

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The effect of economic consequences on social judgment and choice: Reward interdependence and the preference for sociability versus competence

Peter Belmi<sup>1</sup>  | Jeffrey Pfeffer<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of Leadership and Organizational Behavior, Darden Business School, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.

<sup>2</sup>Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, Stanford, California, U.S.A.

**Correspondence**

Peter Belmi, Department of Leadership and Organizational Behavior, Darden Business School, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.

Email: belmip@darden.virginia.edu

**Summary**

Competence and sociability (warmth) are fundamental dimensions of social judgment in organizations. However, these qualities are frequently seen as negatively related, with mixed evidence on which is more important. In three studies ( $N = 993$ ), we investigated the effects of reward interdependence on the preference for sociability versus competence. We predicted that reward interdependence would elicit a more instrumental, calculative mindset, which in turn, would lead individuals to value competence more. Study 1 surveyed working adults who were in actual work groups and found that those who worked in more (vs. less) reward interdependent environments were more likely to think instrumentally and calculatively when considering potential colleagues. This mindset, in turn, was associated with a greater tendency to value competence over sociability. Studies 2 and 3 used an experimental design and found that when people imagined or anticipated working in a situation in which their economic outcomes depended in part on others, they were more likely to adopt an instrumental focus and choose a “competent jerk” over a “lovable fool.” These results call into question a vast social judgment literature that has made claims about the importance of sociability and related constructs without considering the context, and particularly the reward interdependence, often inherent in organizational contexts.

**KEYWORDS**

competence, impression management, interpersonal choice, reward interdependence, sociability, social judgment, warmth

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

People make choices about others all the time—whom to hire or promote, to use as an advisor, to work for, to associate with, and to ask for help. That is one reason why person perception is one of the oldest and most studied psychological phenomena (e.g., Jones, 1990) and why interpersonal choice is an important focus of research on organizations (e.g., Blau, 1962; Lyness & Heilman, 2006; Olian, Schwab, & Haberfeld, 1988).

Evidence has shown that across cultures, sociability (social warmth) and competence (agency) are two of the fundamental dimensions that people use to assess others (e.g., Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007; Judd, Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005; Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). Although it is conceptually possible for individuals and groups to be both sociable and competent, people typically assume that being high on one dimension implies a deficit on the other (e.g., Cuddy, Glick, & Beninger, 2011; Judd et al., 2005;

Kervyn, Yzerbyt, & Judd, 2010). Thus, people often perceive sociability and competence as being negatively related (Cuddy, 2009), implying that there is some trade-off between them. For instance, Amabile (1983) reported that harsher book critics were perceived as less likeable but more intelligent, whereas nicer book critics were perceived as more likeable but less intelligent. Some studies have even found that people strategically enact behaviors consistent with the assumption of a trade-off between sociability and competence. For instance, Holoien and Fiske (2013) reported that people tended to downplay friendliness when they wanted to appear competent; conversely, they downplayed competence when they were motivated to appear warm and friendly.

In the research literature, two lines of argument about the best path to career success—something that necessarily entails being “chosen” for a job role and that therefore implicates processes of social judgment and perception—have proceeded with little or no contact between the conflicting points of view.

On the one hand, some research has shown that displays of anger (Tiedens, 2001) and violating social norms for polite behavior (Van Kleef, Homan, Finkenauer, Gundemir, & Stamkou, 2011) create perceptions of higher power and status. Experimental (e.g., Sinaceur & Tiedens, 2006), cross-sectional (e.g., Seibert & Kraimer, 2001), and longitudinal studies (e.g., Judge, Livingston, & Hurst, 2012) have also found that agreeableness is negatively correlated with salary and economic outcomes, particularly among men (e.g., Judge et al., 2012). A study of 793 early career employees in Germany found that narcissism was positively related to salary and Machiavellianism was positively associated with being in a leadership position (Spurk, Keller, & Hirschi, 2016). Pfeffer (2015) reviewed extensive research showing that narcissism as well as self-promoting and self-aggrandizing behaviors often positively predicted being hired, increased promotion chances, and even occasionally positively affected group and organizational performance. Certainly, many contemporary leaders including Steve Jobs, Elon Musk, George Steinbrenner, Larry Ellison, Jeff Bezos, and Roger Ailes were famous for being short-tempered and difficult to work with.

On the other hand, Grant's (2013) book on givers and takers has often been simplistically misinterpreted as demonstrating the desirability of being unconditionally generous, whereas Prinstein's (2017) review of studies of popularity prompted an article in *The New York Times* with the headline, "Be Nice—You Won't Finish Last" (Nir, 2017). Research has shown that warmth judgments "carry more weight in behavioral reactions" (Fiske et al., 2007, p. 77; see also Cacioppo, Gardner, & Berntson, 1997; Willis & Todorov, 2006; Wojciszke & Abele, 2008). Wojciszke & Abele (2008, p. 1139) noted that communal traits "are identified faster in a lexical decision task" and that "global impressions of real persons" are better predicted by communion compared to agency. Casciaro and Lobo (2008), using network data from three different organizations, found that people tended to seek task resources from people that they liked, whereas those who exhibited negative interpersonal affect were essentially ignored in task-related interactions, making competence "irrelevant."

One possibly productive way to begin to resolve this theoretical conflict and achieve greater theoretical understanding of the role of competence and warmth in interpersonal choice is to examine the conditions under which people would give more weight to competence than to sociability and vice versa as they evaluate others. We suggest that one factor that may affect people's preference for competence (vs. sociability) is *reward interdependence*, situations in which people's economic rewards are based partly upon the collective performance of their group or team (e.g., Campion, Medsker, & Higgs, 1993; Saavedra, Earley, & Vandyne, 1993; van der Vegt & van de Vliert, 2002).<sup>1</sup> We argue that when people make unconstrained evaluations and choices, a situation that characterizes much if not most of the research on social judgment, it is natural for them to favor warm, friendly, and sociable individuals. There is little to no reason not to do so and social desirability pressures dictate a preference for niceness. However, we predict that when people anticipate that their

economic outcomes are (partly) determined by those with whom they choose to work, a situation quite common in actual work organizations, it is likely that they will weight competence and ability more strongly. This preference arises, in part, because reward interdependence activates a more instrumental and strategic orientation toward interpersonal choice.

We pursue this argument in three studies that make the following theoretical and empirical contributions. First and most fundamentally, we provide evidence for the effect of reward interdependence on people's weighting of competence versus sociability in making interpersonal evaluations. Although there is a general consensus among scholars that people give more weight to sociability than they do to competence (e.g., Fiske et al., 2007), the studies reported here identify one important domain in which this is likely to be less true: organizational contexts that entail a higher degree of reward interdependence.

Second, our research develops a more nuanced view of interpersonal choice that departs from the majority of the social-psychological literature by showing that people decide differently when there are economic consequences to their choices. In many if not most of the studies on interpersonal choice and status conferral, rarely are there economic consequences of any kind facing the individuals making the judgments (for an exception, see Casciaro & Lobo, 2008). For instance, in Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick's (2004, p. 707) study of how having a child affects perceptions of warmth and competence for men and women, "participants rated three fictitious consultants on traits reflecting warmth and competence, and on three discrimination proxy items aimed at capturing the degree to which the consultant is professionally valued or discriminated against." In that study, as is the case of almost all research that uses narrative descriptions of candidates, dummy resumes, or videotaped interviews (e.g., Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, & Spring, 1994), participants' own economic rewards do not depend on what the person that they choose does or might do, nor do the evaluators obtain status or other symbolic (let alone economic) rewards from the accuracy or other consequences of their judgments. But it is eminently plausible that confronting economic or other consequences can affect interpersonal choice.

Third, our research contributes to a deeper understanding of the psychology of reward interdependence. Scholars (e.g., DeMatteo, Eby, & Sundstrom, 1998; Garbers & Konradt, 2014) have noted that much of the existing research on reward interdependence has focused on identifying the particular conditions that make team rewards effective. But there are very few theoretically driven investigations that illuminate how team rewards influence psychological processes such as interpersonal choice. To our knowledge, our work is the first to explore how reward interdependence in teams affects people's cognitions about what they come to value in their task partners.

Finally, our findings provide an important insight about impression management in organizational contexts. Cuddy et al. (2011) have noted that the conflicting findings and the need for more research on the importance of sociability and competence have made it difficult to answer questions about what strategies individuals should pursue in specific situations to be more successful. Here, we provide one answer as to when it might be more beneficial to highlight competence and when it might be more beneficial to highlight sociability.

<sup>1</sup>Consistent with work by previous scholars (DeMatteo et al., 1998), our use of the term "reward" pertains specifically to *monetary* rewards (e.g., compensation and bonuses) as opposed to nonmonetary rewards such as status, respect, or recognition.

## 2 | THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

### 2.1 | Reward interdependence

Scholars have long recognized that interdependence is a common feature of organizational life (Cheng, 1983; Deutsch, 1949; Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Kelley & Thibaut, 1978; Wageman, 1995). Although interdependence in organizations takes many different forms (for a recent meta-analysis, see Courtright, Thurgood, Stewart, & Pierotti, 2015), our particular focus here is on reward interdependence. Reward interdependence is common. For example, employees and managers are often reviewed and compensated depending on their team's performance (Cheng, 1983; Tjosvold, 1986; Van de Ven, Delbecq, & Koenig, 1976).

It is a common assumption among management scholars and practitioners that reward interdependence fosters cooperation and better performance among group members; however, evidence supporting this idea has been mixed (e.g., Miller & Hamblin, 1963; Wageman, 1995). Partly because of the inconsistency in the findings about the consequences of reward interdependence, the majority of research on this important topic has focused on identifying the circumstances under which team rewards would be most effective (e.g., DeMatteo et al., 1998; Garbers & Konradt, 2014). However, much less is understood about how reward interdependence affects individual cognitions in teams, and in particular, how it affects people's interpersonal judgments and what they value in their task partners. In the next section, we propose the previously underexplored idea that reward interdependence may foster a particular mindset among individuals—instrumental and calculative thinking—and this mindset, in turn, may lead individuals to value competence more and sociability somewhat less.

### 2.2 | Instrumental thinking

Research has found that people tend to think in an instrumental, calculated, and strategic fashion, especially in organizational settings. For example, organizational decision makers tend to think strategically about their choices (Belmi & Laurin, 2016; Kouchaki, Smith-Crowe, Brief, & Sousa, 2013; Tenbrunsel & Messick, 1999) and favor individuals who they believe are instrumental and helpful to the attainment of their personal outcomes (Belmi & Pfeffer, 2015; Lee, Pitesa, Thau, & Pillutla, 2015; Orehek & Forest, 2016). The tendency to think instrumentally may be activated by certain cues, such as when people are thinking about money (e.g., Kouchaki et al., 2013) or when they are thinking strategically about their current (e.g., Gruenfeld, Inesi, Magee, & Galinsky, 2008) or future goals (e.g., Belmi & Pfeffer, 2015).

We propose that situations of reward interdependence, common in organizational contexts, prompt individuals to think instrumentally. Under reward interdependence, individuals recognize that they need to work interdependently with others to maximize their economic outcomes (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Rudman, 1998). Therefore, situations of reward interdependence are likely to bring into people's awareness the question of how they can best ensure their future rewards. This theorizing is consistent with the findings of Hur and Nordgren

(2016), who reported that performance incentives at work lead employees to think about money more.

When people think instrumentally about how they can maximize their economic rewards, they may become particularly attuned to competence. Competent individuals are intelligent, efficient, and skilled (Cuddy et al., 2008)—qualities that give the decision maker more confidence that the task at hand—and the contingent reward—will be attained. Moreover, thinking instrumentally may lead individuals to value competent others, even if those others are socially unlikable. Indeed, Marx (1844) suggested that when people are focused on rewards, they come to care more about qualities that contribute directly to the creation of wealth (e.g., competence) compared to qualities that define a person's humanity (e.g., warmth, friendliness, and sociability). Gruenfeld et al. (2008) also noted that thinking instrumentally makes people care more about how productive a relationship is as opposed to how pleasant a relationship is.

Therefore, we predict that when situations reward people solely on the basis of their own individual performance (low reward interdependence), people will generally prefer sociable individuals, even if those people are not very competent. However, when situations reward people partially on the basis of their team's (or coworker's) performance (high reward interdependence), we predict that people will be more instrumental and thus will more favorably evaluate and choose comparatively more competent individuals, even if they are unsociable. Thus, we propose the following hypotheses:

**H1:** *When there is a trade-off between competence and sociability, reward interdependence will increase people's likelihood of choosing competence over sociability.*

**H2:** *When such a trade-off exists, instrumental thinking will mediate the relationship between reward interdependence and the preference for competence over sociability.*

## 3 | OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH

We conducted three studies ( $N = 993$ ) to test our hypotheses regarding reward interdependence and interpersonal choice. These studies investigated how reward interdependence influences the weights people assign to sociability and competence as they evaluate potential work partners and teammates. In Study 1, we surveyed employed adults about hiring and selection practices in their teams and explored differences between those working in more and less reward interdependent environments. In Study 2, we conducted an experiment with working adults and examined how reward interdependence influences how people choose task partners that have varying levels of competence and sociability. Finally, Study 3 sought to provide a somewhat more behavioral test of our theory by placing participants in a situation in which their anticipated rewards did (or did not) depend on others' performance.

## 4 | STUDY 1

The goal of Study 1 was to examine our theoretical arguments using a nonexperimental survey of employed adults, providing some degree of

external validity for our hypotheses. We surveyed employed adults and examined whether the selection/interpersonal evaluation choices of employees who worked in more reward interdependent environments were different from those who worked in less reward interdependent environments. To maximize external validity, we specifically recruited employees who were part of a work group with at least four people and who reported having some degree of input into their group's hiring process. We predicted that compared to employees who worked in less reward interdependent environments, employees who worked in more reward interdependent environments were more likely to think instrumentally when considering potential colleagues; this mindset, in turn, would be associated with an increased tendency to value competence over sociability.

## 4.1 | Method

### 4.1.1 | Participants and procedure

We recruited participants using Amazon Mechanical Turk, a crowdsourcing platform that offers access to populations that are more representative and more diverse than traditional college samples (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). In the last few years, there has been a steady increase in the use of Mturk in organizational research, and studies have consistently shown that data collected from Mturk samples are as reliable as data collected from student and employee samples (for a recent review, see Keith, Tay, & Harms, 2017; see also, Behrend, Sharek, Meade, & Wiebe, 2011; Steelman, Hammer, & Limayem, 2014). Although there has been some debate about the appropriateness of MTurk for organizational research (for a discussion, see Cheung, Burns, Sinclair, & Sliter, 2017; Landers & Behrend, 2015), research suggests that it can be an effective source of data for organizational research, especially when it is used to recruit participants from a desired population (Keith et al., 2017).

To reach our target population, we first recruited 3,016 Amazon Mechanical Turkers and paid them 25 cents to complete a "general social survey." Using a funneling technique, we asked participants whether they were currently a part-time or a full-time college/graduate student (0 = no, 1 = yes), whether they were currently employed (0 = no, 1 = yes), whether they were part of a work group or a work unit (0 = no, 1 = yes), and how much input they had over who gets hired in their unit (1 = none or very little, 2 = some, 3 = quite a bit, 4 = a lot). Participants who indicated that they were part of a work unit were also asked to specify the number of employees that worked in their group. From this initial pool, 562 individuals met our eligibility criteria. These participants reported that they were not students, were gainfully employed, were part of a work unit that consisted of at least four people, and had at least some degree of input into their unit's hiring process. We sent these participants an invitation to complete our actual study a few days after completing our prescreen questionnaire. We did not tell them that they had been selected on the basis of their responses to the intake survey; we simply invited them to answer a "general social survey" purporting to understand workplace dynamics.

A total of 500 respondents accepted our invitation (89% of those invited) and received \$1.50 for participating. Prior to conducting our analysis, we excluded 114 participants who gave responses in the

actual survey that were inconsistent with what they told us in the prescreen questionnaire,<sup>2</sup> five participants who did not answer our focal task, and seven participants who did not pass our attention check (described below). This left us with a final sample of 374 working adults (results were virtually identical when we analyzed the entire sample). Our final sample consisted of African Americans (6%), White Americans (79%), Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders (10%), Latino Americans (3%), and Native Americans (1%; one participant did not report his ethnicity). The majority of respondents were male (56%); on average, they were 38 years old ( $SD = 9.87$ ) and had been in their current place of employment for about 5 years. Table 1 presents a more comprehensive description of participants across our studies.

After consenting to participate, respondents answered a battery of questions about their work, their coworker preference, and their personality and demographic characteristics. We describe these measures below. Unless otherwise noted, participants completed our measures using a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

### 4.1.2 | Reward interdependence

To measure reward interdependence, we asked participants to rate their agreement with five statements adapted from previous research (Rossi, 2008; Wageman, 1995): "My compensation is dependent on how well my entire team is doing," "My compensation increases (or decreases) depending on how well my entire work group is doing," "My salary increases (and/or bonuses) depend on the performance of my co-workers," "It would be difficult for me to receive a high pay increase if my co-workers do not perform well in their jobs," and "At work, my compensation is completely determined by my individual performance" (reverse-scored). These items have been validated in previous research (Rossi, 2008) and were averaged to form a composite ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

### 4.1.3 | Coworker preference

To assess coworker preference, we asked participants to complete a short decision-making task. We asked participants to think about their current work group and to envision that their work group is hiring a new colleague. Participants then saw a table consisting of four candidates, which represented four different combinations of sociability and competence, adapted from existing work (e.g., Goodwin, Piazza, & Rozin, 2014; Landy, Piazza, & Goodwin, 2016). In this option set, the most desirable candidate was Candidate A, who was described as "highly competent" and "very warm, sociable, and friendly." By

<sup>2</sup>Research suggests that some online participants misrepresent their demographic information in order to access surveys that they would otherwise not qualify for (Necka, Cacioppo, Norman, & Cacioppo, 2016). To address this problem, we embedded in the actual survey the same questions that we used in the prescreen and checked whether people's responses in the prescreen questionnaire matched their responses in the actual survey. Using this approach, we found that 114 individuals provided responses in the actual survey that were inconsistent with what they originally reported in the prescreen questionnaire: 2 respondents indicated that they were not employed, 21 indicated that they were students, 37 indicated that they were not part of a work unit, 20 indicated that their work unit consisted of three people or less, and 34 indicated that they had no input on their group's hiring process. We removed these participants because we decided in advance that participants had to meet these qualifications in order to be eligible for our survey. Including these participants in our analysis did not change any of our results.

**TABLE 1** Distribution of participants across studies

Category	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3 <sup>a</sup>
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	56%	53%	27%
Female	44%	47%	73%
<b>Ethnicity</b>			
African American	6%	11%	9%
White American	79%	76%	36%
Asian American/Pacific Islander	10%	7%	41%
Latino American	3%	6%	11%
Native American	1%	<1%	2%
<b>Income</b>			
Greater than \$300,000	1%	0%	
\$280,001–\$300,000	<1%	0%	
\$260,001–\$280,000	0%	<1%	
\$240,001–\$260,000	<1%	0%	
\$220,001–\$240,000	<1%	<1%	
\$200,001–\$220,000	1%	0%	
\$180,001–\$200,000	1%	<1%	
\$160,001–\$180,000	1%	1%	
\$140,001–\$160,000	3%	<1%	
\$120,001–\$140,000	3%	1%	
\$100,001–\$120,000	6%	4%	
\$80,001–\$100,000	13%	6%	
\$60,001–\$80,000	23%	18%	
\$40,001–\$60,000	26%	25%	
\$20,000–\$40,000	17%	29%	
Less than \$20,000	4%	14%	
<b>Education</b>			
Graduate/Professional Degree	32%	17%	
College Degree	43%	41%	
Some College	20%	30%	
High School	5%	12%	
<b>Tenure</b>			
M	5.44	4.80	
SD	3.38	3.22	
<b>Rank at Work</b>			
Nonmanagement	37%	57%	
Line management	34%	23%	
Middle management	22%	14%	
Senior/executive management	7%	6%	
<b>Organization Type</b>			
Government or public institution	18%	14%	
Private business	72%	78%	
Private nonprofit organization	10%	8%	
<b>Age</b>			
M	37.95	36.77	21.86
SD	9.87	10.24	3.17

<sup>a</sup>In Study 3, participants were undergraduate and graduate students; therefore, we did not ask questions about their income, education, and employment status.

contrast, the least desirable candidate was Candidate D, who was described as “moderately competent” and “moderately warm, sociable,

and friendly.”<sup>3</sup> Candidates B and C were the “mixed” candidates, who were described as high on one dimension but moderate on the other: Candidate B was more competent than sociable, whereas Candidate C was the reverse. We asked participants, “If it were up to you, which candidate would you hire to join your workgroup?” Participants ranked the candidates in order of their preference (1 = *most preferred*, 4 = *least preferred*). We have made this task available in the Supporting Information.

#### 4.1.4 | Instrumental and calculative thinking

After completing the ranking task, we assessed the extent to which participants made their decisions based on instrumental and calculative thinking. We did so by asking them three ( $\alpha = .92$ ) questions adapted from previous research (Lee et al., 2015): [In choosing among the candidates, I considered] (a) “... how beneficial they would be for me,” (b) “... how valuable they might be for me,” and (c) “... how useful they might be for me.” These items were very similar to those used in prior research measuring instrumental thinking in selection and hiring contexts (see Lee et al., 2015).

#### 4.1.5 | Personality controls

Because random assignment to reward interdependence condition was not possible in this study, we sought to control for several personality variables that could plausibly shape people's attitudes toward working with other people. First, we administered the *Short Big Five Personality Questionnaire* (Rammstedt & John, 2007), which contained measures of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism. We measured these constructs because people tend to be attracted to those who are similar to themselves. Second, we administered the *Machiavellian Personality Scale* ( $\alpha = .87$ ; Dahling, Whitaker, & Levy, 2009) and controlled for this personality trait because Machiavellians tend to be instrumental in their social relationships (Christie & Geis, 1970). Finally, we measured social desirability in responding using the *Short Social Desirability Questionnaire* ( $\alpha = .74$ ; Stöber, 2001). We controlled for this measure to ensure that any results we would observe would not be accounted for by the motivation to be seen in a desirable light.

#### 4.1.6 | Demographic controls

In addition to measuring personality, we measured several demographic variables, such as the respondent's age, ethnic status (0 = *ethnic minority*, 1 = *White*), gender (0 = *male*, 1 = *female*), educational attainment (1 = *some high school*, 6 = *professional/graduate degree*), and annual income (1 = *less than \$20,000 a year*, 16 = *greater than \$300,000 a year*).

#### 4.1.7 | Employment controls

Finally, we measured several variables related to the respondent's employment: the number of years the respondent had been at his or her current place of employment, the size of the organization (1 = *10 or fewer employees*, 5 = *more than 1,000 employees*), the size

<sup>a</sup>In Study 1, we used “moderate” because our pretest suggested that in the real world, candidates needed to have some level of competence to be seriously considered.

of the respondent's work group (4 = 4 people, 10 = 10 or more), and the type of organization that the respondent belongs to (1 = government/public institution, 2 = private business/industry, 3 = private nonprofit organization). In the analysis, we dummy-coded organization type such that government/public institution was the baseline variable. In addition, we controlled for the respondent's power at work, which has been shown to promote instrumental thinking (Gruenfeld et al., 2008). Power at work was measured in three ways: (a) the respondent's rank (1 = nonmanagement, 2 = line management, 3 = middle management, 4 = executive management), (b) the extent to which the respondent has input in hiring decisions (2 = some, 3 = quite a bit, 4 = a lot), and an eight-item scale ( $\alpha = .90$ ) that measures the respondent's subjective sense of power at work (Anderson, John, & Keltner, 2012; e.g., "I have a great deal of power at work"). After completing these measures, participants answered an attention check ("Please select the number two on the scale below"; Oppenheimer, Meyvis, & Davidenko, 2009) and were thanked for participating.

## 5 | RESULTS

Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations between Study 1 variables are presented in Table 2.

### 5.1 | Preliminary analysis

Before conducting our hypotheses tests, we performed an exploratory factor analysis with oblimin rotation to ensure that our items measuring reward interdependence and instrumentality properly loaded onto the expected factors. Two factors emerged accounting for 67% of the total variation, with all but one item loading as expected (reward interdependence  $>.75$ ; instrumental and calculative mindset  $>.88$ ; none of the items exhibited cross-loading).<sup>4</sup> Across all studies, we found that the gender of the participant did not moderate any of our results. Therefore, we do not discuss the effect of gender.

### 5.2 | Coworker preference

We scored each candidate by counting the number of times the candidate was endorsed as the first, second, third, or fourth choice (see Table 3).

As is evident in Table 3, participants chose the Competent/Sociable candidate (Candidate A) as most desirable, with the majority of participants (81%) indicating it as their first choice. Also not surprisingly, participants found the Moderately Competent/Moderately Sociable (Candidate D) to be the least desirable, with the majority of participants (85%) indicating it as their last choice. These findings are unsurprising: Of course, people would strongly prefer to work with someone who is both highly competent and sociable, and would avoid someone who is low on both dimensions.

The more interesting question is how people made decisions about the two candidates who were high on one dimension but low

on the other. To examine this, we examined each participant's ranking list and coded whether the participant gave a stronger preference to the competent candidate (Candidate B) or the sociable candidate (Candidate C). Participants received a score of 1 if they ranked the competent candidate higher than the sociable candidate and 0 otherwise. Generally speaking, the majority of participants (79%) preferred having the relatively more competent coworker over the relatively more sociable coworker.

H1 states that when there is a trade-off between competence and sociability, reward interdependence will increase people's likelihood of choosing competence over sociability. To test H1, we conducted two separate logistic regressions, regressing candidate choice (0 = sociable candidate, 1 = competent candidate) on reward interdependence, without (Model 1) and with (Model 2) controls. These results are summarized in Table 4. Contrary to what we expected, reward interdependence showed no direct relationship with choosing competence over sociability,  $ps > .80$ , failing to support H1. We return to this in the discussion.

### 5.3 | Mediation

H2 states that instrumental thinking will mediate the relationship between reward interdependence and candidate preference. Despite the lack of a direct effect, we followed recommendations by several scholars (Hayes, 2017; Rucker, Preacher, Tormala, & Petty, 2011; Zhao, Lynch Jr, & Chen, 2010) who argued that a significant indirect effect is the sole criterion for establishing mediation, even in the absence of direct effects.

To test H2, we first regressed instrumental thinking on reward interdependence, with and without controls (Models 3–4; see Table 4). Consistent with H2, employees who were more (vs. less) reward interdependent reported thinking more instrumentally about the candidates while completing the ranking task, without covariates:  $b = .14$ ,  $t(372) = 4.27$ ,  $p < .001$ ; with covariates:  $b = .11$ ,  $t(350) = 3.16$ ,  $p = .002$ . Furthermore, thinking instrumentally was positively associated with choosing competence over sociability, without covariates:  $b = .28$ ,  $z(371) = 2.32$ ,  $p = .021$ ; with covariates:  $b = .33$ ,  $z(349) = 2.39$ ,  $p = .017$ ; see Table 4, Models 5–6. Following Hayes (2017), we then tested a mediation model in which reward interdependence was the independent variable, coworker preference was the dependent variable, and instrumental thinking was the mediator. We conducted this analysis twice (one without and one with covariates). The confidence intervals excluded zero in both cases, confirming significant mediation (see Figure 1, upper panel).

### 5.4 | Discussion

Study 1 surveyed working adults who were part of real workgroups and found that compared to those who worked in less reward interdependent environments, employees who worked in more reward interdependent environments were more likely to think instrumentally when considering potential colleagues. This mindset, in turn, was associated with an increased tendency to value competence over sociability. Study 1 used a design that is high in ecological validity in that it examined our theoretical arguments using a sample of decision makers who are part of actual workgroups and have some degree of input into their unit's

<sup>4</sup>The item "At work, my compensation is completely determined by my individual performance" clearly loaded on the reward interdependence factor but did not meet the recommended .40 cutoff (loading = .38). We included this item for parsimony, but note that excluding it in the composite did not change the results.

**TABLE 2** Descriptive statistics and zero-order correlations of measured variables in Study 1

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender	-	-									
2. Ethnic status	-	-	.07								
3. Age	37.95	9.87	.06	.21							
4. Income	4.09	2.29	-.12	.03	.12						
5. Education	4.32	1.23	.11	.01	.01	.30					
6. Tenure	5.44	3.38	-.03	.08	.47	.14	-.02				
7. Rank at work	1.98	.93	-.09	.13	.17	.31	.07	.18			
8. Organization Size	3.22	1.43	-.01	.02	-.05	.08	.13	-.03	-.13		
9. Group size	7.04	2.39	.08	.02	.08	.11	.06	.10	.11	.18	
10. Hiring input	2.88	.83	-.02	.12	.20	.31	.10	.19	.54	-.07	.16
11. Openness	4.93	1.46	.10	.02	.07	.01	.04	.04	.09	-.08	.02
12. Conscientiousness	5.94	1.03	.04	.15	.19	.05	.02	.11	.09	-.03	.06
13. Extraversion	4.19	1.53	.04	.15	.06	.01	-.02	-.01	.04	.03	.06
14. Agreeableness	4.91	1.40	-.01	.02	.12	-.04	-.05	.05	-.09	.02	-.04
15. Neuroticism	5.02	1.44	-.16	.02	.18	.07	-.04	.09	.12	-.01	.10
16. Machiavellianism	3.16	.83	-.11	-.17	-.13	.13	-.02	-.06	.14	.02	.02
17. Social desirability	.52	.25	.04	-.06	.05	-.03	-.04	.05	-.06	.01	-.01
18. Personal sense of power	5.35	.94	-.03	.10	.17	.18	-.05	.08	.41	-.05	.10
19. Reward interdependence	3.49	1.57	-.17	-.05	.03	.13	-.06	-.02	.29	-.09	.05
20. Instrumental/calculative	5.99	1.00	-.07	-.05	.07	.06	-.09	.10	.07	.02	.04

	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1. Gender										
2. Ethnic status										
3. Age										
4. Income										
5. Education										
6. Tenure										
7. Rank at work										
8. Organization Size										
9. Group size										
10. Hiring input										
11. Openness	.11									
12. Conscientiousness	.08	.07								
13. Extraversion	-.01	.09	.30							
14. Agreeableness	-.07	.12	.23	.24						
15. Neuroticism	.10	.03	.45	.34	.27					
16. Machiavellianism	.05	-.04	-.09	-.07	-.32	-.13				
17. Social desirability	.04	-.02	.19	.05	.31	.25	-.20			
18. Personal sense of power	.38	.22	.42	.24	.14	.36	.02	.13		
19. Reward interdependence	.24	.04	.02	.05	-.01	-.01	.20	-.02	.18	
20. Instrumental/calculative	.18	.12	.14	-.08	-.06	.01	.17	-.02	.26	.22

Note. Given our sample size ( $N = 374$ ), correlations of .11 or higher are significant at  $p < .05$ , .14 or higher are significant at  $p < .01$ , and .18 or higher are significant at  $p < .001$ . Due to missing data for two variables ( $n_{\text{ethnicity}} = 1$ ;  $n_{\text{rank}} = 1$ ), correlations were computed using pairwise deletion.

hiring process. Second, the study found evidence for our psychological process (reward interdependence → instrumental thinking → valuing competence over sociability), even after accounting for a comprehensive set of demographic, personality, and work variables that could plausibly shape people's coworker preferences.

However, Study 1 also had at least two limitations. The most obvious limitation is that Study 1 does not permit us to claim causality.

Second, and more importantly, we did not uncover a direct association between reward interdependence and interpersonal choice, even though we did find evidence for our proposed psychological process. This potentially suggests a suppression effect, whereby the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable is statistically suppressed by unmeasured third variables (Rucker et al., 2011; Zhao et al., 2010).

**TABLE 3** Ranking results in Studies 1 and 2

Study	Candidate	Reward interdependence	Rank 1 (%)	Rank 2 (%)	Rank 3 (%)	Rank 4 (%)
Study 1	Highly competent/very warm, friendly, and sociable		81	15	2	2
	Highly competent/moderately warm, friendly, and sociable		15	63	21	1
	Moderately competent/very warm, friendly, and sociable	(see Note)	2	20	66	12
	Moderately competent/moderately warm, friendly, and sociable		2	2	11	85
Study 2	Highly competent/very warm, friendly, and sociable	High	96	2	0	1
		Low	96	3	1	0
	Highly competent/not very warm, friendly, and sociable	High	2	81	17	0
		Low	2	69	27	2
	Not very competent/very warm, friendly, and sociable	High	0	17	81	2
		Low	1	27	67	5
	Not very competent/not very warm, friendly, and sociable	High	1	0	2	97
		Low	<1	2	4	94

Note. In Study 1, reward interdependence was measured; in Study 2, reward interdependence was experimentally manipulated.

## 6 | STUDY 2

Study 2 sought to provide a causal test of our theoretical arguments. Specifically, we asked working adults to imagine a situation where their actual rewards were either solely determined by their individual performance (low reward interdependence) or partially determined by their team's performance (high reward interdependence). We expected that reward interdependence would elicit more instrumental and calculative thinking, which in turn, would increase people's propensity to value competence over sociability.

### 6.1 | Method

#### 6.1.1 | Participants

We recruited 602 individuals from Amazon Mechanical Turk to participate in a study on "hiring decisions." We excluded 91 participants who indicated that they were not gainfully employed, 62 participants who indicated that they were currently enrolled as a college/graduate student, and 6 participants who did not pass our attention check (results were virtually identical when we included these participants in our analysis). Our final sample consisted of 443 working adults ( $M_{\text{age}} = 36.77$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 10.24$ ; 53% males, 47% females) who self-identified as either African American (11%), White American (76%), Asian American/Pacific Islander (7%), Latino American (6%), and Native American (<1%). Most participants (78%) reported working for a private business; on average, they have been at their current place of employment for about 5 years (see Table 1). Participants received \$1.50 for their time.

#### 6.1.2 | Procedure

At the beginning of the study, participants read the following prompt:

*"Research shows that companies that involve peers in the hiring process perform better for numerous reasons. In the materials that follow, we are going to ask you to make some hiring recommendations about candidates, just as you might be asked to do at work. So, please take this task seriously as if it were a real decision you are making."*

We then asked participants to imagine that they were an investment banker for a financial institution in the United States. They read that their team is hiring and that they are part of the search committee that will make an ultimate decision about who gets hired. As in Study 1, participants saw a table consisting of four candidates, which represented four different combinations of sociability and competence (see the Supporting Information). The only difference is that in this study, we maximized the trade-off between competence and sociability: Candidate B was described as "highly competent" but "not very warm, friendly, or sociable" whereas Candidate C was described as "not very competent" but "very warm, friendly, or sociable" (see Table 3).

To manipulate reward interdependence, we randomly assigned participants to read one of two descriptions of their compensation package in the company. In the *low reward interdependence condition*, we told participants that their compensation in this company consisted of a base salary and a commission based on their individual sales; they were also told that their overall team sales has no impact on their own compensation. In the *high reward interdependence condition*, participants read that their compensation package in the company included a base salary, a commission based on their individual sales, and a commission based on their *team's sales*. This manipulation is consistent with previous work that operationalizes reward interdependence as the extent to which rewards are based partly upon the collective performance of a group or team (e.g., Shaw, Duffy, & Stark, 2000). In both conditions, we also emphasized the importance of sociability by reminding participants that this particular firm values a "collegial culture among employees."

As in Study 1, we asked participants to rank the candidates in order of their preference (1 = *most preferred*, 4 = *least preferred*). Next, we assessed instrumental and calculative thinking using two items ( $r = .72$ ,  $p < .001$ ) adapted from previous research (Belmi & Pfeffer, 2015): "My decision about the candidates was a strategic choice, nothing personal" and "My teammate preference was a calculated decision, nothing personal." Next, participants answered a one-item manipulation check (i.e., "According to the scenario that I read, part of my compensation in the investment banking firm depends on my team's performance"; 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly*



TABLE 4 Regression models in Study 1

	Dependent variable					
	Coworker preference		Instrumental thinking		Coworker preference	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Reward interdependence	-0.02 z = -0.26	0.02 z = 0.21	0.14 t = 4.27***	0.11 t = 3.16**	-0.07 z = -0.78	-0.02 z = -0.23
Age		0.01 z = 0.52		0.002 t = 0.32		0.01 z = 0.47
Ethnic status		-0.10 z = -0.27		-0.13 t = -1.02		-0.04 z = -0.11
Gender		0.19 z = 0.66		-0.09 t = -0.85		0.23 z = 0.81
Income		0.05 z = 0.65		-0.002 t = -0.08		0.05 z = 0.68
Education		0.16 z = 1.36		-0.07 t = -1.61		0.19 z = 1.54
Tenure		0.02 z = 0.43		0.02 t = 1.49		0.01 z = 0.24
Rank at work		-0.03 z = -0.16		-0.18 t = -2.70**		0.03 z = 0.17
Organizational size		0.02 z = 0.23		0.04 t = 1.22		0.003 z = 0.03
Private business vs. gov		-0.01 z = -0.03		-0.08 t = -0.59		0.02 z = 0.05
Private non-profit vs. gov		-0.25 z = -0.49		0.09 t = 0.48		-0.31 z = -0.60
Unit size		-0.04 z = -0.70		-0.004 t = -0.21		-0.04 z = -0.67
Hiring input		-0.21 z = -1.06		0.14 t = 1.92		-0.27 z = -1.33
Openness		-0.03 z = -0.29		0.06 t = 1.62		-0.05 z = -0.54
Conscientiousness		0.12 z = 0.77		0.14 t = 2.36*		0.07 z = 0.44
Extraversion		-0.12 z = -1.29		-0.09 t = -2.43*		-0.10 z = -0.98
Agreeableness		-0.18 z = -1.68		-0.05 t = -1.19		-0.17 z = -1.58
Neuroticism		0.14 z = 1.24		-0.04 t = -1.02		0.17 z = 1.43
Machiavellianism		0.01 z = 0.07		0.15 t = 2.27*		-0.04 z = -0.23
Social desirability		-0.67 z = -1.15		-0.14 t = -0.65		-0.63 z = -1.06
Personal sense of power		0.02 z = 0.13		0.27 t = 3.92***		-0.07 z = -0.36
Instrumentality					0.28 z = 2.32*	0.33 z = 2.39*

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

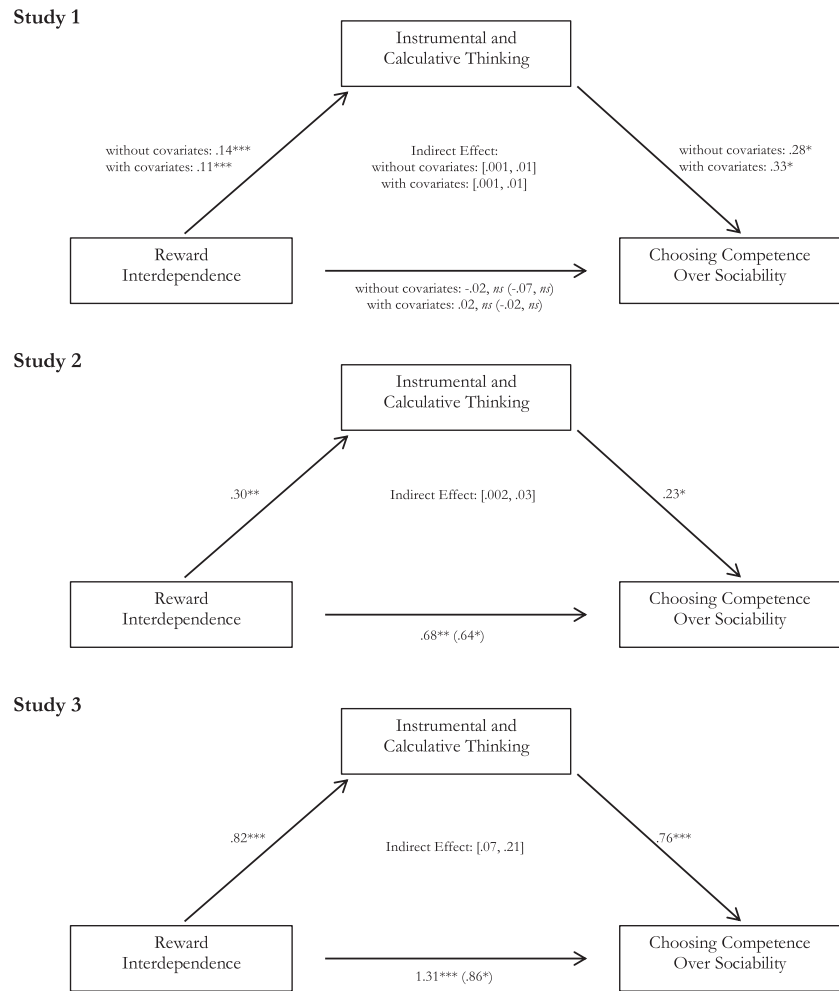
agree) and the same attention check from Study 1. Finally, participants completed a demographics questionnaire and were thanked for participating.

## 6.2 | Results

### 6.2.1 | Manipulation check

We began by testing whether our manipulation was successful. Participants in the high reward interdependence condition ( $M_{\text{high}} = 6.08$ ,

$SD_{\text{high}} = 1.21$ ) more strongly agreed that their pay in the investment banking firm was partly based on their team's performance compared to participants in the low reward interdependence condition ( $M_{\text{low}} = 3.25$ ,  $SD_{\text{low}} = 2.35$ ),  $t(441) = 15.76$ ,  $p < .001$ . Furthermore, the mean score for the high reward interdependence condition fell significantly above the midpoint,  $t(210) = 25.05$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas the opposite was true for the low reward interdependence condition,  $t(231) = -4.90$ ,  $p < .001$ . These results suggest that our manipulation was successful.



**FIGURE 1** Mediation models in Studies 1 to 3. In Study 1, reward interdependence was a continuous measure; in Studies 2 and 3, reward interdependence was experimentally manipulated and dummy-coded (0 = low, 1 = high)

### 6.2.2 | Partner preference

As Table 3 shows, the Competent/Sociable candidate (Candidate A) emerged as the most desirable, with the majority of participants indicating it as their first choice, regardless of reward interdependence (low vs. high: 96% vs. 96%;  $\chi^2 = .94$ ,  $p = .33$ ). Furthermore, participants found the Incompetent/Unsociable candidate (Candidate D) as least desirable, with the majority of participants indicating it as their last choice, regardless of reward interdependence (low vs. high: 94% vs. 97%;  $\chi^2 = .40$ ,  $p = .53$ ). These findings mirror the results of Study 1.

To test H1, we examined each participant's ranking of candidates and coded whether the participant favored the competent candidate (Candidate B) over the sociable candidate (Candidate C). As in Study 1, the majority (77%) preferred the competent candidate, whereas only a small proportion preferred the sociable candidate (23%). However, when we examined these results more closely, we found that reward interdependence systematically affected hiring preferences. Specifically, in the low reward interdependence condition, 71% of participants favored the competent candidate over the sociable candidate; in the high reward interdependence condition, this percentage increased to 83%. A chi-square test confirmed that the differences in choice between the two reward interdependence conditions were statistically significant,  $\chi^2 = 8.00$ ,  $p = .005$ . These findings support H1.

### 6.2.3 | Instrumental and calculative thinking

Consistent with H2, participants in the high reward interdependence condition indicated that they were more instrumental and calculative in their decision making ( $M = 5.89$ ,  $SD = 1.13$ ) than were participants in the low reward interdependence condition ( $M = 5.59$ ,  $SD = 1.29$ ),  $t(440) = 2.62$ ,  $p = .009$ . To formally test H2, we tested a mediation model in which reward interdependence was the independent variable, coworker preference was the dependent variable, and instrumental thinking was the mediator. The indirect effect excluded zero, CI 95 [.002, .03], confirming significant mediation, supporting H2, and replicating the results of Study 1 (see Figure 1, middle panel).

## 6.3 | Discussion

Study 2 found that compared to working adults who imagined themselves to be in a situation of low reward interdependence, working adults who imagined themselves to be in a situation of high reward interdependence were more instrumental in their decision making, which in turn, increased their inclination to choose a competent (but unsociable candidate) over a sociable (but incompetent) candidate. By manipulating reward interdependence directly, we gained a higher level of assurance that it does, in fact, affect people's preferences regarding competence and sociability. In this study, reward

interdependence increased the preference for competence (over sociability) by about 12%. We also found evidence of the underlying psychological process, namely, that reward interdependence causes more instrumental and more calculative thinking, consistent with what we observed in Study 1.

Although Study 2 found support for our hypotheses, the experiment had at least two limitations. First, although Study 2 used a method that is not dissimilar to those that have been frequently used in interpersonal evaluation studies, it does not forcefully engage the motivations of participants as would a context in which their actual (rather than imagined outcomes) depend on the actions of others. Second, it is possible that participants were more inclined to choose competence over sociability because they did not actually have to interact with the person they were evaluating. Had they been more aware of what it is like to work with somebody who has poor interpersonal skills, then perhaps they would be more inclined to choose sociability. We sought to address these limitations in Study 3.

## 7 | STUDY 3

In Study 3, rather than make a hypothetical choice, we placed participants in a situation where they anticipated that their actual rewards were either solely determined by their individual performance (low reward interdependence) or partially determined by their partner's performance (high reward interdependence). Second, to induce people to think more carefully about their decisions, we had participants reflect on the importance of competence and sociability prior to making their choices. We used this methodology because of research that suggests that asking people to reflect on their personal experiences can make abstract concepts more psychologically meaningful and relevant for participants (see Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). Third, to capture real-world conditions as much as possible given that we were employing an experimental design with random assignment, we used a situation in which people expected that they would actually spend time with another person on a repeated basis.

### 7.1 | Method

#### 7.1.1 | Participants

The participants for this study were undergraduate and graduate students from a Private West Coast University. We sent out several e-mail invitations to our student pool database inviting them for a "multiphase study on group and team dynamics." A total of 267 students expressed interest and completed the study. Prior to analysis, we decided in advance to exclude 91 participants who failed our critical manipulation check and attention check (described below); including these participants did not meaningfully change the results. Our final sample consisted of 176 students ( $M_{\text{age}} = 21.86$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 3.17$ ; 27% males, 73% females) who self-identified as either African American (9%), White American (36%), Asian American/Pacific Islander (41%), Latino American (11%), or Native American (2%; two participants did not report their ethnicity). Participants received \$10 dollars for their time.

#### 7.1.2 | Procedure

We recruited participants for a "multiphase study on group and team dynamics," a research program purportedly aiming to understand how people work in group settings. We told participants that the study consisted of two phases: an intake survey (first phase) and a series of lab experiments (second phase), which would occur on a later date. In reality, there was no second phase; all participants completed only the first phase of the study.

After providing their consent to participate, participants received an electronic link to complete an "intake survey." We told participants that in the second phase of the study, we would pair them with another student, with whom they would work on a series of tasks that would be conducted in the laboratory over 5 weeks. We told participants that they would spend a substantial amount of time with their partner in the lab, working on tasks that involved close collaboration, coordination, problem solving, and analytical skills. Importantly, we told participants that their specific partner in the second phase would be determined on the basis of their preferences and answers in the intake survey.

In line with our cover story, we asked participants to answer forms that contained questions about their personality traits and academic abilities (e.g., GPA and SAT). When they finished completing these forms, we asked participants to complete two short writing tasks. Specifically, participants read the following:

*"Thank you, (name of participant). In this section, we will ask you to do some writing. We designed this section so that we can have a better understanding of your previous work experiences and your attitudes toward working with other people. We will also use your answers here to match you with another participant.*

(Question 1)

*In the space below, please write a few sentences explaining why it's important to have a competent task partner—someone who is smart, capable, and intelligent. Please describe a personal experience that made it clear to you why having a competent task partner is important.*

(Question 2)

*In the space below, please write a few sentences explaining why it's important to have a sociable task partner—someone who is warm, friendly, and easygoing. Please describe a personal experience that made it clear to you why having a sociable task partner is important.*

We adapted this writing task based on the work of Galinsky et al. (2003), who argued and found that having participants reflect on their past experiences can be a simple but effective way of making psychologically abstract concepts more concrete, meaningful, and relevant. For example, they demonstrated that simply asking participants to recall and write about a personally relevant experience in which they had power over others can momentarily make participants feel powerful and increase their tendency to behave accordingly. Each question was accompanied by an open-ended textbox; both questions appeared on a single page, but we counterbalanced the order, such that the competence question appeared first for half of the participants, whereas the sociability question appeared first for the remaining participants. Table 5 presents a few illustrative examples of these reflections.

**TABLE 5** Example reflections from Study 3

<p>It is essential to have a competent task partner because such a person pushes you to be your best self. This individual will challenge you by introducing you to new ideas and ways of looking at things, expanding and growing your thinking. When I was a sophomore I took a writing class in which we were assigned an editorial partner. This partner read our work and provided feedback, a process I found to be remarkably helpful, largely because my partner was a conscientious reader genuinely caring and kind.</p>	<p>Work is more than just a series of outcomes; people are more than machines. A sociable task partner helps collaboratively create a work setting that is enjoyable and pleasant to be in; that in turn allows for a more sustainable work culture and, yes, better outcomes as well. I taught abroad for a summer, and I worked with various co-teachers; having a warm and friendly co-teacher made the class significantly more inviting to both the students and us teachers—the difference was night and day compared to a colder co-teacher.</p>
<p>Having a competent task partner is important because the overall group benefits from having two sources of information as opposed to one. Someone who is not competent will be unable to contribute to achieving the goal of the task, so having a competent ally who can come up with ideas independently or improve the ideas that I come up with is a way to increase efficiency. For example, I remember working on a project years ago with a group member who didn't do his part. This frustrated everyone else in the group and contributed to our group receiving a lower score.</p>	<p>Sociable task partners make even the most unpleasant tasks better, simply because they will sympathize with you but also help support you. When I was a sophomore, I had a lab partner in a chemistry class who was not at all sociable, and she made it very difficult to finish labs in a timely manner simply because she wasn't very communicative. It was even worse outside of class though, since she never really wanted to meet in person to go over lab report stuff, and I felt like I wasn't very supported in our partnership.</p>
<p>It's important to know that I can rely on my partner to help me complete the task and that I can trust their input. A competent task partner allows me to put in more effort on my part of the task, instead of having to constantly double check on their work. I realized how important this was to me when I took organic chemistry, and we would turn in problem sets by pairs. Knowing my partner was hard-working and intelligent allowed me to focus on my set of the problems and trust that he was doing his. Additionally, I trusted his input on my half of the work and was able to ask for his advice when I got stuck and vice-versa.</p>	<p>Having a sociable partner helps create an environment where all parties feel equally important in their contributions to the project. This helps facilitate productive conversations between the members and allows for a better group dynamic. In working with my co-chairs in a committee last year, we were very receptive of each other's thoughts and opinions. This made decision making a better process because we each considered each other's perspective so that no one felt like they were being left out.</p>
<p>It is important to have a competent work partner who can contribute to the task, as otherwise it could be frustrating to work together. Having a competent task partner will also challenge my own thinking, helping to construct ideas better to reach our common goal. This person may also contribute ideas from different perspectives. When I had a competent partner in a task, I feel more driven and challenged. For example, in a group project I had someone younger as one of my team members. Although he is of a different major, he is a quick learner who is able to provide constructive ideas and feedback when required. He comes up with ideas that I have never thought about, and it drove me to come up with more potential solutions to the challenge that we were solving at that time.</p>	<p>Someone who is warm and friendly will help you feel like you have a voice in the decisions being made and will not be condescending or talk over you. They can generate optimism and enthusiasm during the task. If they are easy-going, they will not stress you out and will keep you level-headed, even when the task is overwhelming. I worked as a medical assistant in a doctor's office and remember my first day at work. The first nurse I met was extremely warm and welcoming. She showed me around and made me feel like I belonged. Throughout the course of my job, I was often paired with her to do surgeries and follow-ups with patients. Without her friendly presence, I would have dreaded going to work and probably would have made more mistakes as well. She criticized me constructively and with a smile, so I learned faster than if someone were to pick out every mistake in a meticulous and demeaning manner.</p>

After writing their reflections, we instructed participants to advance to the next page of the survey. They then saw one of two randomly assigned prompts. In the low reward interdependence (*high reward interdependence*) condition, participants read the following:

"Thank you, (name of participant). Now, please tell us your partner preferences. In expressing your preference, please consider the following:

- You will be spending quite a bit of time with your partner in the lab over a period of five weeks;
- You will be working with your partner on tasks that require collaborating and interacting closely with each other, as well as analytical and problem-solving skills;

- The compensation that you will receive from these studies will not depend on your teammate's performance. In other words, although you will be working as a dyad, your partner's performance on any of the laboratory tasks will not affect the compensation that you will receive. (*The compensation that you will receive from these studies will also depend on your teammate's performance. In other words, your compensation may change substantially depending on your partner's performance.*)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>We left the exact amount vague, although our lab participants are aware that our lab pays a standard rate of \$5 per 15 min (or up to \$20 per hour). Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that our participants expected to get compensated anywhere from \$5 to \$20 for their time. And, as noted in the main text, participants were told that the second phase would consist of multiple sessions.

Participants then answered a forced-choice question to indicate who they preferred to work with during the second phase: (a) "I'd like to be paired with a sociable partner, even if my teammate isn't very competent or intelligent"; (b) "I'd like to be paired with a competent or intelligent partner, even if my teammate isn't very sociable." After indicating their partner choice, we assessed instrumental and calculative thinking, using the same scales we used in Studies 1 ( $\alpha = .91$ ) and 2 ( $r = .84$ ). As an additional measure of instrumental and calculative thinking, we assessed the extent to which participants were fixated on money when they were making their choice. We did so by asking them two questions ( $r = .91$ ) adapted from existing research (Hur & Nordgren, 2016): "[When I was making a decision about who I wanted to work with] ... I kept thinking about how much money I could potentially earn in the upcoming studies"; "... I was fixated on the compensation that I could potentially receive in the upcoming lab studies" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). Our three measures of instrumental and calculative thinking were only modestly correlated ( $r_{\text{instrumental/calculative}} = .43$ ,  $r_{\text{instrumental/fixation}} = .24$ ,  $r_{\text{calculative/fixation}} = .44$ , all  $ps < .01$ ), but the results for each measure were virtually identical (see the Supporting Information) so for the sake of parsimony, we combined them into one composite ( $\alpha = .84$ ). Next, participants answered a one-item manipulation check (i.e., "I read that my compensation in the upcoming laboratory experiments in phase 2 would also depend on my partner's performance"; 0 = *true*, 1 = *false*); then, they answered the same attention check from Studies 1 and 2. Finally, participants completed a demographics form, were thanked, and debriefed.

## 7.2 | Results

Counterbalancing order (0 = *competence question first*, 1 = *sociability question first*) had no effect ( $ps > .47$ ); therefore, we collapsed across this variable.

### 7.2.1 | Partner choice

We began by testing H1. When participants read that their compensation was based solely on their individual performance (low reward interdependence), the majority chose to be with a sociable teammate (59%) instead of a competent teammate (41%). However, when they read that their compensation was based partially on their partner's performance (high reward interdependence), the effect reversed: The majority preferred a competent teammate (72%) instead of a sociable teammate (28%). A chi-square test showed that reward interdependence significantly affected partner choice,  $\chi^2(1) = 15.59$ ,  $p < .001$ . This result supports H1.

### 7.2.2 | Instrumentality and calculative mindset

Consistent with H2, participants in the high reward interdependence condition indicated that they were more instrumental and calculative in their decision making ( $M = 4.85$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ) than were participants in the low reward interdependence condition ( $M = 4.02$ ,  $SD = .92$ ),  $t(174) = 5.26$ ,  $p < .001$ . To formally test H2, we tested a mediation model in which reward interdependence was the independent variable, teammate preference was the dependent variable, and instrumental thinking was the mediator. The indirect effect excluded zero, CI 95

[.07, .21], confirming significant mediation, supporting H2, and replicating the results of the first two studies (see Figure 1, lower panel).

## 8 | DISCUSSION

Study 3 replicated the results of our previous experiment, this time in a context in which people believed that they were actually selecting others they would be working with. Compared with individuals who believed that they would be compensated individually, individuals who believed that their economic outcomes would depend in part on others were more likely to choose a competent teammate over a sociable teammate because they were more likely to adopt an instrumental decision calculus. Furthermore, this effect emerged even after having individuals contemplate about why sociability and competence were personally important to them.

As might be expected, the effect of reward interdependence in Study 3, when participants actually anticipated interacting with another person, was larger than it was in Study 2 when people responded to a hypothetical situation. In this study, reward interdependence increased the preference for competence (over sociability) by about 30%. To the extent people believe that the rewards that they will earn will really be based on their choice of another, they favor competence over sociability even more strongly.

## 9 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across three studies with nearly 1,000 participants, we found support for our theoretical arguments about reward interdependence and partner choice. Study 1 showed that in real-world settings, employees who are reward interdependent think more instrumentally and calculatively about potential colleagues, and that this, in turn, is associated with placing more emphasis on selecting competent (vs. sociable) individuals. Study 2 found causal evidence for our theoretical arguments and showed that working adults were relatively more inclined to value competence over sociability when they imagined working in a context with a higher degree of reward interdependence. Study 3 demonstrated a somewhat stronger effect of reward interdependence on choice. When participants anticipated that they would spend time with another person on a repeated basis and that their actual rewards were partially determined by their partner's performance, participants became more instrumental and calculative, which in turn, increased the desire to choose competent (compared to sociable) individuals.

### 9.1 | Theoretical contributions

Our work makes several contributions to the literature on interpersonal choice, reward interdependence, and impression management in organizations. We describe these contributions below.

#### 9.1.1 | Interpersonal choice in organizations

There is a striking paradox in the literature on leader selection in organizations that begs for resolution. On the one hand, there is a substantial and growing body of literature documenting the adverse

consequences that come from the choice of people who are not warm and friendly, such as those who bully others (e.g., Pearson, 2005; Porath & Erez, 2007), are narcissistic (e.g., O'Reilly, Doerr, Caldwell, & Chatman, 2014), and exhibit the so-called dark triad personality traits (Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013; O'Boyle Jr, Forsyth, Banks, & McDaniel, 2012). On the other hand, people who are not necessarily warm and friendly often emerge as leaders and are chosen for jobs—which is how they get in positions to have their effects on others in the first place (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009b; O'Reilly et al., 2014; Tiedens, 2001). This juxtaposition of choosing people for roles who then cause problems for others and even for their organizations begs the question of why and how such choices get made.

There are undoubtedly many avenues to explore in answering this question. But one way of understanding why people who wind up harming others are nonetheless selected is suggested by Anderson and Kilduff's (2009a, 2009b, see also Tiedens, 2001) important observation that behaving assertively and forcefully can signal competence to those who observe such behavior. And our research suggests that when people face reward interdependence—when their own consequences depend on the actions and particularly the competence and skills of others—they tend to be instrumental and calculative (see, for instance, Lee et al., 2015; Orehek & Forest, 2016) in their decision making. Thus, the present research suggests that when people choose others in situations in which such choices matter for their own outcomes, they do not give as much weight to characteristics of those others that are interpersonally important but possibly seen as not task relevant.

Note that in all of the studies, sociability remained an important component of interpersonal choice. The effect of reward interdependence was to reduce, certainly not eliminate, the importance of sociability as a factor affecting choice. And it is also important to recognize that people's choices for task partners shifted a substantively important amount, even though our reward interdependence manipulations were minimal and necessarily weaker compared to what might be observed in real organizational settings (salaries and bonuses in work organizations are substantially larger than the amounts we used in our studies). Furthermore, the consequences and amount of interactions that participants had to face in our studies were much less than in workplaces where bonuses and careers might easily be at stake depending on task performance. Thus, even in a relatively minimal manifestation (Prentice & Miller, 1992), reward interdependence is an important factor affecting interpersonal choice. This is why, as Rudman (1998) noted, reward interdependence is an important factor affecting people's judgments. Unfortunately, her theoretical intuition has thus far been largely ignored in follow-up work.

### 9.1.2 | Reward interdependence

As we noted in the introduction, much of the research on reward interdependence has focused on identifying the particular conditions that make team rewards effective. To our knowledge, our research is among the first to explore how reward interdependence affects people's decisions about interpersonal choice and what they come to value in task partners.

Despite hundreds of studies examining group rewards, scholars have not found consistent evidence that reward interdependence promotes cooperation and positive group performance (e.g., DeMatteo et al., 1998), possibly because the effectiveness of reward interdependence depends on several factors, such as setting, team size, and team heterogeneity (see Garbers & Konradt, 2014). One additional explanation, based on our findings, is that in some workplaces where high reward interdependence exists, decision makers hire and select competent individuals, even if they might be somewhat uncivil, unsociable, or unfriendly. However, hiring these types of individuals can be ineffective in the long-run because competent jerks tend to create conflict in teams, which can undermine the cooperation that managers hope to foster through reward interdependence.

Our findings thus suggest that, in work environments that implement reward interdependence to foster cohesion and cooperation, those who are responsible for hiring and selection decisions must receive critical training on the value of “soft contributions.” Without such training, decision makers may view the hiring of a competent jerk as a reasonable decision but fail to recognize that it could prove to be a short-sighted strategy. Providing training on the value of soft contributions in teams can help decision makers overcome a narrow way of thinking by helping them see that getting along with someone is just as important as competence when it comes to successful long-term performance.

### 9.1.3 | Impression management

Finally, our findings also provide an important insight about impression management in organizational contexts. As already noted, there are contradictory recommendations about how to present oneself in the best possible light. On the one hand, some scholars advocate that people should emphasize their social warmth first, before they demonstrate their competence (Cuddy, Kohut, & Neffinger, 2013). Because of the presumed importance of sociability for career success, there are now books (e.g., Bhargava, 2012; Kerpen, 2012; Lederman, 2011; Sanders, 2005) and websites (more than 23 million entries came up when we did a Google search using the phrase, “how to be more sociable”<sup>6</sup>) offering tips on how to become or at least appear to be more warm and friendly. All of this research on the importance of sociability has led to warmth becoming a central idea in management thinking and education.

On the other hand, the research literature has demonstrated the effectiveness of displaying anger and violating norms and rules for achieving attributions of power and status (e.g., Tiedens, 2001; Van Kleef et al., 2011). For example, Tiedens (2001) found that displaying anger positively predicted promotion and salary at work, whereas Anderson and Kilduff (2009b) found that people who tend to behave forcefully and assertively are seen as more influential in groups. Furthermore, this past research suggests that such tactics are effective because they create perceptions of competence to observers (see also Anderson & Kilduff, 2009a).

Our findings offer one potential avenue for resolving this important question on impression management. Specifically, our findings suggest that in situations in which people expect to be rewarded

<sup>6</sup>As of February 2, 2018.

interdependently, it might be more fruitful to highlight one's competence rather than one's sociability. Indeed, this recommendation is compatible with prior work that suggests that people attain more social rank in their group when they are seen as competent and therefore more valuable to a group's functioning (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009a; Emerson, 1962; Goldhamer & Shils, 1939). However, in situations in which people are expected to be rewarded independently or the consequences from any reward interdependence are small, it might be more fruitful to highlight one's sociability to create a more favorable impression.

## 10 | LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our primary goal in this paper is to examine how the presence of reward interdependence affects interpersonal choice. That said, it is likely that this relationship is moderated by a number of factors, such as the nature of the work context, the task type, the organizational culture, the size of the reward, and the prior experiences of decision makers.

For example, it is possible that the mechanisms we have identified are most likely to play out in complex work situations where successful performance significantly depends on employee skill and cognitive ability (Beersma et al., 2003). It is also possible that these effects may be strongest in work contexts where decision makers place more emphasis on tangible results and less on interpersonal work dynamics. Therefore, these effects might be stronger in individualistic and market-oriented cultures (i.e., those that emphasize competitiveness and goal achievement) and weaker in collectivistic organizational cultures (i.e., those that emphasize cohesion, participation, and teamwork; see Cameron & Freeman, 1991). Additionally, older and more experienced participants who genuinely understand the importance of interpersonal skills in the work environment may be less inclined to prioritize competence over sociability; by contrast, competitive and achievement-driven individuals may be inclined to do the opposite. And the importance of sociability may be stronger in smaller (vs. larger) teams, where employees have to interact more frequently (Garbers & Konradt, 2014). Finally, the size of the reward may matter too; in fact, very little is known on what the optimal team reward is (DeMatteo et al., 1998). Future research can examine what makes a reward size psychologically meaningful (Garbers & Konradt, 2014) and how much is needed to shift interpersonal choice.

As noted in the introduction, there are multiple forms of interdependence that exist in organizations (e.g., reward and task, positive vs. negative). We necessarily restricted our studies to one form of interdependence and fully acknowledge that these studies may not necessarily capture all the complexities that occur in organizations. Nonetheless, we believe that these studies provide important results by documenting some of the psychological mechanisms that are implicated by reward interdependence. Future work should explore how reward interdependence interacts with other forms of interdependence to affect interpersonal choice.

We would also encourage future researchers to explore the interplay between reward interdependence and gender dynamics at work.

Past research on gender role expectations in the workplace (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002) suggests that men and women are held to different prescriptive standards for behavior and that women are sanctioned when they do not behave in a warm and communal way (e.g., Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2008; Rudman, 1998). Thus, one interesting avenue for future research is to examine the relationship between reward interdependence and the backlash effect. The idea that competence is valued over sociability may not apply in work contexts where men and women are expected to conform to traditional gender stereotypes. Furthermore, decision makers who strongly subscribe to traditional gender prescriptions may feel very uncomfortable with the idea of working with "competent but cold" female colleagues, no matter the degree of reward interdependence.

Another extension of the present research would be to explore whether reward interdependence would also reduce the extent to which individuals would place importance on ethics and morality when choosing leaders and coworkers. In organizations, morality (e.g., trustworthiness and fairness; Goodwin et al., 2014) is highly related to sociability and is sometimes seen as negatively correlated to competence (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Wojciszke, 1997). Thus, it would be fruitful to examine whether people would also become just as inclined to choose competent (but less ethical) leaders when their economic rewards are based partly on their team's performance. This line of argument might help explain why some organizational leaders continue to survive in their roles and apparently suffer few long-term reputational consequences despite having engaged in morally questionable actions that even resulted in jail terms. The theoretical arguments presented here would suggest that people would continue to endorse those leaders to the extent that the individuals can extract value from these others' influence and unique expertise.

Finally, because our goal was to understand how reward interdependence shapes employees' mindsets in ways that have implications for how they weight competence and sociability at work, it was necessary for us to rely on experimental methods, which are effective for uncovering underlying psychological processes. And although we did find evidence that this psychological process operates not only in the lab but also in the real world with real decision makers (see Study 1) and real organizational members (see Study 2), it would be important to continue to understand the contextual and organizational forces that exacerbate (or attenuate) these psychological processes. For example, although individuals may be inclined to advocate for competent but less sociable individuals under reward interdependence, it is possible that these preferences may be less likely to come to fruition in organizational contexts that have stringent checks and balances (Staw, 2016). Furthermore, more research is needed to understand the downstream consequences of people's interpersonal choices under reward interdependence and the contextual conditions that enable these choices to shape the social dynamics at work. To answer these questions, future research should incorporate context as an integral element of the theory and could use field observations of organizational members, analyses of archival data, or even field experiments. Additionally, qualitative work that explores how reward interdependence affects people's willingness to work for and endorse leaders and coworkers with dark personality traits (Machiavellianism, narcissism, and sociopathy) can be a fruitful avenue for future research.

## 11 | CONCLUSION

Despite a vast literature on interpersonal choice and despite the fact that, at least experimentally, altering conditions of reward interdependence is reasonably straightforward, most studies of interpersonal choice do not incorporate conditions that implicate the consequences of those choices and social judgments. Perhaps that is why there is so much confusion and ambiguity in the research literature on this substantively and theoretically important topic.

Choosing with consequences is profoundly different from choosing without consequences. The studies reported here demonstrate that how people evaluate others and who they choose depends on the consequences, specifically the rewards, that they face. It is important to recognize this fact in both the design and interpretation of studies of interpersonal choice.

### ORCID

Peter Belmi  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7362-4899>

### REFERENCES

- Amabile, T. M. (1983). Brilliant but cruel: Perceptions of negative evaluators. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 19*(2), 146–156.
- Anderson, C., John, O. P., & Keltner, D. (2012). The personal sense of power. *Journal of Personality, 80*(2), 313–344.
- Anderson, C., & Kilduff, G. (2009a). The pursuit of status in social groups. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 18*(5), 295–298.
- Anderson, C., & Kilduff, G. J. (2009b). Why do dominant personalities attain influence in face-to-face groups? The competence-signaling effects of trait dominance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 96*(2), 491–503.
- Beersma, B., Hollenbeck, J. R., Humphrey, S. E., Moon, H., Conlon, D. E., & Ilgen, D. R. (2003). Cooperation, competition, and team performance: Toward a contingency approach. *Academy of Management Journal, 46*, 572–590.
- Behrend, T. S., Sharek, D. J., Meade, A. W., & Wiebe, E. N. (2011). The viability of crowdsourcing for survey research. *Behavioral Research Methods, 43*, 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13428-011-0081-0>
- Belmi, P., & Laurin, K. (2016). Who wants to get to the top? Class and lay theories about power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 111*(4), 505–529.
- Belmi, P., & Pfeffer, J. (2015). How “organization” can weaken the norm of reciprocity: The effects of attributions for favors and a calculative mindset. *Academy of Management Discoveries, 1*(1), 36–57.
- Bhargava, R. (2012). *Likeonomics: The unexpected truth behind earning trust, influencing behavior, and inspiring action*. Chicago: John Wiley & Sons.
- Blau, P. M. (1962). Patterns of choice in interpersonal relations. *American Sociological Review, 27*(1), 41–55.
- Brescoll, V. L., & Uhlmann, E. L. (2008). Can an angry woman get ahead? Status conferral, gender, and expression of emotion in the workplace. *Psychological Science, 19*(3), 268–275.
- Buhrmester, M., Kwang, T., & Gosling, S. D. (2011). Amazon's Mechanical Turk: A new source of inexpensive, yet high-quality, data? *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 6*(1), 3–5.
- Cacioppo, J. T., Gardner, W. L., & Berntson, G. G. (1997). Beyond bipolar conceptualizations and measures: The case of attitudes and evaluative space. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 1*(1), 3–25.
- Cameron, K. S., & Freeman, S. J. (1991). Cultural congruence, strength, and type: Relationships to effectiveness. *Research in Organizational Change and Development, 5*, 23–58.
- Campion, M. A., Medsker, G. J., & Higgs, A. C. (1993). Relations between work group characteristics and effectiveness: Implications for designing effective work groups. *Personnel Psychology, 46*, 823–847.
- Casciaro, T., & Lobo, M. S. (2008). When competence is irrelevant: The role of interpersonal affect in task-related ties. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 53*(4), 655–684.
- Cheng, J. (1983). Interdependence and coordination in organizations: A role-system analysis. *Academy of Management Journal, 26*, 156–162.
- Cheung, J. H., Burns, D. K., Sinclair, R. R., & Sliter, M. (2017). Amazon Mechanical Turk in organizational psychology: An evaluation and practical recommendations. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 32*(4), 347–361.
- Christie, R., & Geis, F. (1970). *Studies in Machiavellianism*. NY: Academic Press.
- Courtright, S. H., Thurgood, G. R., Stewart, G. L., & Pierotti, A. J. (2015). Structural interdependence in teams: An integrative framework and meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 100*(6), 1825–1846.
- Cuddy, A. J. C. (2009). Just because I'm nice, don't assume I'm dumb. *Harvard Business Review, 87*(2).
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2004). When professionals become mothers, warmth doesn't cut the ice. *Journal of Social Issues, 60*, 701–718.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T., & Glick, P. (2008). Warmth and competence as universal dimensions of social perception: The stereotype content model and the BIAS map. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 40*, 61–149.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Beninger, A. (2011). The dynamics of warmth and competence judgments, and their rewards in organizations. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 31*, 73–98.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Kohut, M., & Neffinger, J. (2013). Connect, then lead. In *Harvard business review*. Retrieved from <https://hbr.org/2013/07/connect-then-lead>
- Dahling, J. J., Whitaker, B. G., & Levy, P. E. (2009). The development and validation of a new Machiavellianism scale. *Journal of Management, 35*(2), 219–257.
- DeMatteo, J. S., Eby, L. T., & Sundstrom, E. (1998). Team-based rewards: Current empirical evidence. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 20*, 141–183.
- Deutsch, M. (1949). A theory of cooperation and competition. *Human Relations, 2*, 129–152.
- Eagly, A. H., & Karau, S. J. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review, 109*, 573–598.
- Emerson, R. M. (1962). Power dependence relations. *American Sociological Review, 27*, 30–41.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth, then competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 11*, 77–83.
- Furnham, A., Richards, S. C., & Paulhus, D. L. (2013). The dark triad of personality: A 10 year review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 7*(3), 199–216.
- Galinsky, A. D., Gruenfeld, D. H., & Magee, J. C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*(3), 453–466.
- Garbers, Y., & Konradt, U. (2014). The effect of financial incentives on performance: A quantitative review of individual and team-based financial incentives. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 87*(1), 102–137.
- Goldhamer, H., & Shils, E. A. (1939). Types of power and status. *American Journal of Sociology, 45*, 171–182.
- Goodwin, G., Piazza, J., & Rozin, P. (2014). Moral character as a fundamental human dimension. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 106*, 148–168.
- Grant, A. (2013). *Give and take*. New York: Viking.
- Gruenfeld, D. H., Inesi, M. E., Magee, J. C., & Galinsky, A. D. (2008). Power and the objectification of social targets. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(1), 111–127.
- Hayes, A. F. (2017). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. Guilford Publications.



- Holoien, D. S., & Fiske, S. T. (2013). Downplaying positive impressions: Compensation between warm and competence in impression management. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49*, 33–41.
- Hur, J. D., & Nordgren, L. F. (2016). Paying for performance: Performance incentives increase desire for the reward object. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 111*(3), 301–316.
- Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (1989). *Cooperation and competition: Theory and research*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company.
- Jones, E. E. (1990). *Interpersonal perception*. New York: W. H. Freeman.
- Judd, C. M., Hawkins, L., Yzerbyt, V., & Kashima, Y. (2005). Fundamental dimensions of social judgment: understanding the relations between judgments of competence and warmth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89*(6), 899–913.
- Judge, T. A., Livingston, B. A., & Hurst, C. (2012). Do nice guys—and gals—really finish last? The joint effects of sex and agreeableness on income. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*, 390–407.
- Keith, M., Tay, L., & Harms, P. (2017). Systems perspective of amazon mechanical turk for organizational research: Review and recommendations. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2017.01359>
- Kelley, H. H., & Thibaut, J. W. (1978). *Interpersonal relations: A theory of interdependence*. New York, NY: Wiley-Interscience.
- Kerpen, D. (2012). *Likeable business: Why today's consumers demand more and how leaders can deliver*. McGraw-Hill.
- Kervyn, N., Yzerbyt, V., & Judd, C. M. (2010). Compensation between warmth and competence: Antecedents and consequences of a negative relation between the two fundamental dimensions of social perception. *European Review of Social Psychology, 21*(1), 155–187.
- Kouchaki, M., Smith-Crowe, K., Brief, A., & Sousa, C. (2013). Seeing green: Mere exposure to money triggers a business decision frame and unethical rewards. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*.
- Landers, R. N., & Behrend, T. S. (2015). An inconvenient truth: Arbitrary distinctions between organizational, Mechanical Turk, and other convenience samples. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice, 8*, 142–164.
- Landy, J. F., Piazza, J., & Goodwin, G. P. (2016). When it's bad to be friendly and smart: The desirability of sociability and competence depends on morality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 42*, 1272–1290.
- Lederman, M. T. (2011). *The 11 laws of likability: Relationship networking... because people do business with people they like*. AMACOM Div American Management Association.
- Lee, S. Y., Pitesa, M., Thau, S., & Pillutla, M. M. (2015). Discrimination in selection decisions: Integrating stereotype fit and interdependence theories. *Academy of Management Journal, 58*(3), 789–812.
- Lyness, K. S., & Heilman, M. E. (2006). When fit is fundamental: Performance evaluations and promotions of upper-level female and male managers. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*(4), 777–785.
- Marx, K. (1844/1964). *Early writings* (T. B. Bottomore, Trans.). New York: McGraw-Hill. (Original work published 1844)
- Miller, L. K., & Hamblin, R. L. (1963). Interdependence, differential rewarding, and productivity. *American Sociological Review, 28*, 768–778.
- Necka, E. A., Cacioppo, S., Norman, G. J., & Cacioppo, J. T. (2016). Measuring the prevalence of problematic respondent behaviors among MTurk, campus, and community participants. *PLoS One, 11*(6), e0157732.
- Neuberg, S. L., & Fiske, S. T. (1987). Motivational influences on impression formation: Reward interdependence, accuracy-driven attention, and individuating processes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 431–444.
- Nir, S. (2017, April 7). Be nice—you won't finish last. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/07/education/edlife/be-nice-you-wont-finish-last.html>
- O'Boyle, E. H. Jr., Forsyth, D. R., Banks, G. C., & McDaniel, M. A. (2012). A meta-analysis of the Dark Triad and work behavior: A social exchange perspective. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 97*(3), 557–579.
- Olian, J. D., Schwab, D. P., & Haberfeld, Y. (1988). The impact of applicant gender compared to qualifications on hiring recommendations: A meta-analysis of experimental studies. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 41*(2), 180–195.
- Oppenheimer, D. M., Meyvis, T., & Davidenko, N. (2009). Instructional manipulation checks: Detecting satisficing to increase statistical power. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*(4), 867–872.
- Orehek, E., & Forest, A. L. (2016). When people serve as means to goals: Implications of a motivational account of close relationships. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 25*, 79–84.
- O'Reilly, C., Doerr, B., Caldwell, D., & Chatman, J. (2014). Narcissistic CEOs and executive compensation. *The Leadership Quarterly, 25*(2), 218–231.
- Pearson, C. M., & Porath, C. L. (2005). On the nature, consequences and remedies of workplace incivility: No time for "Nice"? Think again. *Academy of Management Perspectives, 19*, 7–18.
- Pfeffer, J. (2015). *Leadership BS: Fixing workplaces and careers one truth at a time*. Harper Collins.
- Pingitore, R., Dugoni, B. L., Tindale, R. S., & Spring, B. (1994). Bias against overweight job applicants in a simulated employment interview. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 909–917.
- Porath, C. L., & Erez, A. (2007). Does rudeness really matter? The effects of rudeness on task performance and helpfulness. *Academy of Management Journal, 50*, 1181–1197.
- Prentice, D. A., & Miller, D. T. (1992). When small effects are impressive. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*(1), 160–164.
- Prinstein, M. (2017). *Popular: The power of likability in a status-obsessed world*. Penguin.
- Rammstedt, B., & John, O. P. (2007). Measuring personality in one minute or less: A 10-item short version of the Big Five Inventory in English and German. *Journal of Research in Personality, 41*(1), 203–212.
- Rossi, M. (2008). The development and validation of the comprehensive team interdependence scale (Master's thesis, University of South Florida). Retrieved from <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/481/>
- Rucker, D. D., Preacher, K. J., Tormala, Z. L., & Petty, R. E. (2011). Mediation analysis in social psychology: Current practices and new recommendations. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 5*(6), 359–371.
- Rudman, L. A. (1998). Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counterstereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(3), 629–645.
- Saavedra, R., Earley, P. C., & Vandyne, L. (1993). Complex interdependence in task-performing groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 78*, 61–72.
- Sanders, T. (2005). *The likeability factor: How to boost your L-factor and achieve the life of your dreams*. New York: Crown.
- Schwartz, S., & Bilsky, W. (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 550–562.
- Seibert, S. E., & Kraimer, M. L. (2001). The five-factor model of personality and career success. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 58*, 1–21.
- Shaw, J. D., Duffy, M. K., & Stark, E. M. (2000). Interdependence and preference for group work: Main and congruence effects on the satisfaction and performance of group members. *Journal of Management, 26*(2), 259–279.
- Sinaceur, M., & Tiedens, L. Z. (2006). Get mad and get more than even: When and why anger expression is effective in negotiations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*(3), 314–322.
- Spurk, D., Keller, A. C., & Hirschi, A. (2016). Do bad guys get ahead or fall behind? Relationships of the dark triad of personality with objective and subjective career success. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 7*(2), 113–121.
- Staw, B. (2016). Stumbling toward a social psychology of organizations: An autobiographical look at the direction of organizational research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 3*, 1–19.

- Steelman, Z. R., Hammer, B. I., & Limayem, M. (2014). Data collection in the digital age: Innovative alternatives to student samples. *MIS Quarterly*, 38, 355–378.
- Stöber, J. (2001). The Social Desirability Scale-17 (SDS-17): Convergent validity, discriminant validity, and relationship with age. *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 17(3), 222–232.
- Tenbrunsel, A. E., & Messick, D. M. (1999). Sanctioning systems, decision frames, and cooperation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44, 684–707.
- Tiedens, L. Z. (2001). Anger and advancement versus sadness and subjugation: The effect of negative emotion expressions on social status conferral. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80, 86–94.
- Tjosvold, D. (1986). The dynamics of interdependence in organizations. *Human Relations*, 39, 517–540.
- Van de Ven, A., Delbecq, A., & Koenig, R. (1976). Determinants of coordination modes within organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 41, 322–338.
- van der Vegt, G. S., & van de Vliert, E. (2002). Intragroup interdependence and effectiveness: Review and proposed directions for theory and practice. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 17, 50–68.
- Van Kleef, G., Homan, A., Finkenauer, C., Gundemir, S., & Stamkou, E. (2011). Breaking the rules to rise to power: How norm violators gain power in the eyes of others. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 2(5), 500–507.
- Wageman, R. (1995). Interdependence and group effectiveness. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40, 145–180.
- Willis, J., & Todorov, A. (2006). First impressions: Making up your mind after a 100-Ms exposure to a face. *Psychological Science*, 17, 592–598.
- Wojciszke, B. (1997). Parallels between competence-versus morality-related traits and individualistic versus collectivistic values. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 27, 245–256.
- Wojciszke, B., & Abele, A. E. (2008). The primacy of communion over agency and its reversal in evaluations. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38, 1139–1147.
- Zhao, X., Lynch, J. G. Jr., & Chen, Q. (2010). Reconsidering Baron and Kenny: Myths and truths about mediation analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(2), 197–206.

**Peter Belmi** is an assistant professor of Organizational Behavior at the Darden School of Business. He received his PhD in Organizational Behavior from the Graduate School of Business at Stanford University. He is interested in power processes and its implications for understanding the reproduction of socioeconomic inequalities.

**Jeffrey Pfeffer** is the Thomas D. Dee II professor of Organizational Behavior at the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, where he has taught since 1979. He has published extensively in the fields of organization theory and human resource management. His current research focuses on power and leadership in organizations.

### SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional Supporting Information may be found online in the supporting information tab for this article.

**How to cite this article:** Belmi P, Pfeffer J. The effect of economic consequences on social judgment and choice: Reward interdependence and the preference for sociability versus competence. *J Organ Behav*. 2018;39:990–1007. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2274>