0.4%
chili	0.3%
ground beef	0.3%
bread	0.3%
brownie	0.3%
jack	0.3%
rosemary	0.3%
spaghetti	0.3%
prime beef	0.3%
crab	0.3%
chorizo	0.3%
bison	0.3%
duck	0.3%
veal	0.3%
tortilla	0.2%
loitina	0.2%
brioche	
	0.2%
brioche	0.2%
brioche Iemon Iox	
brioche Iemon	0.2%

NOTE. — Yellow highlights items rated as highbrow (i.e., 6 or higher on highbrow association).

Study 1: Pretest

We conducted a pretest to select four product pairs with varying levels of perceived status for the main study. We recruited 98 wealthy respondents from Qualtrics for a paid online study (100% female, $M_{age} = 49$, American, household yearly gross income of \$100,000 or more).

All participants were asked to look at the images of six different products (see figure W3 for images) and to rate the status of each product: "Rate the extent to which you see each of these products as downscale or upscale" (1 = extremely downscale, 7 = extremely upscale). Participants repeated this task for four products' categories (i.e., bags, hats, shoes, and sunglasses), one category at the time. Thus, each participant rated a total of 24 products. To make images more homogeneous and focus participants on product design, we showed images in black and white.

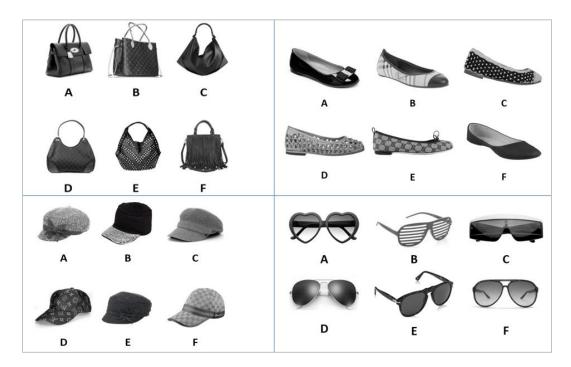


FIGURE W3: PRETEST PRODUCTS

For three categories (i.e., bags, hats, and shoes), we selected two products per category with significant differences in terms of status perceptions (M_{bagA} = 4.91, SD = 1.26, vs. M_{bagF} = 3.49, SD = 1.57; t(97) = 7.71, p < .001, d = 1.56; M_{hatF} = 4.91, SD = 1.73, vs. M_{hatB} = 3.48, SD = 1.67; t(96) = 6.38, p < .001, d = 1.30; M_{shoesB} = 5.08, SD = 1.36, vs. M_{shoesC} = 3.67, SD = 1.61; t(96) = 8.43, p < .001, d = 1.72), while also trying to strike a balance between branded versus non-branded options for the main study. Because the most upscale products were all conspicuously branded luxury goods (i.e., Louis Vuitton Bag B, Gucci Hat F, and Burberry Shoes B) which high-status consumers may be reluctant to choose (Berger and Ward 2010; Han, Nunes, and Dreze 2010), for bags we picked the second best option (i.e., Mulberry, Bag A).

By contrast, for sunglasses we selected two products perceived as equal in terms of status ratings ($M_{glassesD} = 4.66$, SD = 1.52, vs. $M_{glassesF} = 4.54$, SD = 1.53; t(95) = 1.05, NS). Figure W4 depicts the final products selected for the main study.

Importantly, the downscale products were not perceived as trendier. We also asked participants to rate the trendiness of each product: "How trendy do you find each of these products?" (1 = not trendy at all, 7 = extremely trendy). There was no difference in trendiness between downscale and upscale products for bags (M_{bagA} = 4.26, SD = 1.74, vs. M_{bagF} = 4.68, SD = 1.90; t(97) = 1.47, NS) and glasses ($M_{glassesD}$ = 4.35, SD = 1.81, vs. $M_{glassesF}$ = 4.41, SD = 1.84; t(95) = .41, NS). In the cases of hats and shoes, the selected downscale products were actually perceived as slightly less trendy than the neutral products (M_{hatF} = 4.37, SD = 1.86, vs. M_{hatB} = 4.01, SD = 1.92; t(96) = 1.67, p = .098, d = .17; M_{shoesB} = 4.62, SD = 1.67, vs. M_{shoesC} = 4.04, SD = 1.80; t(96) = 2.93, p = .004, d = .31).

To make sure that consumers with high cultural capital in fashion and owners of luxury goods would not see these products in a fundamentally different way, we also conducted the same analyses by looking at respondents who scored high versus low on the fashion knowledge measures and owners versus non-owners of luxury goods. We measured self-reported fashion knowledge and objective knowledge using the same questions as in the main study and asked respondents to indicate whether they owned any luxury or high-end products (e.g., luxury bags, watches, glasses, cars). In both cases, we found the same patterns of results in terms of status ratings (with bags, hats, and shoes perceived as different on this dimension, but not glasses) and trendiness perceptions.

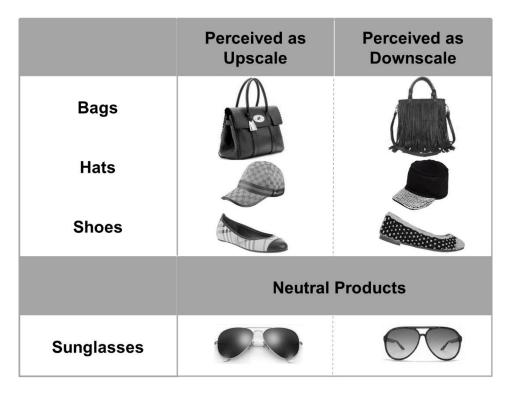


FIGURE W4: FINAL PRODUCTS' SELECTION FOR STUDY 1

NOTE. — Products' pictures in the study were black and white, as above, to make images more homogeneous.

Study 1: Sample procedures

To recruit both regular participants and those with high cultural capital in fashion and to achieve the desired sample size, we collected participants through the mailing list of a Retail and Luxury Club at an American university (N = 110, 82% female, $M_{age} = 28$, status ladder [figure W1] = 4.95; compensation: chance of winning two \$100 Amazon gift cards), the behavioral lab of the same university (N = 170, 62% female, $M_{age} = 25$, status ladder = 5.34; paid lab study), and Qualtrics (N = 130, 80% female, $M_{age} = 29$, status ladder = 5.25; paid online study). The latter group was purposely recruited with similar demographics in terms of age, gender, and socioeconomic status as the others.

Study 1: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures logistic regression; models with and without cultural capital squared)

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	-0.61	0.09	-0.78	-0.44	50.24	1	.000
Product Type	0.05	0.12	-0.18	0.29	0.21	1	.644
Cultural Capital	0.33	0.08	0.18	0.48	17.98	1	.000
Cultural Capital ²	0.16	0.08	0.01	0.32	4.46	1	.035
Product Type * Cultural Capital	-0.39	0.14	-0.67	-0.12	8.09	1	.004

	В	Std. Error	95% Confide	ence Interval	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	-0.50	0.07	-0.63	-0.37	57.89	1	.000
Product Type	0.06	0.12	-0.17	0.29	0.23	1	.630
Cultural Capital	0.34	0.08	0.18	0.50	18.15	1	.000
Product Type * Cultural Capital	-0.40	0.14	-0.68	-0.13	8.12	1	.004

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant interaction between cultural capital and product type.

Study 1: Analyses with control variables (repeated-measures logistic regression; models with and without cultural capital squared)

To demonstrate that the findings in study 1 hold when controlling for demographic variables and participants' pool (i.e., Retail and Luxury Club, lab, and Qualtrics), we ran the same repeatedmeasures logistic regression including the following additional measures: gender (coded as 1 for men and 2 for women), age (continuous), the ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1; continuous), a dummy variable for lab data (coded as 1 for lab participants, 0 otherwise), and dummy variable for Qualtrics (coded as 1 for Qualtrics', 0 otherwise).

	В	B Std. Error 95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)	
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	-0.56	0.52	-1.58	0.45	1.18	1	.278
Product Type	0.05	0.12	-0.18	0.29	0.20	1	.656
Cultural Capital	0.15	0.09	-0.01	0.32	3.20	1	.074
Cultural Capital ²	0.11	0.08	-0.05	0.26	1.89	1	.169
Product Type * Cultural Capital	-0.40	0.14	-0.68	-0.12	8.06	1	.005
Gender	0.06	0.13	-0.20	0.33	0.21	1	.646
Age	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.04	0.83	1	.361
SES Ladder	0.00	0.03	-0.05	0.06	0.02	1	.896
Lab	-0.62	0.16	-0.93	-0.31	15.56	1	.000
Qualtrics	-0.69	0.16	-1.00	-0.39	19.51	1	.000

	В	B Std. Error 95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)	
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	-0.48	0.51	-1.47	0.51	0.89	1	.346
Product Type	0.05	0.12	-0.18	0.29	0.21	1	.649
Cultural Capital	0.15	0.09	-0.02	0.33	3.06	1	.080
Product Type * Cultural Capital	-0.41	0.14	-0.69	-0.13	8.10	1	.004
Gender	0.06	0.13	-0.20	0.32	0.20	1	.657
Age	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.04	0.98	1	.322
SES Ladder	0.00	0.03	-0.06	0.06	0.00	1	.976
Lab	-0.64	0.16	-0.94	-0.33	16.80	1	.000
Qualtrics	-0.73	0.16	-1.04	-0.43	22.00	1	.000

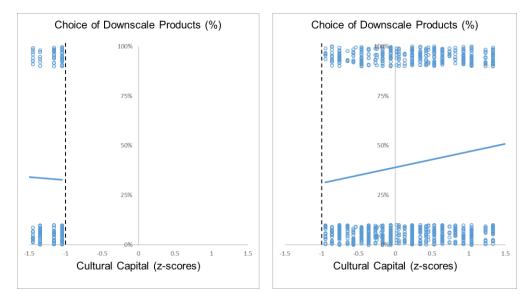
NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant interaction between cultural capital and product type.

Study 1: Two-lines Test of Curvilinear Trends

Following the two-lines test procedure (Simonsohn 2017), we first identified the deep of the curve (z-score cultural capital = -1.03). We then looked at the relationship between cultural capital and selection of downscale products (coded as 1 for choice of downscale option and as 0 for choice of upscale option) before and after this point in a repeated-measures logistic regression.

As figure W5 shows, the relationship between cultural capital and choice of downscale items was positive and significant (b = .40, SE = .09, $\chi^2(1) = 16.83$, p < .001, $\varphi = .13$) for people scoring high on cultural capital (i.e., more than -1.02). However, the relationship was not significant for people scoring below the threshold (b = -.31, SE = .83, $\chi^2(1) = .14$, NS; figure W5). These results elucidate that the significant curvilinear relationship between cultural capital and choice of downscale products was primarily driven by the relatively high-status respondents (i.e., with scores after the deep of the curve, consistent with our hypotheses).

FIGURE W5: CHOICE OF DOWNSCALE PRODUCTS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURAL CAPITAL BEFORE AND AFTER THE MINIMUM



NOTE. —Horizontal line fixed at the minimum of the curve (-1.02); jittered raw data to prevent over-plotting.

Study 1: Mix-and-Match Analyses (multinomial logistic regression; models with and without

cultural capital squared)

		В	Std. Error	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p value)
Mix-and-Match	Intercept	0.57	0.15	14.76	1	.000
	Cultural Capital	0.35	0.15	5.42	1	.020
	Cultural Capital ²	0.30	0.17	3.12	1	.077
All Downscale Items	Intercept	-1.33	0.25	27.56	1	.000
	Cultural Capital	0.94	0.27	12.31	1	.000
	Cultural Capital ²	0.21	0.28	0.57	1	.450

Reference category: All upscale items

		В	Std. Error	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p value)
Mix-and-Match	Intercept	0.76	0.11	44.93	1	.000
	Cultural Capital	0.31	0.14	4.83	1	.028
All Downscale Items	Intercept	-1.20	0.20	35.84	1	.000
	Cultural Capital	0.89	0.24	14.02	1	.000

Reference category: All upscale items

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of cultural capital on the probability of mixing and matching.

Study 2: Sample procedures

To recruit both regular participants and those with high cultural capital in fashion and to achieve the desired sample size, we collected participants through the mailing list of a Retail and Luxury Club at an American university (N = 129, 100% female, $M_{age} = 29$, status ladder = 4.92; compensation: chance of winning 8 \$50 Amazon gift cards) and Qualtrics (N = 130, 100% female, $M_{age} = 29$, status ladder = 5.08; paid online study). The latter group was purposely recruited with similar demographics in terms of age, gender, and socioeconomic status as the former group.

Study 2: Stimuli

The first set of products included three blue bags: (*a*) Bottega Veneta Tote bag (upscale option); (*b*) Ikea Shopping bag (downscale option); (*c*) Balenciaga Tote bag (mix-and-match option). The second set of products included three pair of pink shoes: (*a*) Crocs (downscale option); (*b*) Balenciaga Foam shoes (mix-and-match option); (*c*) Prada wedges (upscale option). The third set of products included three red bags: (*a*) Helmut Lang "trash bag" (mix-and-match option); (*b*) Prada Vela bag (upscale option); (*c*) Polyester shopping bag (downscale option). The fourth set included three perfumes: (*a*) "Gabrielle" perfume by Chanel (high-end option); (*b*) "W" perfume by Banana Republic (downscale option); (*c*) "Fresh" perfume by Moschino (an Italian luxury brand) (mix-and-match option).

Study 2: Pretest

We conducted a pretest to confirm that the products selected for study 2 varied on status, but not on trendiness or originality in a way that may potentially confound results. We also wanted to make sure that respondents would detect the low-status component of luxury products mixing and matching high and low taste by design. We recruited 142 wealthy respondents from Qualtrics (100% female, $M_{age} = 29$, American, 55% household yearly gross income of \$121,000 or more).

All participants were asked to look at the images of the products in study 2, one set at the time. Participants rated each product in the set on status, trendiness, originality, and whether a part of the product was perceived as low status: "Rate the extent to which you see each of these products as downscale or upscale" (1 = extremely downscale, 7 = extremely upscale); "How trendy do you find each of these products?" (1 = not trendy at all, 7 = extremely trendy); "How original do you find each of these products?" (1 = not original at all, 7 = extremely original); "Is there ANY part of this product (i.e., the shape, the name) that seems associated with downscale or low-status taste to you?" (Yes / No).

As expected, the upscale options were perceived as higher in status (M = 5.47, SD = 1.11) than both mix and match (M = 3.37, SD = 1.29) and downscale (M = 3.28, SD = 1.26; all ps < .001) products. The difference between mix-and-match and downscale items was not significant (t(141) = .81, NS).

Furthermore, the upscale products were perceived as trendier (M = 4.89, SD = 1.37) than both mix-and-match (M = 3.35, SD = 1.51) and downscale (M = 3.34, SD = 1.40; all ps < .001) options. The difference between mix-and-match and downscale options was not significant (t(141) = .09, NS). The upscale products were perceived as more original (M = 4.58, SD = 1.41) than both mix-and-match (M = 3.57, SD = 1.43) and downscale (M = 3.49, SD = 1.37; all ps < .001) options. The difference between mix-and-match and downscale options was not significant (t(141) = .74, NS).

Finally, only 23% of respondents saw any association with downscale or low-status taste in the upscale products, whereas this percentage was much higher for mix-and-match (52%) and downscale (49%; all ps < .001) options. The difference between mix-and-match and downscale options was not significant (t(141) = 1.38, NS).

Given that the upscale options were systematically perceived as the most original and trendiest products, these results rule out potential concerns regarding the originality or trendiness of products that mix and match high and low taste. Furthermore, these findings confirm that respondents successfully detected the low-status component of the mix-and-match products.

As in the pretest for study 1, we made sure that fashion-savvy consumers and owners of luxury goods would not see the mix-and-match products in a fundamentally different way. We also conducted the same analyses above by looking at respondents who scored high versus low on the fashion knowledge measures and by looking at owners versus non-owners of luxury goods (same questions as in study 1 pretest). In both cases, we found the same patterns of results in terms of status, trendiness, and originality: luxury products were perceived as significantly superior on all of these dimensions and less associated with any low-status taste than mix and match and downscale products (all ps < .001).

Study 2: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures multinomial logistic regression;

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
Mix-and-Match Products	3.52	0.40	2.73	4.30	77.39	1	.000
Upscale Products	1.69	0.20	1.30	2.09	70.61	1	.000
Cultural Capital	0.31	0.13	0.05	0.56	5.57	1	.018
Cultural Capital ²	0.25	0.14	-0.02	0.53	3.28	1	.070
-							
	В	Std. Error	95% Confide	ence Interval	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
Mix-and-Match Products	3.38	0.38	2.62	4.13	77.00	1	.000
Upscale Products	1.52	0.14	1.24	1.81	110.81	1	.000
Cultural Capital	0.38	0.17	0.05	0.71	4.96	1	.026

models with and without cultural capital squared)

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect on choice of mix-and-match products.

Study 2: Analyses with control variables (repeated-measures multinomial logistic regression; models with and without cultural capital squared)

To demonstrate that the findings in study 2 hold when controlling for demographic variables in the model, we ran the same repeated-measures logistic regression including the following additional measures: age (continuous), the ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1; continuous), and a dummy variable for respondents' pool (coded as 1 for Qualtrics, 0 otherwise).

	B Std. Error		95% Confide	ence Interval	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
Mix-and-Match Products	3.71	0.99	1.78	5.65	14.20	1	.000
Upscale Products	1.95	0.93	0.12	3.78	4.36	1	.037
Cultural Capital	0.37	0.14	0.09	0.65	6.66	1	.010
Cultural Capital ²	0.26	0.14	-0.01	0.53	3.45	1	.063
Age	0.02	0.03	-0.04	0.08	0.60	1	.440
SES Ladder	-0.11	0.08	-0.26	0.05	1.84	1	.175
Qualtrics	0.18	0.30	-0.42	0.77	0.34	1	.558

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
Mix-and-Match Products	3.58	1.00	1.61	5.55	12.67	1	.000
Upscale Products	1.78	0.95	-0.09	3.64	3.47	1	.062
Cultural Capital	0.43	0.18	0.08	0.78	5.81	1	.016
Age	0.03	0.03	-0.04	0.09	0.69	1	.407
SES Ladder	-0.12	0.08	-0.27	0.04	2.20	1	.138
Qualtrics	0.13	0.30	-0.46	0.72	0.19	1	.665

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect on choice of mix-and-match products.

Study 2: Analyses with control variables (mediation)

Mediation. We ran the same mediation analysis in the article (PROCESS, model 4; Hayes 2012) including age (continuous), the ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1; continuous), and a dummy for respondents' pool in the model. Cultural capital was positively related to distinction $(b = .66, SE = .12, t(250) = 5.45, p < .001, R^2 = .118)$ and distinction mediated the effect of cultural capital on choice of mix-and-match (indirect effect = .058; 95% CI = .014 to .111).

Study 2: Mediation analysis with logistic regression

Mediation. We ran the same mediation analysis in the article (PROCESS, model 4; Hayes 2012) with the dichotomous dependent variable (i.e., logistic regression), instead of averaging the probability of picking mix-and-match options across the four rounds. Even in this case, cultural capital was positively related to distinction (b = .65, SE = .06, t(1,033) = 11.76, p < .001, $R^2 = .118$) and distinction mediated the effect of cultural capital on choice of mix-and-match (indirect effect = .167; 95% CI = .067 to .289).

Study 3: Sample procedures

We conducted the study twice. The first time, we recruited 601 respondents (45% female, M_{age} = 37, American) for a paid online survey through Amazon Mechanical Turk. In terms of income, 45.4% of the sample selected the income bracket from \$51,000 to \$120,000; 24.3% selected income from \$31,000 to \$50,000; 19.1% selected income from \$11,000 to \$30,000; 7.9% selected income of \$121,000 or more; 3.4% selected income of \$10,000 or less. Moreover, on average, these respondents rated their socioeconomic background as 3.64, SD = 1.39, on a 7-

point scale, and rated themselves as 5.02, SD = 1.79, on the 10-point ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1).

The second time, we wanted to ensure higher social status respondents would be represented in the sample. To this end, we recruited 531 respondents (53% female, $M_{age} = 41$, American) also through Amazon Mechanical Turk, but this time half of the sample (N = 272) had a specific high-income (i.e., \$90,000 or above) screener for participation through Prime Panels (https://www.turkprime.com/Service/ConnectWithParticipants; we paid a premium of \$0.6 per respondent to ensure accurate targeting). In terms of income brackets for the wealthy respondents (N = 272), 41% of the sample selected the income bracket from \$51,000 to \$120,000 and 59% reported income \$121,000 or more. Moreover, on average, these respondents rated their socioeconomic background as 4.17, SD = 1.19, on a 7-point scale and they rated themselves as 6.39, SD = 1.60, on the 10-point ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1). The other half of the sample (N = 259) had similar demographics to respondents in the first collection round. In terms of income brackets, 30.5% of the sample selected the income bracket from \$51,000 to \$120,000; 30.1% selected income from \$31,000 to \$50,000; 24.7% selected income from \$11,000 to \$30,000; 9.3% selected income of \$121,000 or more; 5.4% selected income of \$10,000 or less. Moreover, on average, these respondents rated their socioeconomic background as 3.36, SD = 1.32, on a 7-point scale, and they rated themselves as 4.59, SD = 1.74, on the 10point ladder of socioeconomic status (figure W1).

Study 3: Comprehensive Results' Table for Mix-and-Match Menu (regression; models with

and without status squared)

Coefficients

	В	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig. (p- value)
Constant	5.43	0.06		97.04	0.000
Social Status	0.28	0.06	0.15	4.84	0.000
Social Status ²	0.12	0.06	0.06	1.93	0.054

Coefficients

	В	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig. (p- value)
Constant	5.50	0.04		125.23	0.000
Social Status	0.27	0.06	0.14	4.68	0.000

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of social status on liking of mix-and-match menu.

Study 3: Analyses with control variables (regression; models with and without status squared) To demonstrate that the findings in study 3 are robust to the presence of demographic variables and collection round, we ran the same regression for liking of the mix-and-match menu including the following additional measures as independent variables: age (continuous), gender (coded as 1 for men and 2 for women), and collection round (coded as 1 for the 1st time and 2 for the 2nd time).

Coefficients

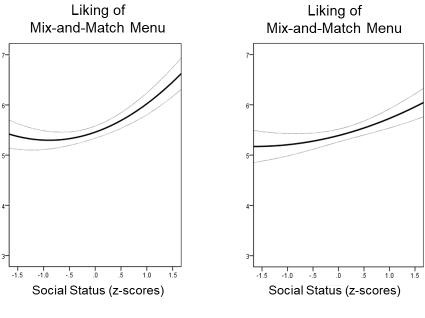
	В	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig. (p- value)
Constant	6.09	0.21		28.51	0.000
Social Status	0.31	0.06	0.16	5.26	0.000
Social Status ²	0.12	0.06	0.06	1.97	0.049
Age	-0.01	0.00	-0.10	-3.23	0.001
Gender	-0.05	0.09	-0.02	-0.61	0.542
Collection Round	-0.09	0.09	-0.03	-1.03	0.302

Coefficients

	В	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig. (p- value)
Constant	6.16	0.21		29.11	0.000
Social Status	0.30	0.06	0.15	5.10	0.000
Age	-0.01	0.00	-0.10	-3.23	0.001
Gender	-0.06	0.09	-0.02	-0.66	0.510
Collection Round	-0.09	0.09	-0.03	-0.95	0.342

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of social status on liking of mix-and-match menu.

FIGURE W6: MIX-AND-MATCH MENU LIKING AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL



STATUS (LEFT 1st collection round; RIGHT 2nd collection round)

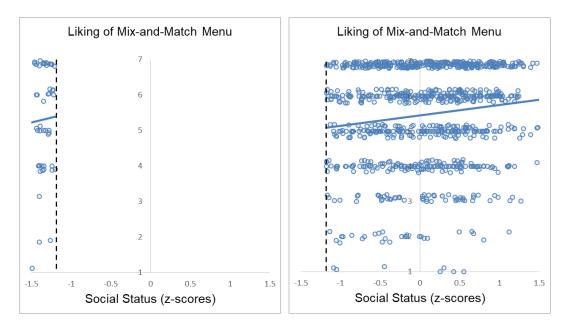
— Mix-and-Match Menu

NOTE.— Lines around means represent 95% confidence intervals. In the 1st collection round, status (b = .36, SE = .09, t(571) = 4.09, p < .001) and its square (b = .02, SE = .09, t(571) = 2.10, p = .036, $R^2 = .171$) were significant predictors of liking. In the 2nd collection round, status was linearly related to liking (b = .27, SE = .08, t(511) = 3.28, p = .001, $R^2 = .144$).

Study 3: Two-lines Test of Curvilinear Trends

Following the two-lines test procedure (Simonsohn 2017), we first identified the deep of the curve (z-score social status = -1.19). We then looked at the relationship between social status and liking of mix-and-match menu before and after this point in a regression. As figure W7 shows, the relationship between social status and liking was positive and significant (b = .32, SE = .07, t(1,010) = 4.71, p < .001, $R^2 = .022$) for respondents scoring relatively higher on status (i.e., more than -1.19). The relationship was not significant for respondents scoring below the threshold (b = .51, SE = 1.10, t(73) = .46, NS; figure W7). These results elucidate that the significant curvilinear relationship between social status and liking of mix-and-match menu was primarily driven by the relatively high-status respondents (i.e., with scores after the deep of the curve, consistent with our hypotheses).

FIGURE W7: LIKING OF MIX-AND-MATCH MENU AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS BEFORE AND AFTER THE MINIMUM



NOTE. — Horizontal line fixed at the minimum of the curve (-1.19); jittered raw data to prevent over-plotting.

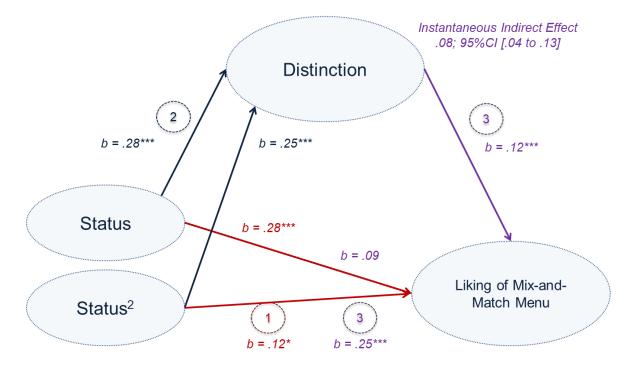


FIGURE W8: COEFFICIENTS FOR NON-LINEAR MEDIATION

NOTE. — Non-linear mediation analysis (MEDCURVE procedure for SPSS, Hayes and Preacher 2010). Coefficients significantly different from zero are indicated by asterisks (*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001).

(1) Red indicates coefficients for the path from the independent variable to the dependent variable. (2) Blue indicates coefficients for the path from the independent variable to the mediator. (3) Violet indicates coefficients for the path from the independent variable and mediator to the dependent variable.

Study 3: Results for Ranking of Menus

To analyze ranking data, we converted the ranking position into the corresponding number (i.e., position 1 = 1, position 2 = 2, ...) and used the same analyses employed for liking. We conducted a series of regressions examining liking of each menu option as a function of social status (continuous) and its square. For each choice, we tested linear and quadratic models and for all menus found significant effects of status only for the linear ones, reported below.

As expected, the analysis for the mix-and-match menu, our focus, revealed a significant effect of social status (b = -.09, SE = .04, t(1,059) = -2.26, p = .024, $R^2 = .005$). High-status individuals (+1SD) ranked the mixed-and-match menu higher ($M_{High} = 1.85$) relative to respondents with midlevel ($M_{middle} = 2.01$) or low ($M_{Low} = 2.03$) levels of social status (figure W9). As a robustness check, we also conducted the same analysis controlling for age (continuous), gender (coded as 1 for men and 2 for women), and collection round (coded as 1 for the 1st time and 2 for the 2nd time). The predicted effect of social status became more significant (b = -.11, SE = .04, t(1,056) = -2.74, p = .006, $R^2 = .020$) when controlling for these variables.

For high-brow menu, the analysis revealed a significant effect of social status (b = -.15, SE = .04, t(1,059) = -3.41, p = .001, $R^2 = .011$). Specifically, high-status individuals (+1SD) ranked the high-brow menu higher ($M_{High} = 2.72$) relative to middle-status ($M_{middle} = 2.84$) or low-status ($M_{Low} = 2.99$) respondents (figure W9).

The results for middle-brow menu were different. Social status (b = .09, SE = .04, t(1,059) = 2.41, p = .016, $R^2 = .005$) was significant, but trending in the opposite direction. Respondents with midlevel and low (-1SD) social status ($M_{middle} = 1.98$; $M_{Low} = 1.96$) ranked this menu higher than high-status respondents ($M_{High} = 2.15$). Finally, the analysis of low-brow menu revealed that social status (b = .15, SE = .04, t(1,059) = 3.89, p < .001, $R^2 = .014$) influenced ranking. Respondents with low social status (– 1SD) ranked this menu higher ($M_{Low} = 3.02$) than people with midlevel ($M_{Middle} = 3.17$) or high ($M_{High} = 3.28$) status.

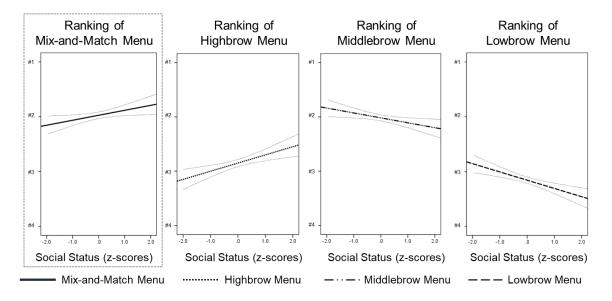


FIGURE W9: RANKING OF MENUS AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS

NOTE.— Lines around means represent 95% confidence intervals. The box highlights the predicted result for ranking of mix-and-match menu.

Study 4: Observers

We decided in advance that each watch would be judged by at least 35 independent respondents. Accordingly, we recruited 603 respondents from Amazon Mechanical Turk (51% female, $M_{age} =$ 36.7, American) for a paid online study. 42 responses were flagged as suspicious (<u>https://itaysisso.shinyapps.io/Bots/</u>) and were excluded (leaving us with 561 valid responses, 35 per watch). Keeping the suspicious responses in does not affect the following results and significance of the effects.

We first introduced participants to a guessing game in which they would play the observers' role, "We are interested in how people make inferences about others based on their looks. To study this, we are going to play a simple game with a few rounds and we will ask you to make some judgments." Participants read about and saw the visual display of the same imaginary society described in study 4. In the first round, they were asked, "Imagine a person decided to pick a [color / shape combination] watch in this round. To which group do you think they belong?" (High, Middle, Low, No Association). Participants were randomly assigned to one of 16 possible combinations of color and shape. Before the second round, they read the same information about imitation stemming from the lower strata as in study 4 (random assignment to either imitation stemming only from the middle, or from both middle and low-status groups). Subsequently, participants had to guess again the status group of another person given their watch (random assignment to one of 16 possible combinations).

In the first round, 91.4% of the observers assigned to the yellow-triangle watch thought that the person wearing it would belong to the high-status group. This percentage was higher than any of the other watches (all ps < .001). The second highest was yellow-square with 58.8% of the respondents associating it with the high-status group. Accordingly, we gave the additional \$1 for the players who selected the yellow-triangle option in the first round of study 4 (note that this 1st round payoff sets up a conservative test as we are reinforcing the behavior of those who maintained their semblances and not rewarding those who diverged).

For the 2^{nd} round (in the presence of imitation), the probabilities of assigning a specific watch to the high-status group were less definite than in the first round. Only two watches had probability of being associated with high-status higher than 35% (i.e., yellow triangle = 56.3%; yellow pentagon = 36.1%). Moreover, these percentages were higher or equal to the number of respondents attributing these options to the middle-status group, which was not the case for any of the other watches. Accordingly (and trying to be as generous as possible with respondents), we gave the additional \$1 for the players who selected one of these two options in the second round (note that the payoff in the second round has no effect on our results as respondents only learn about this reward *after* they are done with their selection and ratings for this round).

Study 4: Instructions and Stimuli

GUESSING GAME

We are interested in how people make inferences about others based on their choices. To study this, we are going to play a simple game with two rounds.

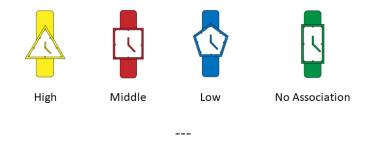
You will make a choice and others ("observers") make inferences about you based on that choice.

Make sure you read the following descriptions carefully and understand how the game works. Depending on the outcome, you may receive extra compensation at the end of the study (up to \$2 more), so make sure you pay attention!

Imagine you live in a society that has three types of people: highs, middles, and lows.

In this society, the type of watch one wears signal one's identity to others. Specifically, watches vary on two dimensions: shape and color.

The highs wear watches that are triangular and yellow; middles wear watches that are square and red; and lows wear watches that are pentagon and blue (see image below). Rectangular and green watches are not associated with any group (there is no meaning attached to this shape or color).



You have been assigned to be a high type. High types tend to wear watches that are triangular and yellow (see image below).

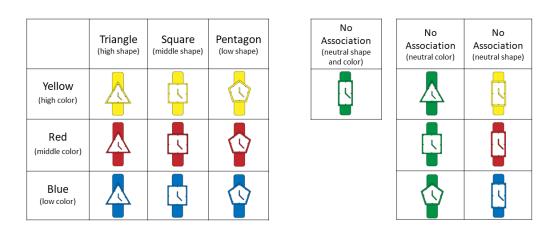
Your objective is to signal to others that you are a high type. If others correctly guess that you are a high, you will receive 1\$ per round.



ROUND 1

Now it is time to pick your watch for this round. Below are your options.

You can pick whichever option you like, but your objective is to signal to others that you are a high type and you will receive \$1 if others correctly guess your type.



[If participants selected yellow triangle] Others guessed you are a high based on your choice. You earned \$1 extra in this round.

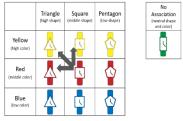
[If participants did NOT select yellow triangle] Others did not guess you are a high based on your choice. You do not earn \$1 extra in this round.

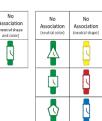
[Random assignment to one of two scenarios: imitation stemming from middles or imitation stemming from middles and lows]

Before starting the second round, it is important to note a change in the dynamics of the society: People are imitating the choices of the group above them.

Accordingly, many middles have started to copy the watches of the highs. Some of them switched to triangular shape, some of them switched to yellow color, and some of them switched to both triangular shape and yellow color (see below).

As a result of this situation, it is unclear whether yellow color and triangular shape signal high or middle.



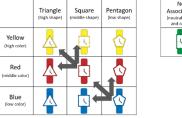


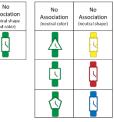
Before starting the second round, it is important to note a change in the dynamics of the society: People are trying to look like the group above them.

Accordingly, many middles have started to change their looks to appear like highs. Some of them switched to triangular shape, some of them switched to yellow color, and some of them switched to both triangular shape and yellow color (see below).

Similarly, low have started to change their looks to appear like middles. Some of them switched to square shape, some of them switched to red color, and some of them switched to both square shape and red color (see below).

As a result of this situation, it is unclear whether yellow and triangle signal high or middle.





ROUND 2

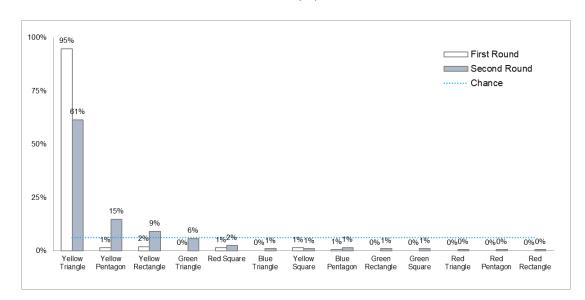
Now it is time to pick your watch for this round. Below are your options. You can pick whichever option you like, but your objective is to signal to others that you are a high type and you will receive \$1 if others correctly guess your type.

What would you pick? (Dropdown list with 16 options in randomized order of appearance)

Rate how well each of the following statements describe your thought process when making the selection for the second round (randomized order of appearance): I wanted to be authentic; I wanted to differentiate myself from middles; I wanted to differentiate myself from lows; I wanted to fit in; I wanted to stand out" (1 = not well at all, 7 = extremely well).

[If participants selected yellow triangle or yellow pentagon] Others guessed you are a high based on your choice. You earned \$1 extra in this round.

[If participants did NOT select yellow triangle or yellow pentagon] Others did not guess you are a high based on your choice. You do not earn \$1 extra in this round.



Study 4: Results' Figure

FIGURE W10: CHOICE OF WATCHES (%) ACROSS ROUNDS OF THE GAME

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence r Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	0.47	0.14	0.19	0.74	10.78	1	.001
Round	2.43	0.32	1.79	3.07	56.03	1	.000

Study 4: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures logistic regression)

Dependent Variable: Choice of Yellow-Triangle

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	1.75	0.19	1.37	2.13	81.24	1	0.00
Round	2.48	0.62	1.26	3.70	15.89	1	.000

Dependent Variable: Choice of Yellow-Pentagon

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of round.

Study 4: Additional Open-ended Comments

High-Status Watch. The open comments written by participants who stayed with the high-status watch (i.e., yellow-triangle) in the second round suggest that most of these respondents wanted to either stay true to who they were (e.g., "I'm being myself"; "While it might be uncertain if yellow triangle is middle or high, there was no better option for me to choose as a 'high' person, so I chose to stay authentic in my choice"; "I was trying to be honest") or they still thought that, despite imitation, the yellow-triangle watch would still convey high status in the eyes of observers (e.g., "Yellow triangle is still high"; "I wanted to stay consistent so that others can guess who I am. Even if people are imitating each other, the only reference we have is to the original colors and shape").

No-association Options. The open comments written by participants who opted for one of the watches mixing and matching high and no-association dimension (i.e., yellow-rectangle,

green triangle) in the second round suggest that most of these respondents wanted to either pick something novel ("Unusual"; "I chose the green triangle to begin a new movement for the high color because of the middle trying to adapt...") or to ensure that one dimension would be high and one dimension would have no prior association with any group (e.g., "I didn't want to choose high triangle again because some of the middle people chose that, so I kept the yellow color but chose rectangle which had no association"; "No association with green color but high types have triangle"; "I didn't want to choose high triangle again because some of the middle people chose that, so I kept the yellow color but chose rectangle which had no association").

Study 4: Follow-Up Study

The first objective of this follow-up study was to replicate the results of study 4 in a different setting and with higher power. Second, we wanted to examine distinction even more directly. Although study 4 is supportive, one could argue that the results could be driven by factors other than imitation by the lower strata. If such alternative explanations were to exist, then eliminating imitation should not change the findings. To test this possibility, we eliminate imitation for some participants. If our theorizing is correct, highs should only abandon high-status items if middles are copying. In the absence of imitation by the middles, the effect should not occur.

Method. Participants (N = 603, 49% female, $M_{age} = 37$, American, recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk) completed a two-round game with the chance of winning up to \$1 additional compensation (that is, \$0.5 potential extra per round⁶). 71 responses were flagged as suspicious (<u>https://itaysisso.shinyapps.io/Bots/</u>) and 3 IP addresses were repeated, we therefore excluded these answers although keeping them responses in does not affect the following results and

⁶ We halved the potential additional amount given that compensation on Mechanical Turk is lower than in the lab.

significance of the effects. Respondents were assigned to one of two conditions: *imitation* or *no-imitation*. Given the main objective was higher-power replication of study 4, two thirds of respondents were assigned to the imitation condition (N = 352) and one third to the no-imitation condition (N = 174). Post-hoc power analysis on G*power (test family χ^2 ; $\alpha = .05$) with the effect size observed in study 4 for the increase of the high-low combination between rounds ($\varphi = .19$) confirmed that a sample size of 352 in the imitation condition guaranteed power close to 95% (Faul et al. 2007).

The first round of the game was as in study 4. To ensure that results were not driven by some shapes and colors looking more natural, we used different associations of colors and shapes (i.e., participants either saw the associations used in study 4 or those used in study 5). Visual display did not influence results and, for ease of exposition, we report findings with the study 4 associations (i.e., yellow-triangle being the original high-status watch).

After making a first-round choice, participants entered the second round. The only difference between conditions was the presence or absence of imitation in the second round. The *imitation* condition was identical to study 4 (i.e., imitation from middle status).⁷ In the *no-imitation* condition, however, there was no imitation from the middles and the visuals of the society were identical between rounds.

Next, respondents completed our key dependent variable, second-round choice. Finally, participants rated a series of statements as in studies 4 and 5 describing their thought process when making the selection for the second round. To test an additional alternative explanation, we added a sixth statement measuring potential empathy towards low-status groups ("I wanted to get close to the lows").

⁷ Because the description of the shock (i.e., middle imitating vs. both middles and lows imitating) in the 2^{nd} round did not influence results in study 4, here we only tested the variant with imitation from the middles.

Results. First, we examined whether participants chose to stay with the original highstatus watch (i.e., yellow-triangle) across rounds and conditions. Given the repeated-measures design of the study (i.e., each participant made 2 choices, one per round) and the binary dependent variable (coded as 1 for choosing the yellow-triangle watch and 0 for other choices), we ran a series of repeated-measures logistic regressions with round, condition, and an interaction term between the two as independent variables.

In addition to an effect of round ($\chi^2(1) = 56.27$, p < .001) and imitation ($\chi^2(1) = 20.15$, p < .001), results revealed the predicted interaction ($\chi^2(1) = 18.38$, p < .001), figure W11. In the presence of imitation, we observed the same effects as study 4: co-option led some high-status individuals to abandon the purely high-status option ($M_{first-round} = 87.5\%$ vs. $M_{second-round} = 65.9\%$; $\chi^2(1) = 56.27$, p < .001, $\varphi = .28$) and select a different option. When imitation from the middle status was absent, however, this effect disappeared. Participants stuck with the high-associated signals (i.e., yellow-triangle, $M_{first-round} = 86.2\%$ vs. $M_{second-round} = 85.1\%$, $\chi^2(1) = .18$, NS) rather than partially abandoning it.

A more granular analysis of new options selected in the second-round supports our mixand-match hypothesis. In the *imitation* condition, replicating prior results, the most popular choice mixed high and low (yellow-pentagon watch), and the proportion of participants choosing the mix-and-match watch significantly increased between rounds ($M_{first-round} = 2.0\%$ vs. M_{second} . round = 9.9%, $\chi^2(1) = 16.43$, p < .001, $\varphi = .15$). This was the option chosen most frequently compared to others ($M_{Yellow Rectangle} = 6.0\%$, $\chi^2(1) = 3.8$, p = .051, $\varphi = .07$; $M_{Green Triangle} = 4.0\%$, $\chi^2(1) = 9.67$, p = .002, $\varphi = .12$) and the only option chosen above chance (chance = 6.25%; $\chi^2(1)$ = 3.23, p = .072, $\varphi = .07$). In the *no-imitation* condition, by contrast, the choice of this high-low combination did not change between rounds ($M_{first-round} = 1.7\%$ vs. $M_{second-round} = 2.9\%$, $\chi^2(1) = .51$, NS). These findings suggest that imitation from middles is an important driver of our phenomenon and that, in the absence of the need to distinguish oneself from the imitators, participants do not willingly abandon the high-status traits, nor opt for options mixing and matching different tastes.

Distinction. As in study 4, the choice to diverge and select the high-low combination in the *imitation* condition was linked to seeking distinction from the middles. Compared to participants who stuck with the high-status watch, participants who picked the mix-and-match combination in the second round reported a great interest in distinguishing themselves from middles ($M_{Yellow Pentagon} = 5.86$, SD = 1.44, vs. $M_{Yellow Triangle} = 4.97$, SD = 2.12; t(265) = 2.39, p = .017, d = .44). Moreover, distinction from the middles was the highest rated motive for these participants. Note that wanting to get close to the lows was not rated as a strong motive (M = 1.91, SD = 1.25), diminishing concerns about empathy as an alternative explanation.

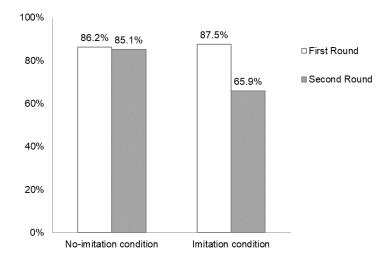
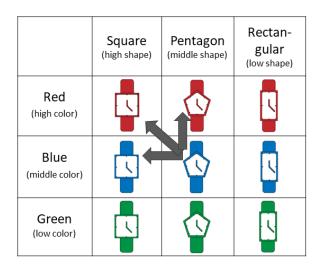


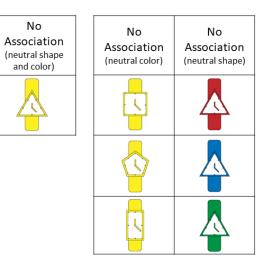
FIGURE W11: CHOICE OF HIGH-STATUS WATCH

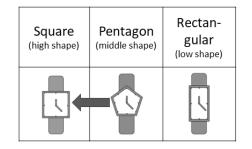
Discussion. This follow-up study underscores our theorizing and demonstrates that imitation by middles moderates the effect. Highs only adopt low-status associated options when they are imitated by middles. In the absence of imitation, there is no emergence of signals trickling-round.

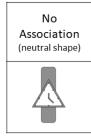
Study 5: Visual Stimuli, 2nd round

FIGURE W12: SECOND ROUND DYNAMICS (Imitation stemming from middles) FOR TWO-DIMENSION CONDITION (TOP) AND ONE-DIMENSION CONDITION (BOTTOM)









Study 5: Observers (*one-dimension* condition)

We decided in advance that each watch would be judged by at least 35 independent respondents. Accordingly, we recruited 160 respondents from Amazon Mechanical Turk (52% female, $M_{age} =$ 38, American) for a paid online study. 10 responses were flagged as suspicious (<u>https://itaysisso.shinyapps.io/Bots/</u>) and were excluded (leaving us with 150 valid responses, 37 per watch). Keeping the suspicious responses in does not affect the following results and significance of the effects.

The procedure was identical to the observers for study 4, except that in this case participants were randomly assigned to one of four different watches only varying in shapes as in the one-dimension condition described in study 5 (i.e., square associated with high status, pentagon associated with middle status, rectangular associated with low status, triangle neutral).

In the first round, 90.2% of the observers assigned to the square watch thought that the person wearing it would belong to the high-status group. This percentage was higher than any of the other watches (p < .001; the second highest was rectangle with 5.9% of the respondents associating it with the high-status group). Accordingly, we gave the additional \$1 to the players who selected this option in the first round.

For the 2nd round (in the presence of imitation from pentagon to square), square was the watch associated with the highest probability of being high status (17.5%). Accordingly, we gave the additional \$1 for the players who selected this option out of the four possible ones.

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	1.58	0.26	1.07	2.08	37.02	1	.000
Round	3.07	1.05	1.01	5.12	8.56	1	.003
Number of Dimensions' Condition	2.38	0.76	0.89	3.86	9.79	1	.002
Round * Condition	-3.07	1.46	-5.94	-0.20	4.40	1	.036

Study 5: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures logistic regression)

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant interaction between round and number of signaling dimensions.

Study 6: Power Analysis and Sample Size Determination

We conducted a power analysis on G*power (test family χ^2 ; $\alpha = .05$; Faul et al. 2007) with the effect size observed in study 1 for the relationship between cultural capital and choice of downscale products ($\varphi = .126$). Specifically, the analysis revealed that N = 730 would guarantee 90% power and N = 546 would guarantee 80% power. We therefore decided to aim for a total sample size between 600 and 700 respondents (that is, more than 300 respondents per condition). To achieve the desired sample size, we collected data three times ($N_{1st} = 141$, $N_{2nd} = 179$, and $N_{3rd} = 398$). Results across collection rounds provide converging evidence and, as reported below, hold when controlling for round.

Study 6: Pretest Distinction Manipulation

We decided in advance to recruit approximately 100 respondents per condition. We recruited participants (N = 219, 100% female, $M_{age} = 39$, American) through Amazon Mechanical Turk to complete a paid online study. 11 responses were flagged as suspicious (<u>https://itaysisso.shinyapps.io/Bots/</u>) and we therefore excluded them, although keeping these responses in does not affect the following results and significance of the effects.

Respondents were randomly assigned to one of two conditions between-subjects: *distinction* or *control* (as described in the article). Next, participants engaged in a filler task (product selection similar to study 1). Subsequently, we measured distinction from the middle status to test the effectiveness of the experimental manipulation. Specifically, participants rated the extent to which (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) a series of statements: "When deciding between these options, rate the extent to which each of the following statements describe your motivations: (*a*) To be authentic; (*b*) To differentiate myself from high-status people; (*c*) To differentiate myself from middle-status people; (*d*) To differentiate myself from low-status people; (*e*) To fit in." To lessen demand effects, we randomized the order of appearance of the items and included non-focal motives (e.g., "fit in").

Finally, we measured cultural capital using the same measure of knowledge about fashion and luxury goods as in studies 1 and 2 and need for uniqueness (Lynn and Harris 1997). Unsurprisingly, this sample did not consider themselves as particularly knowledgeable in fashion and luxury goods (M = 3.65 out of 7, SD = 1.49) and did not get many questions right in the test (M = 1.55, SD = 1.05). Indeed, these ratings (r = .22, p < .001) are comparable to the lowcultural-capital respondents in studies 1 and 2.

Results. The analysis of the manipulation check confirmed that respondents in the *distinction* condition expressed higher desire for distinguishing themselves from the middles $(M_{Dist} = 4.05, \text{SD} = 2.19)$ compared to the *control* condition $(M_{Control} = 2.24, \text{SD} = 1.49; t(206) = 6.99, p < .001, d = .97)$. The manipulation also elicited higher desire to distinguish oneself from the lows $(M_{Dist} = 3.36, \text{SD} = 2.08, \text{ vs. } M_{Control} = 2.44, \text{SD} = 2.44; t(205) = 3.46, p = .001, d = .41)$ and from the highs $(M_{Dist} = 3.03, \text{SD} = 1.91, \text{ vs. } M_{Control} = 2.33, \text{SD} = 1.61; t(206) = 2.88, p = .004, d = .39)$. However, within the *distinction* condition, distinction from the middles (M = 4.05, M = 0.004, M = 0.004, M = 0.004).

SD = 2.19) was higher than both distinction from the lows (M = 3.36, SD = 2.08) and the highs (M = 3.03, SD = 1.91; both $ps \le .001$). Additionally, as reported above, the effect size of the manipulation on distinction from the middles was twice as large as distinction from the other groups. Finally, authenticity motives ($M_{Dist} = 5.23$, SD = 1.81, vs. $M_{Control} = 4.93$, SD = 1.77; t(206) = 1.22, NS) and wanting to fit in ($M_{Dist} = 3.22$, SD = 1.81, vs. $M_{Control} = 2.90$, SD = 1.68; t(206) = 1.33, NS) did not differ between conditions.

Lastly, we checked whether the manipulation interacted with either cultural capital or need for uniqueness (8 items, $\alpha = .89$) on desire to distinguish oneself from the middles, but it did not in either case, suggesting that the manipulation was equally impactful on all respondents.

	В	Std. Error	95% Confide	ence Interval	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	0.26	0.08	0.11	0.42	11.02	1	.001
Product Type	-0.26	0.14	-0.53	0.02	3.27	1	.071
Distinction Condition	0.33	0.11	0.10	0.55	8.23	1	.004
Product Type * Distinction	-0.39	0.20	-0.78	-0.01	4.00	1	.046

Study 6: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures logistic regression)

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant interaction between product type and distinction condition.

	В	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval		Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p- value)
			Lower	Upper			
(Intercept)	0.41	0.17	0.07	0.75	5.61	1	.018
Product Type	-0.26	0.14	-0.53	0.02	3.27	1	.071
Distinction Condition	0.33	0.11	0.10	0.55	8.29	1	.004
Product Type * Distinction	-0.39	0.20	-0.78	-0.01	4.00	1	.046
Collection round	-0.06	0.06	-0.19	0.06	0.97	1	.325

Study 6: Comprehensive Results' Table (repeated-measures logistic regression, controlling for collection round)

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant interaction between product type and distinction condition.

Study 6: Mix-and-Match Analysis (m	nultinomial logistic regression)
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		В	Std. Error	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p value)
Mix-and-Match	Intercept	0.72	0.13	30.47	1	.000
	Distinction Condition	-0.43	0.18	5.93	1	.015
All Downscale Items	Intercept	-0.48	0.17	7.58	1	.006
	Distinction Condition	-0.65	0.25	6.79	1	.009

Reference category: All upscale items

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of condition on the probability of mixing and matching.

Study 6: Mix-and-Match Analysis (multinomial logistic regression, controlling for collection

round)

		В	Std. Error	Wald χ^2	df	Sig. (p value)
Mix-and-Match	Intercept	0.34	0.31	1.25	1	.263
	Distinction Condition	-0.43	0.18	6.02	1	.014
	Collection Round	0.16	0.12	1.86	1	.173
All Downscale Items	Intercept	-0.70	0.43	2.65	1	.103
	Distinction Condition	-0.66	0.25	6.84	1	.009
	Collection Round	0.09	0.16	0.32	1	.570

Reference category: All upscale items

NOTE. — Bold highlights the predicted significant effect of condition on the probability of mixing and matching.

The Role of Subcultures (General Discussion)

• Takashi Murakami's art blends traditional motives with Japan's "low" culture of anime and manga (Japanese comics) and the otaku group (fanatics of comics).



Murakami's paintings



Murakami's collections for Louis Vuitton

• "Gucci in the Streets" (#GucciDansLesRues) collection and campaign (2018) seize inspiration from students' counter-culture and protests in Paris May '68.



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