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Prejudice against members of a ridiculed working-class group

Alexandra Vázquez* and David Lois
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Madrid, Spain

In five experiments, we examined the stereotypes, emotions, and behavioural intentions associated with a Spanish working-class group, known as *chonis*. We described a student (Experiments 1–3) or job candidate (Experiments 4–5) and presented participants with a picture showing a woman characterized either as *choni* or posh (an upper-class group, Experiments 2–4) or with no picture (Experiments 1, 3–5). Depending on the condition, explicit information about her high social class (Experiment 1), performance (Experiment 3), or category (Experiment 5) was provided. Participants evaluated the candidate more negatively, felt less admiration, and were less willing to interact with her or to recommend her for a job when she was categorized as *choni* as compared to the other categories. These effects disappeared if the student/candidate had high socioeconomic status or performed excellently in the academic domain, but they were magnified for highly (vs. weakly) materialistic individuals. Class prejudice apparently has harmful effects on disadvantaged individuals, but can be mitigated by explicit information.

> Chav-hate is a way of justifying an unequal society. What if you have wealth and success because it has been handed to you on a plate? What if people are poorer than you because the odds are stacked against them? To accept this would trigger a crisis of self-confidence among the well-off few. And if you were to accept it, then surely you would have to accept that the government's duty is to do something about it—namely, by curtailing your own privileges. But, if you convince yourself that the less fortunate are smelly, thick, racist and rude by nature, then it is only right that they should remain at the bottom. Jones (2011, p. 137)

Much psychosocial research gravitates around prejudice and discrimination. Surprisingly, class prejudice has received scant interest from social psychologists (Haslam & Loughnan, 2012; Hodgetts & Griffin, 2015) despite its undeniable impact in multiple areas. The current research aims to explore prejudiced responses to a specific working-class group, as well as the conditions that can increase or weaken such reactions. To that end, we conducted five experiments in Spain considering a stigmatized working-class subgroup known as *chonis*. We analysed how presenting a picture of a female with a *choni* or upper-class appearance influences participants' perceptions regarding competence, morality and sociability, emotions, and behavioural intentions towards her. In addition to this subtle manipulation of social class, we also provided explicit information about her socioeconomic status and performance to check whether this might undermine

*Correspondence should be addressed to Alexandra Vázquez, Departamento de Psicología Social y de las Organizaciones, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, C/Juan del Rosal, 10, 28040 Madrid, Spain (email: alx.vazquez@psi.uned.es).

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any prejudicial responses. A final study checked whether explicitly labelling the target person as *choni* exerts similar effects.

Class prejudice and justification of inequality

Stereotypes about social classes might lead people to perceive that inequality stems from individual differences (e.g., effort) rather than from structural factors (Volpato, Andrighetto, & Baldissarri, 2017). As Jones (2011) states in our initial quotation, the vilification of the working classes justifies the privileges of the most fortunate. For example, Ashmore and McConahay (1975) found that the likelihood of stereotyping the poor as vagrants increased in pace with the participants' socioeconomic status. However, members of low-status groups also internalize and apply the stereotypes about their own group to other group members, thus legitimizing and reinforcing the system (Jost & Banaji, 1994). The ambivalence of the stereotypes facilitates their assimilation by generating an illusion of fairness and balance.

According to the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), people use two dimensions to evaluate social groups, *warmth* and *competence*. Combinations of these dimensions predict specific affective reactions (envy, pity, admiration, or contempt) to outgroup members (Fiske *et al.*, 2002). Later on, it was proposed that warmth consists of two components, *sociability* and *morality* (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). In fact, morality seems to have more influence than sociability and competence on person perception (Brambilla, Sacchi, Rusconi, Cherubini, & Yzerbyt, 2012; Leach *et al.*, 2007).

In samples from 27 countries, Durante, Bearns Tablante, and Fiske (2017) found that rich people tend to be perceived as competent and cold whereas poor people are pictured as warm and incompetent. Furthermore, unequal societies report more ambivalent stereotypes about rich and poor people than equal societies, suggesting that ambivalence might enable system stability (Durante *et al.*, 2013, 2017). This compensatory mechanism may substantiate inequality insofar as the privileged position of the rich is implied to be based on their merit, whereas the discontent of the lower classes is alleviated by their superior warmth (Durante *et al.*, 2017). Likewise, exposure to complementary representations of the rich (rich/dishonest) and the poor (poor/honest) increases the perception that the system is fair in comparison with exposure to uniform representations (Kay & Jost, 2003).

The category of chonis and images of working-class subgroups globally

Although the working class as a whole may be assessed ambivalently, some of its subgroups (i.e., *chavs* in England, *bogans* in Australia) are evaluated extremely negatively and are even objects of dehumanization. Three studies conducted in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia showed that animality was a common component in the stereotypes of white trash, chavs, and bogans (Loughnan, Haslam, Sutton, & Spencer, 2014). Beliefs about these groups were associated with stereotypes of apes and other animals, such that members of these groups were depicted as primitive, brutal, and not completely human. The bogan stereotype was also associated with low competence and low morality, but did not significantly correlate with warmth (Study 3). In the cross-national study of Durante *et al.* (2013), the Northern Irish sample attributed low competence and low warmth to chavs, who were included in the same quadrant as homeless, immigrants, and unemployed people. In this case, warmth comprised both

sociability and morality. In terms of emotional reactions, sociological research examining the media representation of chavs or white trash found negative emotional expressions of disgust and contempt towards these groups (Hartigan, 1997; Lawler, 2005; Tyler, 2008; Willem, Araüna, & Tortajada, 2019).

In Spain, there is a comparable working-class subgroup (see Moreno Segarra & Bernárdez Rodal, 2017) that is widely caricatured in the media and in popular imagination and considered the epitome of the failed underclass (e.g., Willem, *et al.*, 2019). Its members are labelled as *chonis* (females) and *canis* (males) and are construed as being lower class, mainly young, uneducated, and noisy, who dress loudly, do not work or work in unstable jobs, show aggressive tendencies, and are sometimes on the margins of illegality (Willem *et al.*, 2019). Based on this qualitative analysis of Willem et al. and on previous research with chavs and similar groups (Durante *et al.*, 2013; Loughnan *et al.*, 2014), we conjecture that *chonis/canis* would be negatively evaluated, particularly in regard to their competence and morality, but not sociability (in line with Loughnan *et al.*, 2014). As stereotypes often operate in synchrony with affective and behavioural components of prejudice (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008), we could subsequently expect negative emotions and behavioural tendencies towards those who are categorized as belonging to this group. This categorization may be made rapidly based on subtle cues.

Appearance, explicit information, and social perception

People may intentionally signal their social class, for instance, by showing certain cultural practices and leisure activities or possessions (Bricker, Ramcharan, & Krimmel, 2014; Gillath, Bahns, Ge, & Crandall, 2012; Kraus, Park, & Tan, 2017). However, they also communicate their status unintentionally through various cues that are used by perceivers to make inferences rapidly and accurately. Kraus *et al.* (2017) found evidence of the accuracy of class signalling in short interactions (60 s) and recordings of brief speech. Bjornsdottir and Rule (2017) showed that perceivers infer social class based on minimal facial cues (i.e., emotional expressions) and then use their stereotype-related impressions to make judgements.

However, the effect of stereotype-related impressions may diminish when explicit information about the target is available. Locksley, Borgida, Brekke, and Hepburn (1980) reported that judgements were determined by gender stereotypical information, but only when participants had no explicit behavioural information about the target. Subsequent studies (e.g., Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Heilman, 1984) demonstrated that providing specific information about the targets' behaviour, role, or traits reduced the influence of stereotypes on the perception of the person.

According to these findings, we manipulated two aspects that collide with the social image of *chonis*: high socioeconomic status and competence (Willem *et al.*, 2019). Since *chonis* are working-class women, those with high socioeconomic status would be excluded from that category. People can eventually mimic working-class style or attitudes, but they will be not considered authentic if they are wealthy (Hollingworth & Williams, 2009). Thus, presenting information about high socioeconomic status should reduce the negative consequences that looking like a *choni* would have.

On the other hand, the social image of *chonis/canis* presumably involves low skills. They are perceived as 'uneducated', 'retarded', and 'idiotic' (Willem *et al.*, 2019, p. 540). Based on previous evidence about the effects of counter-stereotypical data (e.g., Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Heilman, 1984), we expect that providing explicit information about the high performance of the target person would undermine category-based responses.

Overview

We conducted five experiments to examine the content of the *choni* stereotypes and the emotions and behavioural intentions towards them. In Experiments 1–4, we manipulated class-related cues by showing a passport photograph of a woman who was characterized as *choni* (the working-class group) or posh (an upper-class group). In Experiment 5, we dispensed with the photograph and explicitly labelled the target person as *choni*. We also examined the potential moderator effects of actual performance (Experiment 3) or materialism (Experiments 4–5).

We expect that exposure to a *choni* will result in lower scores for competence and morality and more negative emotions than exposure to the same person characterized as posh or uncategorized. However, when explicit information is available about the target's social class or high performance, no differences will emerge as a function of category. We also predict that material values will moderate the negative consequences of categorization as *choni*.

Participants were recruited using a snowball strategy. We asked undergraduate students in psychology from a distance learning university to give their acquaintances the link to an online study. In Study 1, we estimated that 146 participants would provide 85% power to detect a medium effect (f = .25). The results of Study 1 revealed medium effects. To be conservative, we calculated the sample size for the next experiments assuming a small to medium effect (f = .15). To detect such an effect with 85% power, we estimated that 489 participants would be necessary for Experiments 2 and 4 and 401 for Experiment 5. In Experiment 3, we assumed a weaker effect for the interaction and estimated that 1,096 participants would be necessary to detect a small effect (f = .10) with 85% power. As our students sent invitations to more people than necessary, in Experiments 2, 4, and 5, the final sample exceeded the estimated minimum. However, we failed to reach this minimum in Experiment 3. No additional data were collected after an initial data analysis. All data exclusions, manipulations, and measures are reported in all studies.

EXPERIMENT 1

In Experiment 1, we tested whether exposure to a student characterized as *choni* (*choni* condition) has a negative effect on the participants' evaluation of her and their desire for interaction as compared to a control condition in which no class-based categorization was possible. To discard the alternative explanation, namely that it is poor taste aesthetically speaking (and not the categorization within a discriminated group) that drives the effects, we added an additional condition (the upper-class condition) with explicit information on the student's high socioeconomic status. If poor aesthetic taste were the crucial factor, there should be no difference between the *choni* and upper-class conditions. However, if the relevant process were the categorization as belonging to a discriminated working-class group, the results for the *choni* and upper-class conditions would differ.

Method

Participants

One hundred and sixty-two Spaniards (60.5% women, M_{age} = 34.90, SD = 13.49) participated online.

Procedure

Participants were invited to collaborate in an online study on group decision-making. All non-Spaniards were redirected to a different study in all experiments. Participants knew that they would be part of a small team of three people (with two students from our university) who would have to reach a decision about an environmental problem. Participants were informed that only four psychology students were available at that time and that they would read a brief description about each one before deciding which two students they would select as team members.

Participants first received the description of one student, a 33-year-old woman (the mean age of our students is 32–34). In the *control* and *choni* conditions, there was no information about the student's socioeconomic status. In the *choni condition,* the description included a passport photograph of the student with the prototypical appearance of this group: combed hairstyle, eye-catching jewellery, heavy makeup, and leopard jacket (Willem *et al.*, 2019). In the *upper-class condition,* we presented the same photograph, but the description included information about the student's socioeconomic status. Specifically, she was presented with a typically upper-class name (Cayetana), as living in a well-known affluent neighbourhood, and whose parents owned a prestigious law firm. Participants then completed the dependent variables and a manipulation check. At the end, they were debriefed and thanked.

Stereotype content was assessed with a list of 15 traits from Brambilla, Rusconi, Sacchi, and Cherubini (2011), including five *sociability* (i.e., friendly), $\alpha = .93$, five *competence* (i.e., intelligent), $\alpha = .93$, and five *morality* items (i.e., sincere), $\alpha = .95$, ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely).

To assess *desire to interact* with the student, we invited participants to indicate how much they would like to work with her from 1 (Absolutely not) to 7 (Very much).

As a *manipulation check,* we asked participants to what extent they believed that the student might be associated with the *choni* category from 1 (not at all associated) to 7 (completely associated). An ANOVA indicated that the agreement with the *choni* categorization was higher in the *choni* condition, $F(1,159) = 9.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, $M = 3.43$, $SD = 2.09$, than in the upper-class ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.87$, $p = .010$) and control conditions ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 1.49$, $p < .001$). The upper-class and control conditions did not differ ($p = .66$). The manipulation checks of Experiments 2–4 were also successful.

Finally, participants indicated their gender, age, ideological orientation, and subjective social status. To assess *ideological orientation*, participants indicated their political beliefs in relation to economic issues and social issues from 1 (left) to 7 (right), $r(160) = .67$, $p < .001$. To capture *subjective social status,* we used the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status (Adler & Stewart, 2007), which presents a 10-rung ladder ranging from 1 to 10 as a metaphor for society. Participants had to indicate in which rung they believed they were considering that the people who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs and are at the top of the ladder, whereas those who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job are at the bottom of the ladder.

Results

Correlations

Table 1 shows the correlations between the dependent variables for all studies. Stereotype dimensions correlated strongly and positively and also with the desire to interact with the student.

Regressions

We conducted several linear regression analyses on the outcome variables (stereotype dimensions and desire to interact) and created two dummy variables to compare the *choni* condition with the upper-class (dummy 1 = 0 *choni* condition, 1 upper-class condition) and control conditions (dummy 2 = 0 *choni* condition, 1 control condition). Ideological

Table 1. Correlations

Experiment 1	1	2	3
1. Sociability	–		
2. Competence	.54**	–	
3. Morality	.77**	.64**	–
4. Desire to interact	.49**	.60**	.62**

Experiment 2	1	2	3	4	5
1. Sociability	–				
2. Competence	.64**	–			
3. Morality	.69**	.59**	–		
4. Admiration	.34**	.39**	.36**	–	
5. Person-team fit	.62**	.62**	.59**	.41**	–
6. Desire to interact	.57**	.54**	.54**	.42**	.75**

Experiment 3	1	2	3	4	5
1. Sociability	–				
2. Competence	.42**	–			
3. Morality	.67**	.51**	–		
4. Admiration	.34**	.51**	.38**	–	
5. Person-team fit	.48**	.68**	.54**	.47**	–
6. Desire to interact	.42**	.67**	.50**	.48**	.83**

Experiment 4	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Materialism	–					
2. Sociability	.05	–				
3. Competence	.00	.51**	–			
4. Morality	.00	. 57**	.55**	–		
5. Admiration	.11*	.33**	.42**	.35**	–	
6. Person-job fit	.01	.29**	.56**	.29**	.34**	–
7. Recommendation	−.01	.33**	.52**	.35**	.33**	.80**

Experiment 5	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Materialism	–					
2. Sociability	.00	–				
3. Competence	.00	.55**	–			
4. Morality	.04	.60**	.57**	–		
5. Admiration	.07	.32**	.39**	.39**	–	
6. Person-job fit	.03	.37**	.58**	.41**	.38**	–
7. Recommendation	.01	.35**	.57**	.41**	.37**	.77**

Note. *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Table 2. Experiment 1. Effect of condition on the dependent variables

	Condition: Choni vs.	*b*	es	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Sociability	Upper-class (dummy 1)	0.24	0.20	1.17	.242	−0.16, 0.64
	Control (dummy 2)	0.02	0.20	0.09	.926	−0.37, 0.41
Competence	Upper-class (dummy 1)	0.49	0.20	2.41	.017	0.09, 0.89
	Control (dummy 2)	0.67	0.20	3.40	.001	0.28, 1.06
Morality	Upper-class (dummy 1)	0.61	0.22	2.75	.007	0.17, 1.06
	Control (dummy 2)	0.54	0.22	2.45	.015	0.10, 0.97
Desire to interact	Upper-class (dummy 1)	0.76	0.26	2.97	.003	0.25, 1.26
	Control (dummy 2)	1.06	0.25	4.25	.000	0.57, 1.56

orientation, subjective social status, age, and gender (0 male, 1 female) were included as covariates in all studies (see the results in the Supporting information). Table 2 shows the results of the regressions, and Table 3 includes the means and deviations for each condition.

Sociability

The regression on sociability yielded no significant effects of the dummy variables (see Table 2).

Competence, morality, and desire to interact

These regressions yielded significant effects of dummies 1 and 2 (see Table 2). Participants attributed less competence and morality to the student and expressed less desire to interact with her in the *choni* condition than in the upper-class and control conditions (see Figure 1). No differences emerged between the control and the upper-class conditions, *p*s > .230.

Discussion

Exposure to a student whose appearance fits the *choni* category reduced the attribution of competence and morality and the desire to interact with her as compared to an uncategorized student. However, this negative effect only appeared when no information was provided about the student's status. When participants knew that the student in the photograph had a high status, they reacted as in the control condition. Thus, our effect appears not to be driven by aesthetic preferences, but by the negative inferences people develop when they perceive a potential member of the *choni* category.

In the second experiment, we sought to extend these results by comparing the *choni* student with its opposite category (posh), according to a recent study of young female Spaniards (Willem *et al.*, 2019). Posh women are perceived as upper-middle-class, wealthy, educated, well-dressed, and sophisticated. In Experiment 2, we also measured emotions and perceived fit between the student and the team.

EXPERIMENT 2

Experiment 2 was designed to check whether a student characterized as *choni* elicits more negative evaluations, emotions, and behavioural intentions than the same student

Table 3. Experiments 1, 2, 4, and 5. Means and standard deviations

	Sociability		Competence		Morality		Admiration		Fit		Desire to interact/ Recommendation	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Experiment 1												
Choni	4.36	1.01	4.15	0.99	3.98	1.10					3.79	1.17
Upper-class	4.55	0.78	4.62	0.92	4.58	0.91					4.53	1.26
Control	4.39	1.26	4.83	1.18	4.52	1.32					4.86	1.42
Experiment 2												
Choni	4.37	0.95	4.40	1.01	4.04	0.99	2.41	1.54	4.31	1.02	4.20	1.07
Posh	4.50	0.98	4.69	0.98	4.32	1.05	2.86	1.73	4.72	1.10	4.58	1.07
Experiment 4												
Choni	4.61	0.98	4.82	1.06	4.41	1.01	2.58	1.58	4.90	1.14	5.06	1.30
Posh	4.62	0.85	4.92	0.91	4.52	0.92	2.89	1.69	5.05	1.16	5.20	1.24
Control	4.28	1.08	4.93	0.90	4.45	0.97	3.13	1.69	4.99	1.10	5.16	1.18
Experiment 5												
Choni	4.34	1.00	4.87	0.94	4.37	1.04	2.90	1.73	5.00	1.05	5.19	1.17
Control	4.57	0.93	5.08	0.83	4.53	0.89	3.24	1.72	5.20	0.98	5.36	1.15

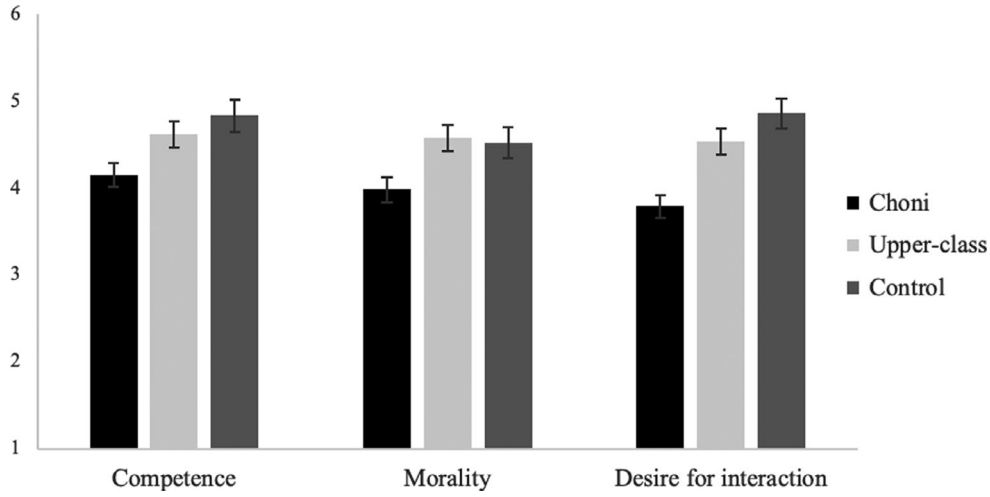

Figure 1. Experiment 1. Competence, morality, and desire for interaction per condition.

characterized as posh. To avoid social desirability, the student was not categorized explicitly as *choni*/posh but presented with the prototypical appearance of each group. We expected that participants would evaluate the *choni* student more negatively and express more negative emotions and less desire to interact with her than with the posh student.

Method

Participants

Five hundred and fifty-one Spaniards (60.6% women, M_{age} = 31.53, *SD* = 12.75) participated online.

Procedure

The study was introduced as in Experiment 1. Participants received a short description of a student, María, a 33-year-old woman, with no information about her socioeconomic status. In the *choni condition,* the same picture was presented as in Experiment 1. In the *posh condition,* the same student had the prototypical appearance of posh women in Spain: straight hair, subtle makeup, pearls, and a light pink shirt. All the participants evaluated to what extent the expression of the student in the photograph was happy or hostile. No differences in perceived emotional expression emerged as a function of condition, *F*s < 1.50, *p*s > .221, η_p^2s < .003, neither in the following studies, *F*s < 1.94, *p*s > .163, η_p^2s < .003. They then completed the dependent variables and the manipulation check.

Stereotypes and *desire to interact* were assessed as in Experiment 1, αs > .92.

To assess *emotions,* we asked participants to indicate whether they felt contempt, pity, envy, and admiration towards the student on a scale ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Very much).

Table 4. Experiment 2. Effect of condition on the dependent variables

	b	*es*	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Sociability	0.11	0.08	1.36	.173	−0.05, 0.27
Competence	0.28	0.08	3.42	.001	0.12, 0.45
Morality	0.26	0.09	3.07	.002	0.10, 0.43
Admiration	0.44	0.14	3.16	.002	0.17, 0.72
Person-team fit	0.41	0.09	4.56	.000	0.23, 0.59
Desire to interact	0.37	0.09	4.04	.000	0.19, 0.54

Perceived person-team fit was assessed by means of five items ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree) such as 'I believe that María will be able to work well as a team', $\alpha = .94$.

As a *manipulation check,* we asked participants whether María might be associated with the *choni* and posh categories as in Experiment 1. An ANOVA on the *choni* categorization showed that the agreement was higher in the *choni* condition than in the posh condition, $F(1, 549) = 115.96$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$, *M*s = 2.81 vs. 1.41, *SD*s = 1.96 vs. 0.90. The ANOVA on the posh categorization showed that the agreement with this categorization was higher in the posh condition than in the *choni* condition, $F(1, 549) = 68.10$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, *M*s = 3.87 vs. 2.72, *SD*s = 1.54 vs 1.72.

Results

We conducted several linear regression analyses on the outcome variables. Condition was dummy coded (0 *choni* condition, 1 posh condition). Table 3 includes the means and deviations for each condition, and Table 4 shows the results of the regressions.

Sociability, contempt, pity, and envy

The regressions on these variables yielded no significant effects of condition, *p*s > .173.

Competence, morality, admiration, person-team fit, and desire to interact

A significant effect of condition emerged for all these variables (see Table 4). Compared to the posh condition, participants in the *choni* condition attributed less competence and morality to the student, admired her less, perceived her as less adequate for the team, and expressed a lower desire to interact with her. No differences emerged in sociability or negative emotions.

Discussion

As expected, Study 2 showed that participants evaluated the *choni* student more negatively, expressed less admiration, and were less willing to interact with her than with a posh student. Given the reduced perception of competence in the *choni* condition and the fact that *chonis* are usually characterized as having low competence (Willem *et al.*, 2019), in the following study we sought to explore whether manipulating the student's academic performance would help improve attitudes towards her. Using our academic context, we exposed participants to an incompetent (stereotype-consistent) or

Table 5. Experiment 3. Effects of category and performance on the dependent variables

	b	*es*	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Sociability					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.28	0.11	2.45	.015	0.05, 0.50
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.14	0.11	1.25	.211	−0.08, 0.37
Performance	0.28	0.11	2.53	.012	0.06, 0.50
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	−0.30	0.16	−1.90	.057	−0.61, 0.01
Simple slope – Low performance	0.28	0.11	2.45	.015	0.05, 0.50
Simple slope – High performance	−0.03	0.11	−0.23	.820	−0.24, 0.19
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.33	0.16	−2.07	.038	−0.65, −0.02
Simple slope – Low performance	0.14	0.11	1.25	.211	−0.08, 0.37
Simple slope – High performance	−0.19	0.11	−1.68	.092	−0.41, 0.03
Competence					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.40	0.12	3.33	.001	0.16, 0.64
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.51	0.12	4.17	.000	0.27, 0.75
Performance	1.55	0.12	13.10	.000	1.32, 1.78
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	−0.32	0.17	−1.89	.059	−0.65, 0.01
Simple slope – Low performance	0.40	0.12	3.33	.001	0.16, 0.64
Simple slope – High performance	0.08	0.12	0.68	.494	−0.15, 0.46
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.29	0.17	−1.67	.096	−0.62, 0.05
Simple slope – Low performance	0.51	0.12	4.17	.000	0.27, 0.75
Simple slope – High performance	0.23	0.12	1.88	.060	−0.01, 0.46
Morality					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.38	0.12	3.16	.002	0.14, 0.61
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.46	0.12	3.79	.000	0.22, 0.70
Performance	0.41	0.12	3.50	.000	0.18, 0.64
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	−0.41	0.17	−2.41	.016	−0.74, −0.08
Simple slope – Low performance	0.38	0.12	3.16	.002	0.14, 0.61
Simple slope – High performance	−0.03	0.12	−0.23	.820	−0.26, 0.20
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.52	0.17	−3.03	.003	−0.85, 0.18
Simple slope – Low performance	0.46	0.12	3.79	.000	0.22, 0.70
Simple slope – High performance	−0.05	0.12	−0.45	.649	−0.29, 0.18
Admiration					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.40	0.20	0.22	.822	−0.38, 0.44
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	1.04	0.20	5.08	.000	0.64, 1.44
Performance	0.95	0.20	4.84	.000	0.57, 1.34
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	0.21	0.28	0.75	.452	−0.34, 0.76
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.56	0.28	−1.97	.049	−1.12, −0.002
Simple slope – Low performance	1.04	0.20	5.08	.000	0.64, 1.44
Simple slope – High performance	0.47	0.20	2.38	.018	0.08, 0.87
Person-team fit					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.54	0.13	4.10	.000	0.28, 0.79
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.54	0.13	4.06	.000	0.28, 0.80
Performance	1.33	0.13	10.40	.000	1.08, 1.59
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	−0.55	0.18	−3.01	.003	−0.91, −0.19
Simple slope – Low performance	0.54	0.13	4.10	.000	0.28, 0.79
Simple slope – High performance	−0.02	0.13	−0.12	.905	−0.27, 0.24
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.59	0.19	−3.16	.002	−0.95, −0.22
Simple slope – Low performance	0.54	0.13	4.06	.000	0.28, 0.80
Simple slope – High performance	−0.05	0.13	−0.37	.710	−0.30, 0.21

Continued

Table 5. (*Continued*)

	b	*es*	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Desire to interact					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.42	0.14	3.09	.002	0.15, 0.68
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.57	0.14	4.17	.000	0.30, 0.84
Performance	1.34	0.13	10.10	.000	1.08, 1.60
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Performance)	−0.44	0.19	−2.33	.020	−0.81, −0.07
Simple slope – Low performance	0.42	0.14	3.09	.002	0.15, 0.68
Simple slope – High performance	−0.02	0.13	−0.18	.857	−0.28, 0.24
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Performance)	−0.42	0.19	−2.16	.031	−0.79, −0.04
Simple slope – Low performance	0.57	0.14	4.17	.000	0.15, 0.68
Simple slope – High performance	0.16	0.13	1.17	.243	−0.11, 0.42

competent (stereotype-inconsistent) member of the *choni* category. In Experiment 3, we also added a control condition.

EXPERIMENT 3

In this experiment, we checked whether a student characterized as *choni* elicits more negative evaluations, less admiration, and reduced desire for interaction than a posh or an uncategorized (control) student depending on her performance. The design was a 3 (category: *choni* vs. posh vs. control) by 2 (performance: low vs. high). We expected participants to evaluate the *choni* student more negatively and express less admiration and less desire to interact with her than with a posh or an uncategorized student, but only when her performance was low.

Method

Participants

Nine hundred and twenty Spaniards (67.0% women, M_{age} = 34.89, *SD* = 12.67) participated online.

Procedure

We assigned participants to the *choni*, control, or posh conditions. Participants in the *choni* or posh conditions saw the same photographs used in Experiment 2 and read a description of the student. Participants in the control condition only received the description of the student. In that description, we added information about the student's academic performance. In the *low-performance condition*, participants learnt that she had failed all her subjects except one. In the *high-performance condition,* they were told that she had obtained excellent marks in all subjects. Participants then proceeded to the rest of the questionnaire.

Stereotypes, αs > .92, *emotions*, *perceived person-team fit,* α = .94, and *willingness to interact* with María were measured as in Experiment 2.

We used the same manipulation check as in previous experiments. An ANOVA on the choni category yielded a significant effect of condition, $F(2, 917) = 103.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .184$, such that the agreement with the choni categorization was higher in the choni

condition, $M = 3.01$, $SD = 2.01$, than in the posh, $M = 1.35$, $SD = 0.87$, and control conditions, $M = 1.92$, $SD = 1.27$, $ps < .001$. Agreement was higher in the control than in the posh condition, $p < .001$. An ANOVA on the category 'posh' yielded a significant effect of condition, $F(2, 917) = 39.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, such that the agreement with the posh categorization was higher in the posh condition, $M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.89$, than in the choni, $M = 2.76$, $SD = 1.62$, and control conditions, $M = 3.21$, $SD = 1.61$, $ps < .001$. Agreement was higher in the control than in the choni condition, $p = .003$.

Results

We conducted several linear regression analyses on the outcome variables using the PROCESS macro (Model 1, Hayes, 2017). As the category had three levels, two dummy variables were created. Dummy 1 compared the *choni* with the posh condition (0 *choni*, 1 posh), and dummy 2 compared the *choni* with the control condition (0 *choni*, 1 control). These two dummy variables were included as predictors along with performance (0 low, 1 high) and two-way interactions. Table 5 shows the results of the regressions, and Table 6 includes the means and deviations for each condition. We found no interactive effect in Experiments 3 and 4 on negative emotions (see the results in the Supporting information).

Sociability

The effect of the interaction between dummy 2 and performance was significant, but not the conditional effects (see Table 5). The interaction between dummy 1 and performance had a marginal effect. Participants attributed less sociability to the *choni* student than to the posh student when performance was low, but not when it was high. The effects of dummy 1 and performance were also significant.

Competence

The interaction between dummy 1 and performance was significant, and the effect of the interaction between dummy 2 and performance was marginal (see Table 5). That is, when performance was low, participants attributed less competence to the *choni* student than to the posh and uncategorized (control) student. However, no differences emerged when performance was high. The effects of dummies 1 and 2 and performance were also significant.

Admiration

The regression yielded a significant effect of the interaction between dummy 2 and performance (see Table 5). Participants felt less admiration towards the *choni* student than towards the uncategorized student, but this effect was stronger in the low-performance than in the high-performance condition. The effects of dummy 2 and performance were also significant.

Morality, person-team fit, and desire to interact

These regressions yielded significant effects of the interactions (see Table 5). As compared to the uncategorized and posh students, participants attributed less morality to

Table 6. Experiment 3. Means and standard deviation of outcome measures

	Sociability		Competence		Morality		Admiration		Person-team fit		Desire to interact	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Choni												
Low performance	4.21	0.93	3.53	1.03	4.00	1.01	2.42	1.45	3.56	1.12	3.49	1.05
High performance	4.48	1.10	5.08	1.11	4.40	1.02	3.37	1.91	4.89	1.17	4.82	1.30
Total	4.34	1.02	4.29	1.32	4.19	1.03	2.88	1.75	4.21	1.32	4.14	1.35
Control												
Low performance	4.38	1.07	4.07	1.09	4.47	1.09	3.47	1.78	4.11	1.16	4.07	1.21
High performance	4.32	0.93	5.32	1.00	4.37	0.98	3.86	1.87	4.86	1.12	4.99	1.11
Total	4.35	1.00	4.73	1.21	4.41	1.03	3.67	1.83	4.50	1.20	4.56	1.25
Posh												
Low performance	4.51	0.99	3.95	1.12	4.39	1.17	2.47	1.59	4.11	1.15	3.91	1.17
High performance	4.47	0.96	5.17	1.02	4.39	1.06	3.64	1.90	4.88	1.17	4.81	1.25
Total	4.49	0.97	4.60	1.23	4.39	1.11	3.09	1.85	4.52	1.22	4.38	1.29
Performance												
Low performance	4.36	1.00	3.83	1.10	4.27	1.10	2.76	1.67	3.91	1.17	3.80	1.16
High performance	4.43	1.00	5.19	1.04	4.38	1.02	3.62	1.90	4.88	1.15	4.87	1.22
Total	4.39	1.00	4.53	1.27	4.33	1.06	3.20	1.84	4.40	1.26	4.35	1.31

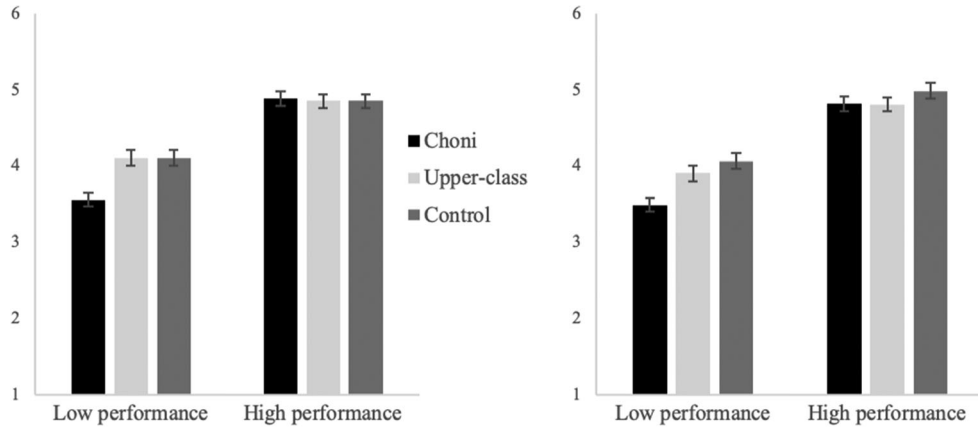

Figure 2. Experiment 3. Person-team fit (left) and desire to interact with the student candidate (right) as a function of performance and category.

the *choni* student, perceived her as less adequate for the team, and expressed less desire to interact with her, but only when performance was low (see Figure 2). No differences emerged between the *choni* student and the posh or uncategorized student when performance was high. The effects of dummy 1, dummy 2, and performance were also significant.

Discussion

When participants knew that the academic performance of the *choni* student was poor, they were more disdainful and expressed less admiration towards her (in this case only as compared to the uncategorized student), perceived her as less suitable for the team, and were less likely to select her as a team member, compared to the other conditions. These results are consistent with previous findings. However, when the student was said to perform excellently – counter-stereotypical information – these effects were reduced or generally disappeared.

In addition to the information available, prejudicial responses towards *chonis* may also be moderated by ideological factors or values such as materialism. In the last experiments, we examined whether materialism intensifies the negative reactions towards a *choni* candidate. We also designed a selection process to generalize our findings to a different context.

EXPERIMENT 4

Experiment 4 was designed to test whether materialistic values moderate reactions to a *choni* candidate as compared to a posh or uncategorized candidate. Materialism is defined as the importance attributed to the acquisition and possession of material goods as a means to achieving the main life goals (Richins & Dawson, 1992). This factor determines how people judge one's own and others and structure their lives and relationships. Thus, those individuals who set most store by material goods would use information about social class as a primary determinant of social judgements. For instance, highly (vs. weakly)

materialistic individuals report stronger racial prejudice (Roets, Van Hiel, & Cornelis, 2006; Van Hiel, Cornelis, & Roets, 2010) and attribute more personal abilities and resources to affluent people than to not so affluent persons (Dittmar & Pepper, 1994). We expected that participants who adhere most strongly to materialistic values would be especially likely to evaluate the *choni* candidate more negatively and express less admiration and less desire to recommend her for a job than the posh or uncategorized candidate.

Method

Participants

Five hundred and twenty-one Spaniards (65.3% women, M_{age} = 32.62, SD = 11.90) participated online.

Procedure

Participants were invited to collaborate in a psychosocial study about perception. They first completed Richins' six-item material values scale (Richins, 2004) (e.g., 'The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life') ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree), α = .80. They were then asked to take the role of an expert in human resources selection and decide if they would recommend a candidate for a job. Participants read the job description and then received the candidate's application. In the *choni* and *posh conditions,* the application was accompanied by the same photographs as in Experiments 2 and 3. In the control condition, there was no photograph. We then measured the dependent variables and the manipulation check.

Stereotype content, αs > .91, and *emotions* were assessed as in previous studies.

Perceived person-job fit was measured by a three-item scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree): 'I believe that this candidate meets all the essential requirements for the position', α = .77. Finally, participants indicated their *willingness to recommend the candidate* with two items ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree): 'I would select the candidate for this position' and 'I would recommend this person for similar positions in another company in the future', $r(519) = .64, p < .001$.

We used the same manipulation check as in previous experiments. An ANOVA on the choni category yielded a significant effect of condition, $F(2, 518) = 57.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$, such that the agreement with the choni categorization was higher in the choni condition, M = 3.33, SD = 2.10, than in the posh, M = 1.51, SD = 1.06, and control conditions, M = 2.19, SD = 1.42, ps < .001. Agreement was higher in the control than in the posh condition, $p < .001$. An ANOVA on the category 'posh' yielded a significant effect of condition, $F(2, 518) = 30.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, such that the agreement with the posh categorization was higher in the posh condition, M = 3.53, SD = 1.73, than in the choni, M = 2.17, SD = 1.32, and control conditions, M = 2.88, SD = 1.75, ps < .001. Agreement was higher in the control than in the choni condition, $p < .001$.

Results

We conducted several linear regression analyses on the outcome variables (see Table 7) using the PROCESS macro (Model 1, Hayes, 2017). We used the same dummy variables as in Experiment 3. Dummy 1 compared the *choni* with the posh condition (0 *choni*, 1

posh), and dummy 2 compared the *choni* with the control condition (0 *choni*, 1 control). Materialism (centred), the two dummy variables, and the two two-way interactions were entered as predictors. Table 3 includes the means and deviations for each condition, and Table 7 shows the results of the regressions.

Sociability

This regression yielded a significant effect of the interaction between dummy 2 and materialism (see Table 7). Participants attributed more sociability to the candidate in the *choni* condition than in the control condition when materialism was low, but not when it was high. The simple effect of dummy 2 was also significant.

Competence, morality, admiration, person-job fit, and willingness to recommend the candidate

All these regressions yielded significant effects of the interactions with materialism (see Table 7). As compared to the posh and control conditions, strongly but not weakly materialistic participants attributed less competence and morality to the *choni* candidate, admired her less, perceived her as less adequate for the job, and were less likely to recommend her (see Figure 3). The effect of materialism was also significant except for morality, whereas the effects of dummy 1 and 2 were not significant except for admiration.

Discussion

As expected, materialism interacted with categorization so that highly materialistic individuals perceived a *choni* candidate more negatively, felt less admiration towards her, and were less willing to recommend her for a job than an uncategorized or a posh candidate. In contrast, weakly materialistic individuals were unaffected by the candidate's category.

Critics could argue that previous experiments investigate how people judge a specific type of physical appearance rather than a class-based group. Results of Experiment 1 showing that people do not derogate a student characterized as choni when they learn about her high socioeconomic status help alleviate this concern. However, to obtain more direct evidence on the negativity associated to *chonis,* we conducted a final study in which we explicitly presented the candidate as a member of such group. We also tested whether the moderating effects of materialism are replicated.

EXPERIMENT 5

Experiment 5 was designed to test whether materialistic values moderate reactions to a candidate *explicitly* categorized as *choni* as compared to an uncategorized candidate. To that end, we dispensed with the photograph used in previous studies and directly labelled the candidate as *choni*. We expected that participants who adhere more strongly to materialistic values would be especially likely to evaluate the *choni* candidate more negatively and express less admiration and less desire to recommend her for a job than the uncategorized candidate.

Table 7. Experiment 4. Effects of condition and materialism on the dependent variables

	b	*es*	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Sociability					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	−0.01	0.10	−0.09	.925	−0.21, 0.19
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	−0.31	0.10	−3.06	.002	−0.52, −0.11
Materialism	−0.07	0.07	−1.05	.293	−0.20, 0.06
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.08	0.09	0.86	.388	−0.10, 0.26
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.24	0.09	2.61	.009	0.06, 0.42
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.59	0.15	−4.04	.000	−0.88, −0.31
Simple slope – High materialism	−0.04	0.15	−0.26	.796	−0.33, 0.25
Competence					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.08	0.10	0.78	.437	−0.12, 0.28
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.12	0.10	1.23	.219	−0.07, 0.32
Materialism	−0.20	0.06	−3.03	.003	−0.32, −0.07
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.25	0.09	2.75	.006	0.07, 0.43
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.21	0.15	−1.46	.145	−0.50, 0.07
Simple slope – High materialism	0.37	0.15	2.50	.013	0.08, 0.66
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.31	0.09	3.46	.001	0.13, 0.48
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.24	0.14	−1.66	.098	−0.52, 0.04
Simple slope – High materialism	0.48	0.16	3.30	.001	0.20, 0.77
Morality					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.10	0.10	1.00	.319	-0.10, 0.31
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.06	0.10	0.55	.585	−0.15, 0.26
Materialism	−0.15	0.07	−2.29	.022	−0.28, −0.02
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.18	0.09	1.92	.056	0.00, 0.36
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.10	0.15	−0.70	.484	−0.40, 0.19
Simple slope - High materialism	0.31	0.15	2.06	.040	0.01, 0.60
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.27	0.09	2.96	.003	0.09, 0.45
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.26	0.15	−1.78	.077	−0.54, 0.03
Simple slope – High materialism	0.37	0.15	2.48	.014	0.08, 0.66
Admiration					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.31	0.18	1.78	.076	−0.03, 0.66
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.55	0.18	3.15	.002	0.21, 0.90
Materialism	-0.11	0.11	−0.94	.347	−0.33, 0.12
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.37	0.16	2.35	.019	0.06, 0.68
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.12	0.25	−0.47	.636	−0.62, 0.38
Simple slope – High materialism	0.74	0.26	2.91	.004	0.24, 1.25
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.40	0.16	2.57	.011	0.09, 0.70
Simple slope – Low materialism	0.08	0.25	0.34	.737	-0.41, 0.58
Simple slope – High materialism	1.01	0.25	3.99	.000	0.51, 1.51
Person–job fit					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.14	0.12	1.18	.239	−0.10, 0.38
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.10	0.12	0.82	.414	−0.14, 0.34
Materialism	−0.21	0.08	−2.70	.007	−0.36, −0.06
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.35	0.11	3.20	.001	0.13, 0.56
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.26	0.17	−1.51	.132	−0.61, 0.08
Simple slope – High materialism	0.55	0.18	3.10	.002	0.20, 0.89
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.32	0.11	3.02	.003	0.11, 0.53
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.28	0.17	−1.63	.105	−0.62, 0.06
Simple slope – High materialism	0.47	0.17	2.70	.007	0.13, 0.81

Continued

Table 7. (*Continued*)

	b	es	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Recommendation					
Dummy 1 (Choni vs. Posh)	0.16	0.12	1.18	.237	−0.10, 0.42
Dummy 2 (Choni vs. Control)	0.11	0.13	0.81	.420	−0.15, 0.36
Materialism	−0.23	0.08	−2.68	.007	−0.39, −0.06
Interaction 1 (Dummy 1 x Materialism)	0.33	0.12	2.77	.006	0.10, 0.56
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.23	0.19	−1.19	.234	−0.60, 0.15
Simple slope – High materialism	0.54	0.19	2.80	.005	0.16, 0.92
Interaction 2 (Dummy 2 x Materialism)	0.34	0.12	2.95	.003	0.11, 0.57
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.30	0.19	−1.58	.114	−0.67, 0.07
Simple slope – High materialism	0.51	0.19	2.65	.008	0.13, 0.88

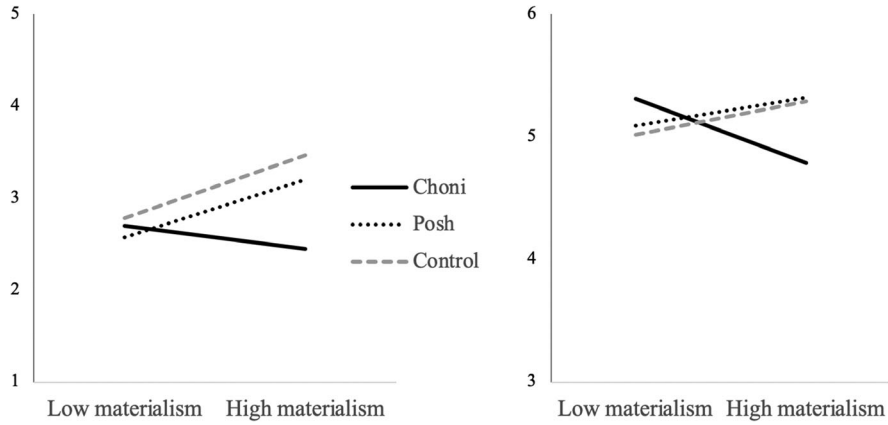

Figure 3. Experiment 4. Admiration (left) and willingness to recommend the candidate (right) as a function of condition and materialism.

Method

Participants

Four hundred and ninety-two Spaniards (60.2% women, M_{age} = 32.94, *SD* = 11.55) participated online. Thirty-two participants who did not respond correctly to the manipulation check were excluded from the analyses. The final sample consisted of 460 participants (59.8% women, M_{age} = 33.06, *SD* = 11.54).

Procedure

Participants were invited to collaborate in a psychosocial study about perception. We measured material values as in Experiment 4, α = .77. They were then asked to take the role of an expert in human resources selection and decide if they would recommend a candidate for a job. Participants read the job description and then received the candidate's application. Then, they were informed that our students of the Master's Degree in Human Resources, who were experts in Personnel Selection, were also participating in a similar study with the only difference that they watched a video of the candidate explaining her curriculum. Participants received three excerpts from the evaluations that our Master's

students had supposedly made. In the *choni* condition, one of the extracts said that the candidate seemed 'choni', whereas in the *control* condition it said that the candidate seemed 'a nervous person'.

We then measured the dependent variables and the manipulation check.

Stereotype content, αs > .89, *emotions*, *perceived person-job fit*, α = .73, and *willingness to recommend the candidate*, $r(458) = .60$, $p < .001$, were assessed as in Experiment 4.

At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked what one of the evaluators had said about the candidate. They selected one of the following options: (1) That she seemed a little *choni*, (2) That she looked like a nervous person, and (3) I don't know. Participants who answered this question incorrectly were excluded from the analyses.

Results

We conducted several linear regression analyses on the outcome variables (see Table 8) using the PROCESS macro (Model 1, Hayes, 2017). Materialism (centred), condition (0 *choni*, 1 control), and the two-way interaction were entered as predictors. Table 3 includes the means and deviations for each condition, and Table 8 shows the results of the regressions.

Sociability

This regression only yielded a significant effect of condition (see Table 8).

Competence, morality, admiration, person-job fit, and willingness to recommend the candidate

All these regressions yielded significant effects of the interaction between condition and materialism (see Table 8). As compared to the control condition, strongly but not weakly materialistic participants attributed less competence and morality to the *choni* candidate, admired her less, perceived her as less suitable for the position, and were less willing to recommend her. The effect of materialism was also significant except for morality and admiration, whereas the effects of category (*choni* vs. control) were marginal or significant except for willingness to recommend the candidate.

Discussion

This final study yielded results consistent with those of Experiment 4, even though the manipulation was different. Unlike previous studies in which the label '*choni*' was avoided, in Experiment 5 the candidate was explicitly categorized as choni. As expected, materialism interacted with categorization so that highly materialistic individuals perceived a candidate presented as *choni* more negatively, felt less admiration towards her, and were less willing to recommend her for a job than an uncategorized candidate. In contrast, weakly materialistic individuals were unaffected by the candidate's category.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Mass media and social networks constantly transmit stereotyped negative images of working-class groups (Adams & Raisborough, 2011; Hartigan, 1997). These caricatured

Table 8. Experiment 5. Effects of condition and materialism on the dependent variables

	B	*es*	*t*	*p*	95% CIs
Sociability					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.12	0.04	2.62	.009	0.03, 0.21
Materialism	−0.07	0.07	−1.08	.281	−0.20, 0.06
Interaction	0.05	0.04	1.16	.246	−0.04, 0.14
Competence					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.10	0.04	2.52	.012	0.02, 0.18
Materialism	−0.21	0.06	−3.54	.000	−0.32, −0.09
Interaction	0.16	0.04	4.13	.000	0.08, 0.24
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.08	0.06	−1.38	.168	−0.20, 0.03
Simple slope – High materialism	0.27	0.06	4.69	.000	0.16, 0.38
Morality					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.08	0.04	1.77	.078	−0.01, 0.17
Materialism	−0.07	0.07	−1.12	.263	−0.20, 0.06
Interaction	0.09	0.04	2.12	.034	0.01, 0.18
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.03	0.07	−0.39	.694	−0.16, 0.10
Simple slope – High materialism	0.17	0.06	2.74	.006	0.05, 0.30
Admiration					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.14	0.08	1.83	.068	−0.01, 0.30
Materialism	−0.11	0.12	−0.98	.327	−0.34, 0.11
Interaction	0.18	0.08	2.29	.022	0.03, 0.33
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.06	0.12	−0.48	.631	−0.29, 0.17
Simple slope – High materialism	0.33	0.11	2.91	.004	0.11, 0.55
Person–team fit					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.10	0.05	2.10	.036	0.01, 0.19
Materialism	−0.17	0.07	−2.53	.012	−0.31, −0.04
Interaction	0.17	0.05	3.65	.000	0.08, 0.26
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.09	0.07	−1.31	.191	−0.23, 0.05
Simple slope – High materialism	0.27	0.07	4.05	.000	0.14, 0.40
Desire to interact					
Condition (Choni vs. Control)	0.08	0.05	1.48	.140	−0.03, 0.18
Materialism	−0.18	0.08	−2.33	.021	−0.33, −0.03
Interaction	0.15	0.05	2.90	.004	0.05, 0.25
Simple slope – Low materialism	−0.09	0.08	−1.17	.244	−0.25, 0.06
Simple slope – High materialism	0.23	0.08	3.08	.002	0.08, 0.38

visions may have serious consequences for the targets of this prejudice (Raisborough & Adams, 2008). In four experiments, we showed that a simple passport photograph was sufficient to modify recipients' evaluations, admiration, and behavioural intentions towards the person represented (Experiments 1–4). An additional study (Experiment 5) confirmed that explicit labelling as *choni* elicited similar reactions. When the physical appearance of a student matched the clichés about *chonis*, participants attributed less competence and morality to her, felt less admiration, considered her to be less adequate as a team member or as a professional, and were less willing to interact with her or recommend her for a job, as compared to when she was characterized as posh or uncategorized. Only when participants received explicit information about her high social class (Experiment 1) or about her excellent academic performance (Experiment 3) inhibited their prejudicial responses. In contrast, Experiments 4 and 5 revealed that highly

materialistic individuals show more negative attitudes towards the *choni* candidate than weakly materialistic individuals regardless of whether categorization was explicit or not. Experiment 1 is important in that it rules out the alternative explanation that negative reactions towards *chonis* are driven by aesthetic preferences and not by social class inferences.

Social class is rapidly, effortlessly, and accurately inferred during social interactions (for a review see Piff, Kraus, & Keltner, 2018). Although the categorization of our student/candidate was not explicit in Experiments 1–4, our participants showed divergent reactions depending on the category, as deduced from a passport photograph. Such reactions were replicated when the target person was labelled as *choni* (Experiment 5). These results suggest that prejudice towards a ridiculed working-class group may be widespread and frequent since a subtle manipulation based on appearance produced significant effects both when the comparison target was from a higher social class or uncategorized. Thus, in real contexts where people can obtain more information about other individuals (e.g., language use), the categorization would be more reliable and prejudicial responses might in turn be more accessible.

Fortunately, our results point to a promising strategy to weaken prejudice towards working-class groups like *chonis*. The effect of category on behavioural intentions towards the working-class student was moderated by information about her performance. A highly competent student characterized as *choni* elicited reactions that were similar to those associated with an uncategorized or posh student. Dismantling stereotypical beliefs about the low skills and morality of *chonis* may prevent discriminatory reactions towards them in line with previous findings related to different kinds of prejudice (e.g., Columb & Plant, 2016; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004). However, individual factors such as materialism can amplify negative reactions towards members of the working class (Experiments 4 and 5).

It could be argued that undergraduates like María are not prototypical of the *choni* category, which may reduce the credibility of our manipulations. Although this criticism is fair, we should make three points. First, Spanish public universities are affordable to students with a low socioeconomic status. Second, our university has certain peculiarities. It is a large university with centres in all regions; it uses a distance learning methodology and has few access barriers: Attendance is not mandatory, and the minimum grade for admission is low. Thus, starting the first year is very easy for almost everyone (although completing the whole course is very difficult). Third, presenting a more prototypical exemplar (e.g., an unemployed young woman with limited academic training) than María would amplify rather than weaken these effects.

Another limitation is that our two images were not standardized across various perceptual features like contrast, brightness, facial expression, or cropping/size of the face. Our manipulation checks revealed that subjective ratings about the student's facial expression did not differ as a function of condition. Besides, there is no reason to expect that differences in brightness or contrast, for instance, could produce the interactive effects that emerged in Experiments 3–5. Nevertheless, standardized images would provide more experimental control in future studies.

Future research should compare reactions towards different working-class groups (e.g., red-necks, bumpkins) and towards the working class in general. Those studies could determine whether the working class elicits similar or more positive reactions than specific groups as *chonis* or bumpkins. It would also be necessary to test whether classism might be intensified by the same dispositional factors that underlie other kinds of biases such as social dominance orientation (Kteily, Sidanius, & Levin, 2011), authoritarianism (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010), and meritocratic beliefs (Bay-Cheng, Fitz, Alizaga, & Zucker,

2015). Another objective is to explore whether this kind of prejudice operates in different contexts and – if so – in what way. Our five experiments were conducted in an academic and organizational context, where classism may have a damaging influence in the short and long term (Rheinschmidt & Mendoza-Denton, 2014). Class-related beliefs can affect the behaviour, expectations, and choices of working-class students, their peers, and their teachers. Our participants preferred to team up with an upper-class or uncategorized student rather than with a working-class student, even though the teamwork did not involve personal rewards or punishments. When academic results are at stake, working-class students might be shunned as teammates by their peers due to the erroneous attribution of low skills.

Our results are consistent with other studies (e.g., Lott & Saxon, 2002) showing that social class influences the judgements about candidates for an occupation. Some of the traits assigned to these groups (e.g., incompetence and laziness) can reduce the chances of being recruited in a selection process if someone is categorized as *choni/cani*. And if their access to employment is limited, beliefs about their laziness and incompetence will be reinforced, thereby generating a vicious circle.

Negative stereotypes about the working class might also serve to justify certain social and economic policies. As Jones (2011) states in our initial quotation, recognizing that people's social status is not a fair reflection of their worth makes governments responsible for redistributing wealth among citizens. However, when most of society assumes that working-class individuals lack the qualities or moral principles necessary for success, inequality seems to be the inescapable consequence of personal characteristics (Manstead, 2018). Redistributive policies are objectionable within such an ideological framework in that they violate the meritocratic principles of justice. Future studies could examine whether presenting stereotypical visions of the working class increases support for social cuts and austerity measures such as those imposed by European institutions in the so-called PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece, and Spain) countries.

Conclusion

Although class prejudice can reinforce social inequality, this topic is relatively unexplored in social psychology (Haslam & Loughnan, 2012). In general terms, these findings shed more light on the mechanisms underlying prejudice against working-class groups. In five experiments, we showed that exposure to a working-class student or candidate produced a more negative evaluation, emotional reactions, and behavioural intentions compared to an upper-class or uncategorized student or candidate. These negative effects were neutralized when explicit information was provided about their high social class or academic excellence. However, holding materialistic values can intensify negative reactions towards working-class people. Our results are complemented by other studies conducted in different countries to analyse the perception of working-class groups (e.g., Loughnan *et al.*, 2014). Jointly, these investigations and the ones to come could help to develop theoretical models specifically focused on class prejudice.

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Conflicts of interest

All authors declare no conflict of interest.

Author contributions

Alexandra Vázquez, Ph.D. (Conceptualization; Data curation; Formal analysis; Funding acquisition; Investigation; Methodology; Supervision; Validation; Writing – original draft; Writing – review & editing) David Lois (Conceptualization; Formal analysis; Funding acquisition; Investigation; Methodology; Validation; Writing – review & editing).

Data availability statement

Open data and open materials are available at: https://osf.io/mn3b4/?view_only=cf38fc11156b4fb596661271327d1c4b. There is sufficient information for an independent researcher to reproduce the reported results and methodology.

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Supporting Information

The following supporting information may be found in the online edition of the article:

Appendix S1. Supplementary analyses.