

## Abstract

Employees from lower-class backgrounds experience worse outcomes at work compared to their higher-class counterparts (e.g., lower earnings). We propose that one key source of these disparities is the *cultural mismatch* between the independent models of self promoted by white collar organizational cultures and the interdependent models of self common among people from lower-class backgrounds. In particular, we propose that *both* values and practices must reflect interdependence for the benefits of a cultural match (e.g., a sense of social fit) to emerge. Two large-scale survey studies with employees in diverse white-collar occupations and two experiments with college-educated working adults (Total  $N = 2601$ ) support our theorizing: Employees from lower-class backgrounds only experience the benefits of a cultural match when organizations have both interdependent practices *and* values. All other values-practices combinations reflect a mismatch, leading to relatively lower social fit and, in turn, lower retention among employees from lower-class backgrounds. In contrast, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices matter less for the social fit and, in turn, retention of employees from higher-class backgrounds. Our findings suggest that creating organizational cultures that promote both interdependent values *and* practices have the potential to reduce social class disparities at work.

*Keywords:* social class background; cultural models of self; organizational values and practices; inequality

## From 'Team' Talk to Teamwork:

## Interdependent Values and Practices Benefit Employees from Lower-Class Backgrounds

In white-collar organizations, college-educated employees from lower-class backgrounds<sup>1</sup> face unique obstacles that often lead them to experience worse outcomes at work (e.g., Barling & Weatherhead, 2016; Bartik & Hershbein, 2018; Crawford et al., 2016; Friedman & Laurison, 2020; Laurison & Friedman, 2016; Sharps & Anderson, 2021; Torche, 2011). For example, employees from lower-class backgrounds are less likely to attain management positions in organizations (Barling & Weatherhead, 2016; Ingram & Oh, 2020) and earn 17% less, on average, than their counterparts from higher-class backgrounds (Bartik & Hershbein, 2018; Laurison & Friedman, 2016). These class-based disparities in workplace outcomes (e.g., earnings, career advancement) arise not only from structural factors including overt discrimination and unequal access to enrichment opportunities (e.g., Corak, 2013; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019; Rivera, 2016; Rivera & Tilcsik, 2016), but also from hidden cultural obstacles (Côté, 2011; Martin & Côté, 2019). Specifically, we propose that employees from lower-class backgrounds must contend with the experience that their relatively interdependent cultural models of self are less likely to be included in the independent cultures of mainstream white-collar organizations, what has been termed a *cultural mismatch* (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). We further propose that this mismatch constitutes an obstacle that their higher-class counterparts, who are more likely to hold independent models of self, are less likely to face (Ostrove & Long, 2007; Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020).

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout, to incorporate diverse literatures on social class, we use the term *lower-class backgrounds* to represent individuals who were raised in contexts on the lower half of the social class divide: contexts where most people have less than a 4-year college degree and have blue-collar jobs and lower incomes. We contrast this with the term *higher-class backgrounds*, which represents individuals who were raised in contexts on the top half of the social class divide: where most people have at least a 4-year college degree and have white-collar jobs and higher incomes.

Previous research documents the influence of this cultural mismatch in higher education contexts (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). Specifically, institutions of higher education tend to reflect independent cultural norms, which are more common in middle- and upper-class contexts but are less aligned with the relatively interdependent norms of lower-class contexts, producing a cultural mismatch. As a result of this cultural mismatch, students from lower-class backgrounds in college experience a range of negative consequences—i.e., enhanced stress, reduced sense of social fit, and worse performance (Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020; Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). In the present research, we extend this prior work in two key ways. First, we extend cultural mismatch theory to the workplace context, suggesting that the experience of cultural mismatch does not dissipate when people attain four-year degrees and enter the white-collar workforce; instead, we propose that in white-collar organizations, college-educated employees from lower-class backgrounds will still experience a cultural mismatch when organizational values and/or practices reflect independence, thereby undermining their social fit and, in turn, their retention intentions. Second, we distinguish between cultural values and cultural practices, and theorize that interdependence in either values *or* practices is not enough; instead, *both* values and practices must reflect interdependence to achieve the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit) for employees from lower-class backgrounds.

In the sections that follow, we outline the logic underlying our central prediction: that only organizations with both interdependent values and practices will lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit), in turn, leading to greater retention. In contrast, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will matter less for employees from higher-class backgrounds. First, to explain why we

expect interdependence to continue to contribute to a cultural match for employees from lower-class backgrounds, we provide an overview of previous research documenting how different social class contexts shape people's cultural models of self and tend to persist even when people experience upward mobility (i.e., complete college). Specifically, we propose that college-educated employees from lower-class backgrounds will bring more interdependent motives with them to work (e.g., giving back to their community) compared to their higher-class counterparts. Second, to reveal why we theorize that the experience of cultural (mis)match will persist at work, we extend psychological research on cultural mismatch theory to the workplace and integrate this research with management research documenting how *both* organizational values and practices will shape employees' organizational experiences and outcomes. In integrating these two literatures, we describe our theorizing as to why organizations must have both interdependent values *and* practices to create a match with the interdependent selves of employees from lower-class backgrounds. We also explain why we anticipate that interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will be less influential for the experiences of employees from higher-class backgrounds. Finally, we explain why we anticipate that experiencing greater social fit will serve as a process linking interdependent values and practices to greater retention intentions among employees from lower-class backgrounds.

### **Employees' Social Class Backgrounds Shape Their Cultural Models of Self**

To understand why interdependence will contribute to the experience of cultural match for employees from lower-class backgrounds, it is important to consider how the social class contexts in which people are raised shape the importance of interdependence. This is because participating in different social class contexts growing up leads people to develop divergent *cultural models of self* (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Cross & Madson, 1997; Phillips, Martin et

al., 2020; Plaut & Markus, 2005; Stephens et al., 2014; Stephens et al., 2019). By cultural models of self, we mean normative understandings of how to think, feel, and act as a person in the world.

Higher-class contexts in the U.S. tend to afford a relatively more *independent* model of self compared to lower-class contexts in the U.S. They tend to foster independence because they provide greater financial resources, fewer environmental constraints, higher power and status, and offer ample opportunities for choice, influence, and control (Day & Newburger, 2002; Kohn, 1969; Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Terenzini & Pascarella, 1991). To be effective in higher-class contexts, people must express themselves, take charge of the situation, stand out from others, and influence others and the social context (Lareau, 2003; Miller, Cho, & Bracey, 2005; Stephens et al., 2007). These independent models continue to be reinforced as people navigate through middle-class institutions (e.g., throughout college and in professional workplaces; Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020; Stephens et al., 2014).

In contrast, lower-class contexts in the U.S. tend to afford a relatively more *interdependent* model of self compared to higher-class contexts in the U.S. They tend to foster interdependence because they provide fewer financial resources, greater environmental constraints, lower power and status, and offer limited opportunities for choice, influence, and control (Chen & Matthews, 2001; Lachman & Weaver, 1998; Reay, Davies, David, & Ball, 2001). Given these material and social conditions, to be effective in working-class contexts, people must be responsive to others, defer to authority figures, be part of a group, and rely on and work together with others to (Fiske & Markus, 2012; Kusserow, 1999; Lamont, 2000; Piff et al., 2010).

Early work on cultural mismatch in higher education shows that, early on in college, these social class differences in models of self shape students' endorsement of independent vs.

interdependent motives for attending college (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). Indeed, during the college transition, students from lower-class (vs. higher-class) backgrounds endorse more interdependent motives for attending college (e.g., to give back to my community). In contrast, students from higher-class (vs. lower class) endorse more independent motives for attending college (e.g., to develop my personal interests). Although early cultural mismatch research documents that social class background shapes both independent and interdependent motives early on in college, research conducted more recently with students at the end of college has only obtained social class differences in *interdependent* motives (Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020). Phillips et al. (2020) theorized that they only observed differences in interdependence—not independence—because societal cultural norms may have shifted over time, leading even people from lower-class backgrounds to endorse more independent cultural norms than they would have in previous generations when earlier cultural mismatch research was conducted (Eagan et al., 2017; Tibbetts et al., 2016; Tibbetts et al., 2018). Importantly, though, this prior work also found that differences in *interdependent* motives are sufficient to drive social class differences in students' social fit at the end of college, regardless of students' endorsement of independent motives.

Building on this prior cultural mismatch research (Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020), we expect that this pattern of endorsement observed at the end of college—i.e., social class differences only in interdependence—will persist as college-educated employees transition to the workplace. Specifically, we theorize that social class differences in interdependent motives observed at the end of college will persist beyond college as graduates take the next step and enter white-collar organizations. In contrast, given the lack of differences in independent motives observed at the end of college (Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020), we anticipate comparable

endorsement of independent motives among employees from lower-class vs. higher class backgrounds. Accordingly, we propose the following hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 1a: Employees from lower-class backgrounds will endorse more interdependent motives for work (e.g., focused on helping and giving back to others) than employees from higher-class backgrounds.*

*Hypothesis 1b: Employees from lower-class and higher-class backgrounds will not differ in endorsement of independent motives for work (e.g., focused on developing their personal skills).*

### **Cultural Mismatch at Work: The Role of Both Organizational Values and Practices**

Building on a critical insight from previous research on both culture and the self (Markus & Conner, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010) and person-organization and person-culture fit (Cable & DeRue, 2002; Cable & Judge, 1996; Chatman, 1989; Cross & Vick, 2001; Fulmer et al., 2010; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005)—that fit with one's larger context impacts one's experiences and performance in that context—we propose that the experience of cultural mismatch will continue to undermine the social fit of employees from lower-class backgrounds in white-collar workplaces. Until now, research and theory on cultural mismatch has only examined these effects in the domain of higher education. In the context of higher education, the theory proposes and research provides evidence that mainstream institutions of higher education tend to reflect independence as the cultural ideal, which does not align with the more interdependent norms that are common among students from lower-class backgrounds, in turn leading students from lower-class backgrounds to experience a cultural mismatch. In contrast, when the educational context is shifted to include interdependence, this can create a cultural match for students from lower-class backgrounds.

The experience of cultural (mis)match has been shown to affect the social fit and performance of students from lower-class backgrounds. For example, students from lower-class backgrounds were exposed to a university welcome letter that either framed the college culture as interdependent (e.g., “be part of a community”) or independent (e.g., “pave your own path”). Students exposed to the interdependent message experienced the benefits of a cultural match: they reported experiencing less difficulty and stress—theorized to indicate greater social fit—than those who were exposed to the independent message (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). This research also found that these indicators of social fit (i.e., lower difficulty and stress) led to more positive downstream performance outcomes: students from lower-class backgrounds who were exposed to the interdependent (vs. independent) message performed significantly better on academic tasks.

In the current investigation, we extend cultural mismatch theorizing in two key ways. First, we theorize that the experience of cultural (mis)match will not dissipate as people enter white-collar workplaces – employees from lower-class backgrounds will continue to experience a cultural mismatch if their organization’s culture reflects independence. Second, we theorize that multiple levels of culture will shape the experience of cultural mismatch in white-collar workplaces. Prior cultural mismatch research has only looked at single levels of culture (e.g., values *or* practices), and has not yet considered the potential interactive effects of multiple levels of culture on people’s experiences and outcomes (Dittmann et al., 2020; Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). Therefore, in the next section, we outline why we expect that both organizational values and practices will contribute to the experience of cultural (mis)match at work.

### ***Organizational Values and Practices***

Informing the cultural mismatch approach, broader theorizing in cultural psychology supports the idea that culture occurs across multiple levels and that signals from each of these levels shape how individuals experience societal institutions (Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Hamedani & Markus, 2019; Markus & Conner, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010). Here, we focus on signals from two levels of organizational culture that are likely to be particularly influential in shaping employees' experiences of cultural (mis)match: values and practices (Chatman, 1991; Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Lencioni, 2002; O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). By *organizational values*, we mean cultural ideals about the types of people that will be "good" and "successful" employees (Bourne, Jenkins, & Parry, 2019; Hamedani & Markus, 2019). By *organizational practices*, we mean the content of employees' day-to-day work (Bourne & Jenkins, 2013; Hamedani & Markus, 2019; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017; Saavedra, Earley, & Van Dyne, 1993). In white-collar workplaces, we propose that both organizational values and practices serve as important cultural signals of the types of people who fit in socially and can be successful at the organization (Chatman, 1989; Cheryan & Markus, 2020; O'Reilly et al., 1991; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018).

Though both of these cultural signals contribute to perceptions of who fits in and can be successful in an organization, organizations vary in terms of whether their values and practices are aligned and reinforce the same cultural ideal (Bourne et al., 2019; Cha & Edmondson, 2006; Howell et al., 2012; Lencioni, 2002; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017; Simons, 2002). For example, when organizations' daily practices (e.g., dedicating time for employees to work together in teams) are aligned with the organization's broader norms and beliefs (e.g., mission statements emphasizing the value of working together), it signals that working together with others is an important part of being a good and valued employee at the organization – and that people who do

work together will “fit” or be included. However, not all organizations where employees work together frequently in teams also emphasize the value of working together in their broader values (Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017). If employees’ daily practices at the organization are not reinforced by broader organizational values, this instead signals that though interdependent work might be required of an employee, it is not an important part of being a good or valued employee at the organization – and that people who do work together are less likely to “fit” or be included. Indeed, research on collaborative overload reveals that organizations often require collaboration among their employees, but continue to value and prioritize individual achievement, thereby signaling to their employees that collaboration is devalued (Cross et al., 2016).

Integrating previous research on organizational values and practices (Bourne & Jenkins, 2013; Bourne et al., 2019; Cha & Edmondson, 2006; Lencioni, 2002; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017) with the importance of cultural match for people from underrepresented lower-class backgrounds (Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018), we theorize that only organizations with both interdependent values *and* practices will lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit). Experiencing greater social fit, in turn, will lead to more positive downstream consequences in terms of retention intentions. This is because employees from lower-class backgrounds will only feel that their interdependent selves are truly included when organizations actually put the value of interdependence into practice. If organizations’ values and practices do not both reflect interdependence, we theorize that this will instead reflect a cultural mismatch – employees will view this as a cue that interdependence is devalued, signaling that the interdependent models of self of employees from lower-class backgrounds are not included (Cross et al., 2016; Dover et al., 2020; Lencioni, 2002; Marques, 2010; Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017).

In contrast, prior research on cultural mismatch in higher education shows that a cultural (mis)match is far less consequential for people from higher-class backgrounds. This research has documented that students from higher-class backgrounds have similarly positive experiences and performance regardless of whether they are exposed to interdependent or independent cultural norms (Dittmann et al., 2020; Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012). Building on this prior work, we expect that (mis)match will also matter less for employees from higher-class backgrounds. Specifically, we theorize that whether an organization's values and practices emphasize interdependence (vs. independence) will matter less for their sense of social fit and, in turn, their retention. We suggest that it will matter less for two reasons. First, just like other historically high-status groups (e.g., men, white people), employees from higher-class backgrounds tend to be more well-represented in white-collar organizations (Sharps & Anderson, 2021). Second, arising in part from this representation, employees from higher-class backgrounds are therefore more likely to assume they are the "default" social group identity in white-collar organizations. When one's identity is taken for granted as the default, this can lead to a general sense of ease and the taken for granted assumption and expectation that one's selves are and will be included (e.g., Cheryan & Markus, 2020; Johnson et al., 2011; Ostrove & Long, 2007; Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020; Redford & Hoyer, 2017; Rivera, 2016; Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Given this expectation, if they encounter values and practices that are not aligned with their independent selves, they are less likely to interpret this as threatening or as a sign that they are not included in the organization. Accordingly, we theorize that, for employees from higher-class backgrounds, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will matter less for their sense of social fit and, in turn, their retention intentions.

In sum, we theorize that both organizational values and practices must be interdependent for employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit). In contrast, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will have less of an impact on employees from higher class-backgrounds. Here, to index a cultural match, we examine a consequential workplace experience that people from underrepresented lower-class backgrounds are more likely to experience if their cultural models of self are included in the organization's values and practices: *social fit*.<sup>2</sup>

Building on prior research on cultural mismatch showing that social fit is a key mechanism through which (mis)match affects performance (Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020), we rely on social fit as the key indicator of cultural match in organizational settings. We further theorize that social fit will serve as a process that drives positive downstream organizational outcomes (i.e., retention intentions). As in previous research, we use the term *social fit* to refer to a sense of ease, comfort, and belief that one can perform well (see Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020; Stephens et al., 2015; Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, research on social fit has documented that it serves as an important psychological consequence of feeling that one's self is included in the broader context in general (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018), and in the domain of higher education more specifically (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Walton & Cohen, 2007).

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<sup>2</sup>While we focus on sense of social fit in the current research, we do anticipate that our predicted effects would extend to other related constructs that index positive work experiences, e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and even job performance.

<sup>3</sup>We contrast the term *social fit*, which refers to a general sense of ease and comfort being part of an organization, to the term *person-organization fit*, which more narrowly indexes the extent to which people consciously believe their individual values align with those of their organization. In studying social fit, it is not necessary for employees to be consciously aware that there is a divergence between the values and practices of their organization and their own personal norms and values, as is the case with person-organization fit. Indeed, cultural psychological research often reveals that the norms and values that guide people's thoughts, feelings, and actions are often so engrained as to be beyond individuals' conscious awareness (Heine, 2001; Kitayama, 2002). Instead, we examine the more global sense of whether employees feel they fit with the organization as a whole – and utilize (mis)alignment between employees' social group membership (i.e., their social class background) and the values and practices of their organization as an antecedent to this global sense of social fit (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018; Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012).

Accordingly, we theorize that to the extent that employees from lower-class backgrounds experience a cultural match with the values and practices of their organization, they should also feel a stronger sense of social fit with that organization.

Accordingly, we propose the following additional hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 2: Interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will differentially shape whether employees from different social class backgrounds experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., social fit). More specifically:*

*Hypothesis 2a: Only organizations with both interdependent values and practices will lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to feel the highest social fit.*

*Hypothesis 2b: Interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will be less influential for the social fit of employees from higher-class backgrounds.*

### **The Mediating Role of Social Fit on Retention Intentions**

As noted earlier, we suggest that employees' sense of social fit will further serve as a process through which interdependent values and practices lead to better downstream workplace outcomes. Indeed, prior research in both the cultural mismatch literature (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012) and the organizational behavior literature on person-organization fit (Cable & DeRue, 2002; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Schneider, 1987), has shown that subjective perceptions of fit serve as a mechanism linking institutional cultural norms to people's outcomes (e.g., retention intentions or performance) in those institutions. For example, cultural mismatch work has shown that students' subjective sense of social fit in college serves as a mechanism linking social class background to their performance in college (i.e., cumulative GPA). Similarly, person-organization fit work reveals that the experience of fit (resulting from the alignment of individual and organizational values) leads to greater actual and intended

retention with the organization (Cable & DeRue, 2002; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; Lauver & Kristof-Brown, 2001). Research on the antecedents of retention in employees with other minority social identities (e.g., racial/ethnic minorities, women, LGBTQ+ individuals) has also suggested that feeling at ease in white-collar work settings can lead employees from these underrepresented groups to be more likely to desire to stay at their organization (Hofhuis et al., 2014; Madera et al., 2012).

While prior work on cultural mismatch in higher education has focused on the impact of (mis)match for performance, here we focus on a downstream outcome especially relevant to the workplace: retention intentions. Retention is critical for both organizations and employees from lower-class backgrounds. For organizations, retention is highly consequential because losing valued employees due to turnover leads not only to the loss of intellectual capital, but also to significant costs to hire and train new employees (Allen et al., 2010; Hom et al. 2017; Podsakoff, et al., 2007). For employees from lower-class backgrounds, retention is especially important because gaining access to white-collar work is a necessary but not sufficient step on their path to upward mobility. White-collar work settings offer greater access to high wages and more opportunities for career advancement (Autor, 2010; Binder & Bound, 2019), but to realize these benefits, employees must feel at ease and persist in these settings long-term (Schwerdt et al., 2010; Townsend & Truong, 2017). Building on this idea, we expected that feeling a sense of social fit would, in turn, lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to feel a stronger desire to stay with their organization.

*Hypothesis 3: Social fit will serve as a mechanism linking interdependence (i.e., in both values and practices) to greater retention intentions in employees from lower-class backgrounds.*

### The Current Research

In the current research, to test these hypotheses, we conducted two large-scale surveys with college-educated employees currently working in white-collar organizations with diverse employees and two experiments. In these studies, we utilized four diverse samples of U.S. employees: an online sample of employees, a large-scale, nationally-representative survey of college-educated employed U.S. adults, and two separate online samples of college-educated employed U.S. adults from lower-class backgrounds.

First, in Study 1, we examined whether employees from lower-class backgrounds continue to endorse more interdependent motives for work, compared to their higher-class counterparts. We also conducted our first test of whether it is necessary for both organizational values and practices to include interdependence to lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience the benefits of a cultural match by measuring both (a) externally-sourced interdependent organizational values from company missions statements, and (b) interdependent organizational practices via the amount of time employees spent *working together* at work, a dimension of interdependence that has previously been shown to have an important influence on whether people from lower-class contexts feel a cultural match (Dittmann et al., 2020). We examined whether interdependent values and practices are associated with greater social fit and retention intentions for employees from lower-class backgrounds, but have less of an effect on employees from higher-class backgrounds.

Next, in Study 2 we sought to replicate the effects of interdependent values and practices from Study 1 in a large, pre-registered, nationally-representative survey of college-educated employed U.S. adults currently working in diverse white-collar occupations. To do so, we

measure both (a) perceived organizational values of working together and (b) frequency of daily practices of working together in the organization.

Then, in Study 3, we tested whether interdependent values and practices would have a causal effect on the sense of social fit and retention intentions of employees from lower-class backgrounds. Given that Studies 1-2 revealed that employees from higher-class backgrounds did not differ in response to interdependent vs. independent values and practices, we sought to focus this experiment specifically on our key population of interest: employees from lower-class backgrounds. In so doing, we are able to provide causal evidence that both interdependent values and practices lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to report more anticipated social fit and higher anticipated retention.

Finally, in Study 4, we utilized a paradigm that employed simulated workplace interactions between participants from lower-class backgrounds and a research assistant trained as a confederate. In this study, we replicate and extend the findings from Study 3 to a sample of participants who first read an interdependent (vs. independent) organizational values statement, and then actually experienced interdependent (vs. independent) practices firsthand.

### **Study 1**

Study 1 offered an initial correlational test of Hypotheses 1-3. First, we predicted that employees from lower-class backgrounds would report significantly greater interdependent motives for work than their higher-class counterparts. Second, we predicted that interdependent values and practices would be associated with the benefits of a cultural match for employees from lower-class backgrounds (i.e., their social fit and retention intentions at the organization), but would be less influential for employees from higher-class backgrounds. To capture interdependent *values*, we asked participants to report the website of their organization, and we

then obtained the organizational culture statement of their organization. Participants then reported on interdependent *practices* – i.e., how frequently they worked together with others at their organization— and their sense of social fit and retention intentions at their organization.

## Method

**Participants.** Participants were 1003 college-educated white-collar employees who were recruited via SSI to complete an online survey about their experiences working. For analyses assessing Hypothesis 1 about self-reported motives for work, we utilize the full sample of  $N = 1003$  participants. For analyses assessing interdependent organizational values (i.e., Hypotheses 2-3), we rely on the  $n = 257$  individuals who (a) provided their organization's website, and (b) for whom research assistants were able to find culture content online ( $M_{\text{age}} = 42.29$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.27$ ; 59% female; 14% underrepresented minorities). Importantly, those who were included vs. not included in the valid website culture content subsample did not differ on a number of key demographic variables including gender ( $X^2(1, N = 800) = 0.012, p = .911$ ), race ( $X^2(1, N = 801) = .004, p = .950$ ), and age,  $F(1, 799) = 0.82, p = .366$ . A post-hoc sensitivity analysis suggested we were adequately powered to detect a small effect of  $d = 0.11$  at 80% power. We assessed participants' social class backgrounds using parental/guardian educational attainment. In the sample, 52% participants were categorized as from a lower-class background (i.e., neither of their parents had attained a 4-year bachelor's degree), and 48% were categorized as from a higher-class background (i.e., at least one of their parents had attained a 4-year bachelor's degree or more).

**Measures.** After obtaining informed consent, participants reported the website of their organization, and completed a series of dependent measures assessing how often they worked together with others in the organization, as well as their experiences at the organization. We

include a subset of the most relevant measures in the main text (i.e., social fit at the organization and retention intentions). We include a complete list of all measures in the SOM. See Table 1 for means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among all key variables in the full sample and Table 2 for means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among all key variables in the organizational website coding subsample.

**[INSERT TABLES 1 AND 2 ABOUT HERE]**

***Motives for work.*** We assessed individuals' interdependent and independent motives for work via a 12-item scale adapted from previous research on the role of motives in college (Stephens, Fryberg, et al., 2012a): Six items captured interdependent motives and six items captured independent motives. The six items designed to measure interdependent motives included items such as: "Bring honor to my family" and "Give back to my community." The six items designed to measure independent motives included items such as "Become an independent thinker" and "Learn more about my interests" (1 = *Strongly disagree*, 7 = *Strongly agree*;  $\alpha_{\text{Interdependent}} = .85$ ;  $\alpha_{\text{Independent}} = .94$ ).

***Interdependent organizational values.*** A research assistant trained on a standardized web search procedure aggregated the organizational culture webpage content for each participant for whom content was available. We then utilized Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC; Pennebaker et al., 2007) software loaded with independent and interdependent dictionaries validated in previous research (Tibbetts et al., 2016) to analyze the independence and interdependence of the culture website content. To assess the overall interdependence *vs.* independence of the organization's culture, we created a difference score (*interdependence – independence*), such that positive scores reflect an organization that is perceived to promote interdependence *more than* independence, and negative scores reflect an organization that is

perceived to promote independence *more than* interdependence. We then dichotomized the measure to reflect whether the organization was perceived to value interdependence more than independence (i.e., scores  $> 0$ ), or independence more than interdependence (i.e., scores  $\leq 0$ ). This dichotomous measure more clearly maps onto our theorizing regarding *interdependence* vs. *independence* because it better captures the extent to which an organization was perceived to value interdependence *more so* than independence. While organizations may value both independence and interdependence, to be aligned with the interdependent models of self of employees from lower-class backgrounds, it is important for organizations to be interdependent *more so* than independent. The presence of independent values in an institution's culture, even when there are low levels of interdependent values present, has been previously shown to create a cultural mismatch in people from lower-class backgrounds, undermining their experiences and outcomes (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012a). As such, ensuring that we captured the subset of organizations that valued interdependence more than independence theoretically maps onto those organizations that would be most likely to create a cultural match with employees from lower-class backgrounds.

***Interdependent organizational practices.*** We assessed the number of hours per week that people reported working together with others per week, as well as the number of hours that people reported working individually. To assess the extent to which people worked together *more than* independently, we created a difference score (*working together* – *working individually*), such that positive scores reflect an individual who works together *more than* works individually, and negative scores reflect an individual who works individually *more than* together.

***Social fit at organization.*** We assessed individuals' social fit at their organization.

Drawing on previous research (Stephens, Fryberg, et al., 2012a), the seven items designed to measure social fit included items like: “I feel like I belong as a member of my current organization” and “It feels natural to me to work in this organization” (1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*). We conducted a factor analysis to determine whether all the items tapped into a single overarching construct of participants’ social fit at their organization. The factor analysis revealed that all seven items loaded onto a single factor accounting for 77% of the total variance. All items loaded highly onto this factor (all loadings  $\geq 0.627$ ). Due to the results of the factor analysis, we averaged and combined these items to form an index of social fit at the organization ( $\alpha = .95$ ).

***Retention intentions.*** Participants’ *retention intentions* were assessed using a 4-item scale adapted from previous research (e.g., “If you have your own way, will you be working for your current organization three years from now?”; 1 = *Definitely not*, 7 = *Definitely yes*; and “To what extent have you thought seriously about changing organizations since beginning to work at your current organization?” (reverse-scored); 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*; Chatman, 1989; Chatman & Barsade, 1995;  $\alpha = .82$ ).

***Control variables.*** Finally, we conducted analyses both with and without a number of key control variables. We included potentially relevant demographic characteristics that could also affect employees’ social fit (i.e., age, gender, race/ethnicity, years at organization, total years of work experience, number of organizations employees had worked for in total, supervisor status, and number of promotions).

***Analysis Strategy.*** Moderation regression analyses were conducted using the PROCESS Macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017), both with and without key covariates. Specifically, we tested the effect of organizational values (*interdependent* vs. *independent*), organizational practices (*time*

*spent working together*), and individual social class background (*lower vs. higher-class background*) on (a) individual social fit at the organization and (b) retention intentions. In our model, we included all main effects, two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between organizational values, organizational practices, and individual social class background. We then conducted simple slopes analysis to test whether interdependent values and practices are most likely to be associated with the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., social fit) for employees from lower-class backgrounds.

## Results

***Social class background predicts motives for work.*** There was a significant main effect of social class background on interdependent motives for work,  $b = 0.201$ ,  $t(1001) = 2.16$ ,  $p = .031$ . This suggests that employees from lower-class backgrounds reported significantly greater interdependent motives for work, in support of Hypothesis 1. In contrast, there was no significant effect of social class background on independent motives for work,  $b = 0.058$ ,  $t(1001) = 0.70$ ,  $p = .484$ . This suggests that employees from lower-class (vs. higher-class) backgrounds did not significantly differ in terms of their independent motives for work.

***Social fit at organization.*** Overall, the fit indices indicated that our model fit the data well: comparative fit index (CFI) = [.97]; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = [.054], 90% CI [.000, .185]; SRMR = [0.006].

There was a significant main effect of interdependent values,  $b = -1.07$ ,  $t(241) = -2.99$ ,  $p = .003$ , 95% CI [-1.777, -0.367]. There was also a positive but nonsignificant main effect of interdependent practices,  $b = 0.020$ ,  $t(241) = 1.77$ ,  $p = .078$ , 95% CI [-0.002, 0.043]. There was also a significant main effect of social class background,  $b = -0.761$ ,  $t(241) = -2.21$ ,  $p = .028$ , 95% CI [-1.441, -0.082]. These main effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction

between values  $\times$  social class background,  $b = 1.38$ ,  $t(241) = 2.90$ ,  $p = .004$ , 95% CI [0.443, 2.315]. No other significant two-way interactions emerged. Importantly, though, supporting Hypothesis 2, the predicted three-way interaction between values  $\times$  practices  $\times$  social class background was also significant,  $b = 0.045$ ,  $t(241) = 2.35$ ,  $p = .020$ , 95% CI [0.007, 0.082] (see Table 3).

We next decomposed the interaction to investigate the simple slopes by social class background. Consistent with Hypothesis 2a, among those employees from lower-class backgrounds who worked at organizations with interdependent *values*, more interdependent *practices* were significantly positively associated with social fit at the organization,  $b = 0.019$ ,  $t(241) = 2.31$ ,  $p = .021$ , 95% CI [0.003, 0.036]. Among those employees from lower-class backgrounds who worked at organizations with independent values, more interdependent *practices* were not significantly associated with social fit at the organization,  $b = -0.001$ ,  $t(241) = -0.12$ ,  $p = .903$ , 95% CI [-0.018, 0.016].

In contrast, and in support of Hypothesis 2b, among those employees from higher-class backgrounds working at organizations with interdependent values, more interdependent *practices* were not associated with social fit at the organization,  $b = -0.004$ ,  $t(241) = -0.44$ ,  $p = .657$ , 95% CI [-0.22, 0.014]. In contrast, among those employees from higher-class backgrounds working at organizations with independent values, the association between more interdependent *practices* and social fit at the organization was positive but nonsignificant,  $b = 0.020$ ,  $t(241) = 1.77$ ,  $p = .078$ , 95% CI [-0.002, 0.043].

Taken together, these results reveal that only organizations with *both* interdependent values and interdependent practices are associated with greater social fit among employees from

lower-class backgrounds. In contrast, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices are less influential in shaping the social fit of employees from higher-class backgrounds.

**[INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]**

**Moderated mediation.** To the extent that employees report experiencing social fit at their organization, they are also more likely to desire to stay with that organization (O'Reilly et al., 1991). As such, we next conducted a moderated mediation analysis to provide an initial test of Hypothesis 3. Given that employees from lower-class (vs. higher-class) contexts reported experiencing significantly more social fit at organizations with interdependent values and practices, we next sought to test whether social fit might serve as a mediator linking employee social class background and interdependent values and practices to retention intentions. To do so, we entered social class background as the predictor, interdependent values and practices as moderators, retention intentions as the outcome, and social fit as the putative mediator. Moderated mediation analyses indicated that social fit mediated the observed relationship between social class background, values, practices, and retention intentions. Specifically, the analysis yielded a point estimate of 0.038 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.004, 0.073]. This interval did not include zero, suggesting that the indirect effect of social class background  $\times$  values  $\times$  practices on retention intentions through social fit was significant.

Decomposing the moderated mediation, among employees at organizations with interdependent practices, the index of conditional moderated mediation yielded a point estimate of 1.229, and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.439, 2.113]. This interval did not include zero, suggesting that there was a positive indirect effect of social fit on retention intentions through social class background  $\times$  values. In contrast, among employees at organizations with independent practices, the index of conditional moderated mediation yielded a point estimate of -

0.199, and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [-1.142, 0.687]. This interval included zero, suggesting that the indirect effect of social fit on retention intentions through social class background  $\times$  values was not significant for employees at organizations with independent practices.

Taken together, these moderated mediation results suggest that employees from lower-class (vs. higher-class) backgrounds experienced greater social fit at organizations with interdependent values and practices, which, in turn, led them to have a stronger intention to stay with the organization.

### **Discussion**

In Study 1, we were able to provide initial correlational evidence in support of Hypotheses 1-3. First, we obtained evidence that employees from lower-class backgrounds report more interdependent motives for work than their higher-class counterparts, in support of Hypothesis 1. Even after obtaining a four-year college degree and gaining experience in white-collar workplaces, employees from lower-class backgrounds continue to be guided by relatively interdependent models of self, compared to their higher-class counterparts. Interestingly, employees from lower- and higher-class backgrounds reported similar levels of independent motives for work, pointing to the possibility that, while employees from lower-class backgrounds retain their interdependent models of self, they may also develop and gain access to more independent ways of being via exposure to middle- and upper-class institutions over time (i.e., institutions of higher education and white-collar workplaces). We also obtained evidence in support of Hypotheses 2-3 using an externally-rated source of organizational values: the culture statements from the websites of employees' organizations.

However, there were still several limitations in Study 1. First, the measures of the constructs of independence vs. interdependence were very broad (Edwards, 1994). By broad, we

mean that they relied on relatively few items and were relatively indirect proxies of the overarching broad concepts of independence and interdependence. Indeed, previous cultural psychology research has documented that there are multiple components within the broad constructs of independence and interdependence (Vignoles et al., 2016). For example, one dimension highlights being different to vs. similar to others – with a focus on being different than others reflecting independence, and a focus on being similar to others reflecting interdependence. To more systematically take into account these different components of independence and interdependence, in the next study we utilized a more nuanced measure of independence vs. interdependence in organizational cultures that focused more specifically on the working together vs. individually dimension of interdependence/independence, a dimension that has previously been shown to be meaningful in the experience of cultural mismatch for people from lower-class backgrounds (Dittmann et al., 2020). Second, only a subset of participants reported on their organization’s website, and only some of these websites included culture content. As such, despite the fact that there were no meaningful differences between participants for whom we could obtain culture webpage content compared to those for whom we could not, our effective sample size was relatively small. Accordingly, we next sought to test our full theorizing in a large, nationally-representative study.

## **Study 2**

The main goal of Study 2 was to conduct a pre-registered replication of our effects from Study 1, and to do so with a nationally-representative sample to show that our effects extend to the U.S. context as a whole. To do so, we surveyed college-educated white-collar employees from different social class backgrounds about their perceptions of their current organization’s

culture in terms of both its *values* as well as their daily *practices*. They then completed a series of measures about their sense of social fit and retention intentions at the organization.

## Method

**Participants.** We preregistered our study on OSF ([https://osf.io/7qe4b/?view\\_only=30e9e3e137954e26b375c89562aaf060](https://osf.io/7qe4b/?view_only=30e9e3e137954e26b375c89562aaf060)). Participants were recruited via the National Opinion Research Center's (NORC) AmeriSpeak® panel (Montgomery et al., 2016). Funded and operated by NORC at the University of Chicago, AmeriSpeak® is a probability-based panel designed to be representative of the US household population. Randomly selected US households are sampled using area probability and address-based sampling, with a known, non-zero probability of selection from the NORC National Sample Frame. These sampled households are then contacted by US mail, telephone, and field interviewers (face to face). The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97% of the U.S. household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with P.O. Box only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings. While most AmeriSpeak households participate in surveys by web, non-internet households can participate in AmeriSpeak surveys by telephone. Households without conventional internet access but having web access via smartphones are allowed to participate in AmeriSpeak surveys by web. AmeriSpeak panelists participate in NORC studies or studies conducted by NORC on behalf of governmental agencies, academic researchers, and media and commercial organizations.

Of the 1,124 AmeriSpeak panelists that were eligible for the survey (i.e., were college-educated and employed at an organization with >1 employee),  $N = 1,063$  completed the survey (94.6% completion rate). Of these,  $N = 1,032$  completed the key variables to identify their social

class background and could be included in the final sample ( $M_{age} = 42.00$   $SD_{age} = 10.04$ ; 49% female, 71% non-Hispanic White). A sensitivity analysis suggested we were adequately powered to detect a small effect of  $d = 0.03$  at 95% power. As in Study 1, participants' social class backgrounds were assessed using parental/guardian educational attainment. Specifically, individuals were classified as coming from a *lower-class* background if both of their parents/guardians had attained less than a four-year college degree (30%). Those individuals with at least one parent/guardian with a four-year college degree were classified as coming from a *higher-class* background (70%).

**Procedure.** Participants were recruited to complete an “Organizational Culture Survey” online via AmeriSpeak. After obtaining informed consent, participants completed our survey and were then paid, debriefed, and thanked for their participation.

**Measures.** See Table 3 for means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among all key variables in Study 2.

**[INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]**

***Interdependent organizational values.*** Participants responded to a thirteen-item binary forced-choice scale developed in prior research (Dittmann et al., 2020) that assesses whether employees perceive that their organization values different components of *interdependence* versus *independence*. See supplemental material for full list of items and dimensions. For the current study, we focus on one of the three specific dimensions that emerged: the *working together* versus *individually* dimension. We do so due to previous research that has documented the importance of *working together* vs. *individually* for the experiences and outcomes of people from lower-class backgrounds (Dittmann et al., 2020). This dimension included items such as: “Divvy up tasks so that employees can work separately OR Share tasks so that employees can

work collaboratively,” and “Work independently OR Work together with others” ( $\alpha = .67$ ). 61% of participants were characterized as working at organizations that valued *working together*, while 39% worked at organizations that valued *working individually*.

***Interdependent organizational practices.*** Participants responded to a single item that directly assessed the percentage of time that they spent working together interdependently, on average, at their organization: “*Estimate on average what percentage of your total time you spend coordinating with other people at work to complete collective tasks or achieve collective goals*” ( $M = 42\%$ ,  $SD = 26\%$ ).

***Social fit.*** As in Study 1, participants responded to a 4-item measure assessing their *sense of social fit* with their organization, similar to Study 1 (items: “I feel like I fit in as a member of my current organization,” “I feel comfortable working in my current organization,” “I understand what it takes to be successful at work,” and “Beyond technical skills, I am equipped with the ‘right’ skills to be successful at work”; 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Very much*). We conducted a factor analysis to determine whether all the items tapped into a single overarching construct of participants’ social fit at their organization. The factor analysis revealed that all four items loaded onto a single factor accounting for 77% of the total variance. All items loaded highly onto this factor (all loadings  $\geq 0.840$ ). Due to the results of the factor analysis, we averaged and combined these items to form an index of social fit at the organization ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

***Retention intentions.*** Participants’ *retention intentions* were assessed using a 2-item version of the scale utilized in Study 1 (e.g., “If you have your own way, will you be working for your current organization three years from now?”; 1 = *Definitely not*, 7 = *Definitely yes*; and “To what extent have you thought seriously about changing organizations since beginning to work at

your current organization?" (reverse-scored); 1 = *Not at all*, 7 = *Extremely*;  $\alpha = .88$ ; Chatman & Barsade, 1995).<sup>4</sup>

**Control variables.** Finally, as in Study 1, we used a number of key control variables. We included potentially relevant demographic characteristics that could also affect employees' sense of fit and retention intentions (i.e., age, gender, race/ethnicity, tenure, personal educational attainment, supervisor status, number of promotions received). Employees' experiences may also be affected by the type of organization at which they are employed, so we also included a number of organizational characteristics (i.e., organization size, industry (dummy coded), and region (dummy coded)).

## Results

**Analyses.** We conducted multiple linear regressions of organizational values, practices, and social class background on our key dependent measures. Specifically, we tested the effect of organizational values (*working individually vs. together*), organizational practices (*proportion of time spent working together*), and individual social class background (from *lower-class vs. higher-class background*) on participants' (1) social fit and (2) retention intentions. We then conducted simple slopes analyses to reveal when values and practices are most likely to afford the benefits of a cultural match to employees from lower-class backgrounds. In all tables, Model 1 includes the main effects of the primary independent variables only. Model 2 adds the relevant interaction terms: all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction between perceived values, practices, and individual social class background. Model 3 adds control variables.

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<sup>4</sup>For concision, we report the results for sense of fit and retention intentions in the main text. Importantly, though, results reveal similar but nonsignificant patterns for other key outcomes including organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and chances for advancement (see SOM).

Importantly, the key three-way interaction between values, practices, and social class remains significant on both dependent variables with control variables included (i.e., Model 3).

**Social fit.** Overall, the fit indices indicated that our model fit the data well: comparative fit index (CFI) = [1.00]; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = [.095], 90% CI [.048, .152]; SRMR = [0.003].

There was a main effect of perceived values,  $b = 0.323$ ,  $t(950) = 3.09$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95% CI [0.119, 0.532], but no other significant main effects or two-way interactions emerged.

Importantly, replicating Study 1 and in further support of Hypothesis 2 that interdependent values and practices would be differentially associated with the social fit of employees from different social class backgrounds, we obtained a significant three-way interaction between values, practices, and social class background,  $b = 0.019$ ,  $t(950) = 2.96$ ,  $p = .009$ , 95% CI [0.005, 0.033] (see Table 4 and Figure 2).

Using the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017), we obtained the simple effects of social class for this three-way interaction. For employees at organizations with independent values and interdependent practices (+1 *SD*), there was a significant social class gap in social fit: employees from lower-class backgrounds reported significantly lower fit than employees from higher-class backgrounds,  $b = -0.588$ ,  $t(950) = -2.46$ ,  $p = .014$ , 95% CI [-1.056, -0.120]. No other significant social class gaps emerged,  $p$ 's  $\geq .181$ .

We next looked at the simple slopes of working together practices. For employees from lower-class backgrounds at organizations with perceived values of *working together*, the simple slope of *working together* practices was positive and significant,  $b = 0.011$ ,  $t(950) = 2.78$ ,  $p = .006$ , 95% CI [0.003, 0.018] (see Figure 2; left panel, solid line). This supports Hypothesis 2a that interdependent values and practices are associated with greater social fit for employees from

lower-class backgrounds. In contrast, for employees from lower-class backgrounds at *working individually* organizations, the simple slope of working together practices was negative but nonsignificant,  $b = -0.006$ ,  $t(950) = -1.45$ ,  $p = .148$ , 95% CI [-0.015, 0.002] (see Figure 2; left panel, dotted line). This result further indicates that employees from lower-class backgrounds *only* feel greater social fit when they are at organizations with interdependent values *and* practices – no other combination of organizational practices and values is associated with the same benefit.

Next, we looked at the simple slopes of working together practices for employees from higher-class backgrounds by perceived values. For employees from higher-class backgrounds at *working together* organizations, the simple slope of *working together* practices was positive but nonsignificant,  $b = 0.004$ ,  $t(950) = 1.55$ ,  $p = .122$ , 95% CI [-0.001, 0.008] (see Figure 2; right panel, solid line). Similarly, for employees from higher-class backgrounds at *working individually* organizations, the simple slope of *working together* practices was also positive but nonsignificant,  $b = 0.005$ ,  $t(950) = 1.55$ ,  $p = .121$ , 95% CI [-0.001, 0.012] (see Figure 2; right panel, dotted line). These two findings are consistent with Hypothesis 2b that interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will be less influential for the social fit of employees from higher-class backgrounds.

Finally, we obtained the simple effects of organizational *values* for this three-way interaction. For employees from lower-class backgrounds at organizations with high working together practices (+1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was positive and significant,  $b = 1.07$ ,  $t(950) = 4.73$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [0.628, 1.520]. In contrast, at organizations with low working together practices (-1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) was nonsignificant,  $b = 0.19$ ,  $t(950) = 0.89$ ,  $p = .373$ , 95% CI [-0.224, 0.597]. This

further suggests that only organizations with both interdependent values *and* practices benefit the social fit of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

In contrast, for employees from higher-class backgrounds at organizations with high working together practices (+1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was nonsignificant,  $b = 0.28$ ,  $t(950) = 1.73$ ,  $p = .084$ , 95% CI [-0.038, 0.606]. In contrast, at organizations with low working together practices (-1 *SD*), the effect of interdependent (vs. independent) values was positive and significant,  $b = 0.37$ ,  $t(950) = 2.70$ ,  $p = .007$ , 95% CI [0.101, 0.635]. This further suggests that the social fit of employees from higher-class backgrounds is less affected by interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices.

**[INSERT TABLE 4 AND FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]**

**Retention intentions.** Overall, the fit indices indicated that our model fit the data well: comparative fit index (CFI) = [1.00]; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = [.090], 90% CI [.043, .147]; SRMR = [0.003].

Similar to the results regarding social fit, there was a main effect of perceived values,  $b = 0.387$ ,  $t(951) = 2.55$ ,  $p = .011$ , 95% CI [0.090, 0.684], but no other significant main effects emerged<sup>5</sup>. There was also a significant two-way interaction practices  $\times$  social class interaction,  $b = 0.013$ ,  $t(951) = 2.07$ ,  $p = .039$ , 95% CI [0.007, 0.026]. Importantly, mirroring the results regarding social fit and in further support of Hypothesis 2 that interdependent values and practices would be differentially associated with the retention intentions of employees from different social class backgrounds, this two-way interaction was qualified by a significant three-

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<sup>5</sup>We retain as many participants as possible for each analysis, so degrees of freedom differ slightly for analyses involving retention intentions vs. social fit in Study 2. This is due to  $n = 1$  respondent completing the retention intentions measure, but not completing the social fit measure.

way interaction between values, practices, and individual social class background,  $b = 0.024$ ,  $t(951) = 2.36$ ,  $p = .019$ , 95% CI [0.004, 0.044] (see Table 5).

Again, using the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2017), we obtained the simple effect of social class background for this three-way interaction. No significant social class gaps emerged,  $p$ 's  $\geq .134$ .

We next looked at the simple slopes of working together practices. For employees from lower-class backgrounds at *working together* organizations, the simple slope of *working together* practices was positive but nonsignificant,  $b = 0.011$ ,  $t(951) = 1.96$ ,  $p = .050$ , 95% CI [0.000, 0.022]. Though nonsignificant, this is generally consistent with Hypothesis 2a that interdependent values and practices are associated with greater retention intentions among employees from lower-class backgrounds.

In contrast, for employees from lower-class backgrounds at *working individually* organizations, the simple slope of working together practices was negative and nonsignificant,  $b = -0.005$ ,  $t(951) = -0.73$ ,  $p = .467$ , 95% CI [-0.017, 0.008]. Similar to the results regarding social fit, this result indicates that employees from lower-class backgrounds only feel greater retention intentions when they are at organizations with interdependent values and practices – no other combination of practices and values is associated with the same benefit.

Next, we looked at the simple slopes for employees from higher-class backgrounds by perceived values. For employees from higher-class backgrounds at *working together* organizations, the simple slope of *working together* practices was negative and nonsignificant,  $b = -0.003$ ,  $t(951) = -0.75$ ,  $p = .456$ , 95% CI [-0.009, 0.004]. In contrast, for employees from higher-class backgrounds at *working individually* organizations, the simple slope of *working together* practices was positive and nonsignificant,  $b = 0.006$ ,  $t(951) = 1.25$ ,  $p = .208$ , 95% CI [-

0.004, 0.016]. This provides additional evidence consistent with Hypothesis 2b that interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices will be less influential for the retention intentions of employees from higher-class backgrounds.

Finally, we obtained the simple effects of organizational *values* for this three-way interaction. For employees from lower-class backgrounds at organizations with high working together practices (+1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was positive and significant,  $b = 0.94$ ,  $t(951) = 2.87$ ,  $p = .004$ , 95% CI [0.295, 1.577]. In contrast, at organizations with low working together practices (-1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was nonsignificant,  $b = 0.14$ ,  $t(951) = 0.44$ ,  $p = .657$ , 95% CI [-0.456, 0.724]. This further suggests that only organizations with both interdependent values *and* practices benefit the retention intentions of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

In contrast, for employees from higher-class backgrounds at organizations with high working together practices (+1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was nonsignificant,  $b = 0.16$ ,  $t(951) = 0.68$ ,  $p = .498$ , 95% CI [-0.303, 0.622]. In contrast, at organizations with low working together practices (-1 *SD*), the effect of working together (vs. individually) values was positive and significant,  $b = 0.62$ ,  $t(951) = 3.15$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95% CI [0.233, 1.001]. This further suggests that the retention intentions of employees from higher-class backgrounds are less affected by interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices.

**[INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]**

**Moderated mediation.** We next conducted a moderated mediation analysis to provide another test of Hypothesis 3. Given that employees from lower-class contexts reported experiencing the greatest social fit at organizations with interdependent values and practices, we next sought to test whether social fit might help to statistically explain the relationship between

social class background, values, and practices on retention intentions. To do so, we entered social class background as the predictor, perceived values and practices as moderators, retention as the outcome, and social fit as the putative mediator. In support of Hypothesis 3 and replicating the results from Study 1, moderated mediation analyses indicated that social fit mediated the observed relationship between social class background, values, practices, and retention. Specifically, the analysis yielded a point estimate of 0.014 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.003, 0.024]. This interval did not include zero, suggesting that the indirect effect of social class background  $\times$  values  $\times$  practices on retention intentions through social fit was significant. This suggests that employees from lower-class (vs. higher-class) backgrounds felt a greater sense of social fit at organizations with interdependent values and practices, which, in turn, led them to have a stronger intention to stay with the organization (see Figure 3).

**[INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]**

## **Discussion**

In a pre-registered, nationally-representative sample, we find additional evidence consistent with Hypothesis 2: interdependent values and practices are differentially associated with the benefits of a cultural match for employees from different social class backgrounds. Specifically, in support of Hypothesis 2a, interdependent values and practices are uniquely associated with greater social fit and retention intentions in employees from lower-class backgrounds. In contrast, and in support of Hypothesis 2b, interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices are less influential for the social fit and retention of employees from higher-class backgrounds. In further support of Hypothesis 3, we also find evidence consistent with the idea that social fit serves as a mechanism linking interdependent values and practices to greater retention intentions in employees from lower-class backgrounds.

Despite providing correlational evidence supportive of our theorizing in Studies 1-2, there were several key limitations to these studies that we seek to address in Studies 3-4, which both relied on experimental paradigms. First, there were issues around common method bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003), particularly in Study 2, since all of the variables of interest were measured in a single correlational survey. In particular, this makes it difficult to provide strong evidence of our theorized sequence of constructs in the moderated mediation analysis in Study 2. Though the majority of the variables were measured simultaneously in Study 1, as well, importantly, the measure of interdependent organizational values was not, because it was separately collected by research assistants from the actual webpages of participants' organizations. Nonetheless, in Studies 3-4, we utilized two different experimental paradigms, manipulating both organizational values and practices to provide causal evidence in support of our hypotheses.

Second, the measure of organizational practices in Studies 1-2 only measured amount of interaction that employees experienced regularly at work, and did not precisely capture whether the interaction actually involved interdependent processes (e.g., coordinating, collaborating, information sharing, and/or soliciting each other's thoughts and opinions to come to joint solutions). As such, in Studies 3-4, we developed manipulations of interdependent vs. independent practices that held constant the fact that the participant was part of a group, and only varied the group processes that were utilized by the team. The interdependent practices manipulations in both studies explicitly included descriptions (in the case of Study 3) or firsthand experiences (in Study 4) of interdependent practices like coordinating, collaborating, and synthesizing ideas to come to a joint solution, to ensure that participants were exposed to truly interdependent practices. As such, we next conducted an experiment to test the causal effect of

interdependent values and practices on the social fit and retention intentions of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

### Study 3

By randomly assigning participants to experience working for a hypothetical organization that had interdependent or independent values and interdependent or independent practices, Study 3 sought to provide causal evidence to support our theorizing. Furthermore, in contrast to Studies 1-2 where we examined natural variation in interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices at employees' current organizations, Study 3 held constant the content of both the values and practices to which participants were exposed, ensuring that participants were all experiencing and responding to the same cultural content. Additionally, to focus in on our key theorizing, and because we observed little change in the social fit and retention of employees from higher-class backgrounds in response to interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices in Studies 1-2, we limited our sample to employees from lower-class backgrounds. These two design characteristics enabled us to more directly test our hypothesis that interdependent values and practices will causally improve the social fit and retention intentions of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

### Method

**Participants.** We computed our sample size *a priori* to have 80% power to detect a small effect similar to the average of those obtained in Studies 1-2 ( $d = 0.20$ ). As such, we sought to obtain a sample size of approximately 400 participants. To obtain a final sample of approximately 400 college-educated, full-time employed participants from lower-class backgrounds currently working in a white-collar job, we recruited 3000 U.S. adults to complete a 1-minute eligibility screening questionnaire via Prolific Academic in exchange for \$0.15. We

then invited the 654 eligible participants to complete a second 10-15 minute study on Organizational Culture Perceptions. We obtained complete data from 425 participants. Following our pre-registration, we excluded 3 individuals who failed an embedded attention check item, 35 individuals who scored less than 80% on a Captcha screener item, and 12 individuals who spent less than four minutes on the entire study – a study that was pretested to take approximately 10 minutes on average.<sup>6</sup> We were therefore left with a final sample of  $N = 375$  ( $M_{\text{age}} = 37.69$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 10.52$ , 39% female, 0.3% nonbinary, 13% underrepresented racial minorities). A post-hoc sensitivity analysis indicated that the remaining sample size provided us with 80% power to detect a small effect of  $d = 0.29$  ( $f = .15$ ).

**Procedure.** Upon entering the Time 1 eligibility survey, participants completed an initial questionnaire that included our measure of social class background (i.e., parental educational attainment) and measure of workplace type (i.e., white-collar vs. blue-collar workplace) embedded in a series of distractor demographic items (e.g., age, gender, race/ethnicity).

In the second study, participants were randomly assigned to conditions in a 2 (Values: Interdependent vs. Independent)  $\times$  2 (Practices: Interdependent vs. Independent) between-subjects design. All participants were told that they would be reading through the organizational culture website of an organization, Advanced Products. They were also instructed to imagine that they were an employee at Advanced Products when they read through the website. Next, participants read through a website that was similar in content, except that it varied in terms of whether it highlighted the value of *interdependence* vs. *independence*. Specifically, participants in the interdependent values condition read a version of the website that highlighted the importance and value of teams and collaboration to the culture of Advanced Products. For

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<sup>6</sup> Importantly, results reveal similar but weakened effects when including the full sample with no exclusions. See supplemental material for details of these analyses.

example, participants read that “We at Advanced Products believe that employees should coordinate their efforts with their coworkers to achieve the organization’s goals. To do this, employees jointly work on team projects, integrate their ideas, and come to shared agreement about the best strategies to complete projects” (see supplemental material for full text of manipulation). In contrast, participants in the independent values condition read through a website that was similar in content, except that it instead highlighted the importance and value of individual work to the culture of Advanced Products. For example, participants read that “We at Advanced Products believe that employees should work to their unique strengths, and take ownership over key components of their projects to achieve the organization’s goals. To do this, employees work individually on team projects, reflect on their own ideas, and decide what the best strategies are to complete their portions of projects.” The manipulation was adapted from previous research on organizational culture that has manipulated interdependent vs. independent organizational cultural values (Chatman & Barsade, 1995).

Next, all participants were informed that they would be experiencing “a day in the life at Advanced Products,” and that they would be lead through a scenario that happened at Advanced Products. They were instructed to think about the scenario as if it was actually happening to them. Then, participants read through a vignette about the experience of working on a team project at Advanced Products. In both conditions, the outcome of the project was held constant (i.e., was successful), but we varied the approach that the team took to completing the team project. The vignettes were developed based on actual prior responses from a separate sample of Prolific participants ( $N = 90$ ) to a prompt asking participants to recall and describe a recent time at work that they had worked together vs. divided and conquered a team project. This ensured that the vignettes were believable and relevant to our sample population. Specifically,

participants in the interdependent *practices* condition read a vignette where the team worked together in an interdependent manner. For example, participants read that “You and your team had to collaborate to come up with a good solution. You had a team meeting, and discussed how you all could accomplish the goals of the project. The team bounced ideas off of each other, and built on each others’ ideas until you all had a workable solution” (see supplemental material for full text of manipulation). In contrast, participants in the independent *practices* condition read through a vignette that was similar in content, except that the team divided up the parts of the project and worked on them individually. For example, participants read that “You and your team had to split up the parts to come up with a good solution. You all worked on your pieces separately, by individually using the overall strategy and objectives to guide each of you in the right direction.”

After reading through the two manipulations, participants completed a survey including our key dependent measures, as well as additional demographic variables beyond those that we collected in the eligibility survey (e.g., years of work experience, years at current organization, and organization industry). Finally, participants were thanked and paid \$2.50 in exchange for their participation.

### **Measures.**

***Anticipated Social Fit.*** We utilized a similar measure of social fit as in Studies 1-2, except that the items were adapted to reflect *anticipated* social fit at Advanced Products, rather than their actual social fit at their current organization ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

***Anticipated Retention Intentions.*** We utilized a similar measure of retention intentions as in Studies 1-2, except that the items were adapted to reflect *anticipated* retention at Advanced Products, rather than their actual retention at their current organization ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

**Control variables.** We also included the same key demographic and organizational control variables that had the potential to affect responses, as in Studies 1-2: age, gender, underrepresented minority status, personal education, years of work experience, years of experience at their current organization, organization size, supervisor status, number of promotions received at current organization, and industry dummy codes. We include control variables in all analyses for consistency, but results are largely equivalent when not including these control variables (see supplemental material).

## Results

**Anticipated Social Fit.** The main effect of *practices* was not significant ( $p = .674$ ). However, there was a significant main effect of values ( $p = .022$ ). Specifically, participants in the interdependent values condition reported significantly greater anticipated social fit ( $M = 5.91$ ,  $SE = .08$ ) than those in the independent values condition ( $M = 5.64$ ,  $SE = .08$ ),  $F(1, 344) = 4.06$ ,  $p = .045$ ,  $\eta^2 = .012$ . Central to Hypothesis 2a, and consistent with the pattern of results for retention intentions, we obtained a significant values (*interdependent vs. independent*)  $\times$  practices (*interdependent vs. independent*) condition interaction,  $F(1, 344) = 7.25$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $\eta^2 = .021$  (see Figure 4). We decomposed the interaction to compare the simple effects of values by organizational practices. Among those in the interdependent *practices* condition, participants who were also exposed to interdependent values reported significantly higher anticipated social fit ( $M = 5.95$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ) than those exposed to *independent* values ( $M = 5.42$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ),  $F(1, 344) = 11.36$ ,  $p = .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .032$ . In contrast, among those in the *independent* practices condition, participants who were also exposed to *independent* values did not differ in their anticipated social fit ( $M = 5.78$ ,  $SE = 0.12$ ) compared to those exposed to *interdependent* values ( $M = 5.70$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ),  $F(1, 344) = 0.205$ ,  $p = .651$ ,  $\eta^2 = .001$ . This finding is consistent with our

theorizing that, to confer benefits to employees from working-class backgrounds, *both* values and practices must be interdependent. No other combination of organizational practices and values confers the same benefit for the social fit of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

**[INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE]**

**Anticipated Retention Intentions.** Neither the main effect of values ( $p = .699$ ) nor the main effect of practices ( $p = .585$ ) was significant. However, as predicted and in support of Hypothesis 2a, we obtained a significant values (*interdependent vs. independent*)  $\times$  practices (*interdependent vs. independent*) condition interaction on retention intentions,  $F(1, 344) = 4.23$ ,  $p = .040$ ,  $\eta^2 = .012$  (see Figure 5). Decomposing the interaction, we compared the simple effects of values by practices. Supporting Hypothesis 2a, among those in the interdependent *practices* condition, those participants who were also exposed to interdependent values (i.e., those in the *interdependent* values condition) reported significantly higher retention intentions ( $M = 4.83$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ) than those exposed to *independent* values (i.e., those in the *independent* values condition;  $M = 4.35$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ),  $F(1, 344) = 4.73$ ,  $p = .030$ ,  $\eta^2 = .014$ . In contrast, among those in the independent *practices* condition, participants who were also exposed to independent values (i.e., those in the *independent* values condition) did not differ in their retention intentions ( $M = 4.65$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ) compared to those exposed to interdependent values (i.e., those in the *interdependent* values condition;  $M = 4.48$ ,  $SE = 0.16$ ),  $F(1, 344) = 0.54$ ,  $p = .462$ ,  $\eta^2 = .002$ . This finding is consistent with our theorizing that only organizations with *both* interdependent values and practices lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience greater retention intentions. No other combination of organizational values and/or practices leads to the same benefit.

**[INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE]**

**Moderated mediation.** We next conducted a moderated mediation analysis to provide another test of Hypothesis 3. Given that participants reported significantly higher anticipated social fit at the organization when it had interdependent values and practices, we next sought to test whether anticipated social fit might help to statistically explain why participants reported significantly higher retention intentions at the organization when it had interdependent values and practices. To do so, we entered values as the predictor, practices as the moderator, anticipated retention intentions as the outcome, and anticipated social fit as the putative mediator. In support of Hypothesis 3 and replicating the results from Studies 1-2, moderated mediation analyses indicated that anticipated social fit mediated the observed relationship between values, practices, and anticipated retention. Specifically, the analysis yielded a point estimate of 0.516 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.160, 0.890]. This interval did not include zero, suggesting that the indirect effect of interdependent values and practices on anticipated retention intentions through anticipated social fit was significant. We next looked at the conditional indirect effect within practices conditions. For those in the *independent* practices condition, there was a point estimate of -0.081 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [-0.337, 0.193]. This interval includes zero and suggests that anticipated social fit did not mediate the effect of values and practices on retention intentions for those in the *independent* practices condition. In contrast, for those in the *interdependent* practices condition, there was a point estimate of 0.435 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.196, 0.703]. This interval did not include zero and suggests that anticipated social fit did mediate the effect of values and practices on retention intentions for those in the *interdependent* practices condition. Taken together, this suggests that participants anticipated experiencing greater social fit at organizations with both interdependent values and

practices, which, in turn, led them to anticipate having stronger intentions to stay with the organization (see Figure 6).

**[INSERT FIGURE 6 ABOUT HERE]**

## **Discussion**

While Studies 1 and 2 provided correlational evidence consistent with our hypotheses, they did not allow us to examine causation, nor to hold constant the values and practices content to which participants were responding. In this experiment, by randomly assigning people to a 2 (Values: Interdependent vs. Independent)  $\times$  2 (Practices: Interdependent vs. Independent) condition design, we were able to provide causal evidence in support of Hypothesis 2a: that interdependent values and practices improve the retention intentions and social fit of employees from lower-class backgrounds. We further provided causal evidence in support of Hypothesis 3: that social fit serves as a mechanism linking values, practices, and employee social class background to retention intentions. Indeed, the design of this study served as a fairly conservative test of our hypotheses, given that in both practices conditions, participants were participating in a team project – and we only varied the strategies and approach that the team used (i.e., working together vs. dividing and conquering).

Nevertheless, though this experiment provided initial supportive causal evidence, it relied on a hypothetical scenario, and did not enable participants to directly experience interdependent vs. independent practices firsthand. As such, we next sought to replicate the key findings from this study with a more immersive experimental design: participants from lower-class backgrounds actually worked together on ostensible work tasks with a research assistant confederate who was trained to initiate either interdependent or independent practices to work with the participant.

### Study 4

The main purpose of Study 4 was to replicate and extend the key findings from Study 3 to a sample of participants who completed a work simulation with a “coworker,” who in reality was a research assistant trained as a confederate.

#### Method

**Participants.** We computed our sample size *a priori* to obtain a final sample of at least 50 participants per cell. As such, we sought to obtain a sample size of approximately 225 participants. To obtain a final sample of approximately 225 college-educated, employed participants from lower-class backgrounds currently working in a white-collar job, we recruited eligible U.S. adults from a Midwestern university’s lab community sample, MTurk, and Prolific Academic. We obtained complete data from 210 participants. We excluded 16 individuals who failed embedded attention and manipulation check items and 3 individuals who indicated that they were not employed when they took the study even though we had limited our recruitment to participants who were employed. We were therefore left with a final sample of  $N = 191$  ( $M_{\text{age}} = 40.85$ ,  $SD_{\text{age}} = 12.24$ , 51% female, 19% underrepresented racial minorities). A post-hoc sensitivity analysis indicated that the remaining sample size provided us with 80% power to detect a moderate effect of  $d = 0.38$  ( $f = .19$ ).

**Procedure.** Participants were recruited based on their prior responses to a prescreen questionnaire administered to all participants included in the samples maintained by the lab that included our measure of social class background (i.e., parental educational attainment) and personal education (i.e., at least a four-year college degree).

In our study, participants were randomly assigned to conditions in a 2 (Values: Interdependent vs. Independent)  $\times$  2 (Practices: Interdependent vs. Independent) between-

subjects design. As in Study 3, all participants were told that they would be reading through the organizational culture website of an organization, Advanced Products. They were also instructed that they would be working as an employee at Advanced Products in the study. Next, participants read through the same organizational culture website manipulation as in Study 3.

Next, all participants were informed that they would be working on some tasks for Advanced Products with a coworker via online chat utilizing the Smartriqs platform (Molnar, 2019). In reality, all participants were matched with a trained research assistant who engaged with participants in one of two ways. Specifically, for participants randomly assigned to the interdependent *practices* condition, the research assistant initiated the interaction by saying, “Hi! I’m excited to work with you on this task! Mind if we brainstorm together? :)” (see supplemental material for full text of manipulation). In contrast, for participants randomly assigned to the independent *practices* condition, the research assistant initiated the interaction by saying, “Hi! I’m excited to work with you on this task! Mind if we divide and conquer? :)”

Accordingly, when taking into account the content of these two manipulations together, participants could be categorized into organizational experiences that map onto our theorizing. Specifically, roughly 25% of participants were randomly assigned to both the interdependent *values* and *practices* conditions, roughly 25% of participants were randomly assigned to both the independent *values* and *practices* condition, roughly 25% of participants were randomly assigned to the interdependent practices and independent values condition, and roughly 25% of participants were randomly assigned to the independent practices and interdependent values condition.

After reading through the website manipulation and completing a 12-minute chat with the confederate, participants completed a survey including our key dependent measures, as well as

additional demographic variables beyond those that we collected in the eligibility survey (e.g., years of work experience, years at current organization, and organization industry). Research assistant confederates also completed a survey about their perceptions of their partner, and the extent to which the partner followed the practices condition to which they were assigned. Finally, participants were thanked and paid \$7.50-\$10 in exchange for their participation, based on the platform from where they had been recruited (community sample and Prolific participants received \$10, while MTurk participants received \$9).

### **Measures.**

***Social Fit.*** We utilized the same measure of social fit as in Study 3 ( $\alpha = .81$ ).

***Retention Intentions.*** We utilized the same measure of retention intentions as in Study 3 ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

***Control variables.*** We also included the same key demographic and organizational control variables that had the potential to affect responses, as in Studies 1-3: age, gender, underrepresented minority status, personal education, years of work experience, years of experience at their current organization, organization size, supervisor status, number of promotions received at current organization, and industry dummy codes. We include control variables in all analyses for consistency.

### **Results**

***Social Fit.*** The main effect of *practices* was not significant ( $p = .375$ ), nor was the main effect of *values* ( $p = .091$ ). Importantly, and similar to the patterns of results for retention intentions, we obtained a marginally significant values (*interdependent vs. independent*)  $\times$  practices (*interdependent vs. independent*) condition interaction,  $F(1, 157) = 3.56, p = .061, \eta^2 = .022$ . We decomposed the interaction to compare the simple effect of interdependent vs.

independent values by organizational practices. Among those in the interdependent *practices* condition, participants who were also exposed to interdependent values reported significantly higher anticipated social fit ( $M = 5.89, SE = 0.23$ ) than those exposed to *independent* values ( $M = 5.10, SE = 0.24$ ),  $F(1, 157) = 6.19, p = .014, \eta^2 = .038$ . In contrast, among those in the *independent* practices condition, participants who were also exposed to *independent* values did not differ in their anticipated social fit ( $M = 5.29, SE = 0.23$ ) compared to those exposed to *interdependent* values ( $M = 5.24, SE = 0.22$ ),  $F(1, 157) = 0.029, p = .865, \eta^2 < .001$ . This finding is consistent with our theorizing that, to confer benefits to employees from lower-class backgrounds, *both* values and practices must be interdependent. When organizational values and/or practices instead reflect independence—which is less of a match—employees from lower-class backgrounds report lower anticipated social fit.

**Retention Intentions.** Neither the main effect of values ( $p = .114$ ) nor the main effect of practices ( $p = .417$ ) was significant. However, replicating Study 3 and in support of Hypothesis 1, we obtained a significant values (*interdependent* vs. *independent*)  $\times$  practices (*interdependent* vs. *independent*) condition interaction on retention intentions,  $F(1, 157) = 4.56, p = .034, \eta^2 = .028$  (see Figure 7). Decomposing the interaction, we compared the simple effects of values by practices. Supporting Hypothesis 2a, among those in the interdependent *practices* condition, those participants who were also exposed to interdependent values reported significantly higher retention intentions ( $M = 5.07, SE = 0.27$ ) than those exposed to *independent* values ( $M = 4.09, SE = 0.28$ ),  $F(1, 157) = 6.70, p = .011, \eta^2 = .041$ . In contrast, among those in the independent *practices* condition, participants who were also exposed to independent values did not differ in their retention intentions ( $M = 4.40, SE = 0.28$ ) compared to those exposed to interdependent values ( $M = 4.25, SE = 0.26$ ),  $F(1, 157) = 0.19, p = .668, \eta^2 = .001$ . This finding is consistent

with our theorizing that *both* organizational values and practices must be a match with the more interdependent norms and values of employees from lower-class backgrounds to lead to stronger retention intentions. When organizational values and/or practices instead reflect independence—which is less of a match—employees from lower-class backgrounds report lower retention intentions.

**[INSERT FIGURE 7 ABOUT HERE]**

**Moderated mediation.** We next conducted a moderated mediation analysis to provide another test of Hypothesis 3. Given that participants reported significantly higher anticipated social fit at the organization when it had interdependent values and practices, compared to all other combinations, we next sought to test whether anticipated social fit might help to statistically explain why participants reported significantly higher retention intentions at organizations with interdependent values and practices. To do so, we entered values as the predictor, practices as the moderator, anticipated retention intentions as the outcome, and anticipated social fit as the putative mediator. The analysis yielded a point estimate of 0.856 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [-0.090, 1.834]. This interval did not include zero, suggesting that the conditional indirect effects in the two conditions were not significantly different from one another. However, given our theorizing regarding values and practices, we next examined the conditional indirect effect within practices conditions. For those in the *independent* practices condition, there was a point estimate of -0.053 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [-0.709, 0.602]. This interval includes zero and suggests that social fit did not mediate the effect of organizational values and practices on retention intentions for those in the *independent* practices condition. In contrast, for those in the *interdependent* practices condition, there was a point estimate of 0.803 and a 95% bias-corrected CI of [0.171, 1.466]. This interval did not include zero and suggests that social fit did

mediate the effect of values and practices on retention intentions for those in the *interdependent* practices condition. Taken together, though not conclusive, this suggests that participants may have anticipated experiencing greater social fit at organizations with interdependent values and practices, which, in turn, led them to anticipate having stronger intentions to stay with the organization.

### **Discussion**

In this experiment, we were able to provide further causal evidence in support of Hypothesis 2a, and we were able to do so with an immersive workplace simulation. We obtained consistent but nonsignificant evidence in support of Hypothesis 3: there was a significant conditional indirect effect of social fit on retention for employees in the interdependent values and practices condition (vs. those in the independent values and interdependent practices condition), but the overall index of moderated mediation failed to reach significance. We believe this could be for two reasons. First, we had a relatively small final usable sample. College-educated, white-collar employees from lower-class backgrounds are a hard-to-reach sample, and recruiting a large enough sample to be adequately powered to detect our effects was extremely time-intensive, even when recruiting from multiple samples simultaneously (i.e., the university behavioral lab community sample and two online platforms). Second, there may be components of the actual conversation and task experience that we were not able to account for in the control variables to which we had access. In support of this proposition, analyses utilizing participants' responses to the manipulation check items assessing values and practices, instead of condition assignment, all yielded significant effects (see supplemental material for details of these analyses). This indicates that, to the extent that participants actually internalized our manipulations of values and practices, as indexed by their responses to the manipulation check

items, our predicted indirect effects emerged. Overall, though, similar to Study 3, the design of this study served as a fairly conservative test of our hypotheses, given that in both practices conditions, participants were participating in a team project – and we only varied the strategies and approach that the team used (i.e., working together vs. dividing and conquering).

### **General Discussion**

Across four diverse samples of college-educated, white-collar employees, and using both correlational and experimental approaches, we examined whether interdependent values and practices lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit). We also examined whether greater social fit would serve as a mechanism linking interdependent values and practices to a consequential downstream workplace outcome –greater retention intentions—for employees from lower-class backgrounds. We also documented that interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices matter less for the social fit and retention of employees from higher-class backgrounds. Extending a cultural mismatch approach to the workplace, our findings document that employees’ social class backgrounds continue to shape the extent to which they endorse interdependent motives for work even after they have graduated from college and gained entry to white-collar workplaces. These employees from lower-class backgrounds who have successfully navigated through college and gained access to a white-collar job can still confront the difficulties of a cultural mismatch at work (i.e., lower social fit) when they encounter organizations with values and/or practices that reflect independence.

We obtained evidence consistent with this theorizing across four studies –two large-scale surveys and two experiments with samples of adults currently employed in diverse white-collar occupations. First, in Study 1, we provide evidence that employees from lower-class

backgrounds continue to endorse more interdependent motives for work than their higher-class counterparts, but that employees from both lower- and higher-class backgrounds endorse comparable levels of independent motives. We also show in Study 1 that both values stated in company websites and practices of working together contribute to the experience of (mis)match for employees from lower-class backgrounds, as indexed by their social fit with their organization. Social fit, in turn, is associated with greater retention intentions. We then replicate the findings from Study 1 in a pre-registered, large, nationally-representative survey of college-educated adults working in diverse white-collar organizations. Finally, in two experiments – one utilizing a vignette paradigm and the other using a simulated workplace interaction— we provide causal evidence that *only* interdependent values *and* practices lead employees from lower-class backgrounds to experience greater social fit and retention intentions. Together, these studies provide important evidence about how both organizational values *and* practices contribute to the experience of cultural (mis)match for employees from lower-class backgrounds: it is not enough to have interdependent values or practices – both must reflect interdependence to create a match.

### **Theoretical Contributions**

The current findings are the first to extend cultural mismatch theory to the workplace, and to demonstrate how both the organizational values and practices promoted by white-collar organizations contribute to the experience of cultural (mis)match for employees from lower-class backgrounds. Furthermore, building on previous research on cultural mismatch in higher education (Stephens, Fryberg et al., 2012; Stephens, Townsend et al., 2012), the current findings also provide evidence that simply requiring teamwork is not sufficient to create a cultural match for employees from lower-class backgrounds: beyond engaging in interdependent practices (i.e., working together), organizations must also reflect and promote the value of interdependence in

their broader culture to truly signal that the interdependent selves of employees from lower-class backgrounds are included. Organizations that fail to promote interdependence in their values or their practices do not affirm the interdependent selves of employees from lower-class backgrounds.

The work presented here also contributes to the small but growing body of organizational behavior research on the role of employee social class background in organizations (Barling & Weatherhead, 2016; Côté, 2011; Kallschmidt & Eaton, 2019; Kish-Gephart & Campbell, 2015; Martin & Côté, 2019; Martin et al., 2016; Phillips, Martin et al., 2020; Rivera, 2016; Sharps & Anderson, 2021). This body of work shows that social class background matters in terms of discrimination, but we know little about how employees from different social class backgrounds experience white-collar workplaces firsthand. As such, the work we present here adds to our understanding of the cultural factors that shape the experiences and outcomes of employees from lower-class backgrounds in white-collar workplaces.

The research presented here also advances our understanding of person-organization fit theories (Cable & Judge, 1996; Kristof, 1996; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005; O'Reilly et al., 1991). While research on person-organization fit has previously shown that employees who experience a subjective sense of fit between their own values and the values of their organization are important, this research has largely been agnostic to the *source* of these values. Integrating theories of person-organization fit with the cultural mismatch approach, our findings suggest that the social class contexts in which employees are raised matter for the types of values that they are likely to bring with them to the workplace. Importantly, the specific values—*independence vs. interdependence*—that become elaborated in different social class contexts are not neutral, and tend to be differentially included in mainstream institutions (i.e., higher education and

professional workplaces). When the interdependent values of people from lower-class backgrounds are not included in mainstream institutions, in turn, it can lead to mismatches that contribute to difficulties achieving upward mobility (Markus & Conner, 2014; Markus & Kitayama, 2010). As such, our results suggest that experiencing alignment between one's personal values and the values of one's organization has a differential effect for employees for lower-class (vs. higher-class) backgrounds. Indeed, our results reveal that regardless of whether there is a "fit" with the organization's values, employees from higher-class backgrounds feel similar levels of fit. In contrast, employees from lower-class backgrounds *only* feel a sense of fit when their models of self are included in both the organization's values and practices. To fully understand the impact of a cultural (mis)match, research must take into account people's social group memberships and whether their group reflects the "default" in the organizational context.

### **Practical Implications**

Beyond their theoretical implications, the current findings also have important practical implications. At a high level, these findings reveal that it is not enough for an organization to simply require teamwork—they must value and promote interdependence in their broader cultures. Our work also reveals the potential downsides of requiring but devaluing collaboration, a finding that is also complementary to the concept of "office housework" studied in the context of gender disparities at work (Chan and Anteby, 2016; Eagly & Steffen, 1984; Fletcher, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Williams & Dempsey, 2014). Some tasks that are required parts of employees' work are devalued and perceived as detracting from career advancement. These tasks may be work, like teamwork, that is particularly important for employees from groups that are already underrepresented in white-collar organizations (i.e., employees from lower-class backgrounds). Furthermore, another practical implication is that

despite the frequent emphasis on collaboration in many organizations, it is rare for organizations to promote both interdependent values and practices: Indeed, when examining the combination of interdependent values and practices in Study 2, only a minority of employees—30%—actually reported working at organizations with *both* interdependent values and practices (i.e., organizations that both reflect broader values of working together and that require frequent teamwork in their organizational practices).

This finding has implications for existing work that has documented social class disparities in white-collar workplaces in general. These results reveal that most white-collar organizations are not the types of organizations that would provide a cultural match and therefore afford employees from lower-class backgrounds an equal opportunity to succeed at work as their counterparts from higher-class backgrounds. Indeed, even if employees from lower-class backgrounds feel they have unique strengths, few organizations reflect the combination of interdependent values and practices required to create a cultural match with their more interdependent models of self. This may help explain, in part, why employees from lower-class backgrounds still experience worse outcomes in the workplace compared to their more advantaged higher-class counterparts.

Critically, the negative consequences of this cultural mismatch may have implications not only for employees from lower-class backgrounds, but also for organizations and society more broadly. For white-collar organizations, these consequences include potentially losing out on the interdependent skills and abilities of employees from lower-class backgrounds—skills which have previously been shown to help groups and teams function effectively (Dittmann et al., 2020). For society, these consequences include potentially hindering upward social mobility on a large scale (Lubrano, 2004).

Prior work on social identity group differences and workplace inclusion (e.g., Cheryan & Markus, 2020) has advocated for a more balanced culture (i.e., including values of both majority and minority group members) as one way to create a maximally inclusive approach for all employees. Our work complements this proposition and adds further nuance to it: a balanced approach is only likely to work if organizations can find genuine ways to include independence and interdependence in *both* their values and their practices – and that values of independence cannot contaminate or overtake values of interdependence. On the other hand, our work also suggests that, if possible, it may be more beneficial to create a culture that promotes the values of the underrepresented group (i.e., employees from lower-class backgrounds) to a greater extent than the values of the well-represented group (i.e., employees from higher-class backgrounds). This is because underrepresented groups tend to be more sensitive to cues that their selves are included in the setting than people from well-represented groups (Schmader & Sedikides, 2018). Indeed, in further support of this idea, we found that interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices had relatively little effect on the social fit and retention of employees from well-represented higher-class backgrounds. Since these cues seem to affect employees from higher-class backgrounds less overall, it may be beneficial to emphasize the value of interdependence *more so* than the value of independence, at least until employees from lower-class backgrounds are more well-represented in the population of white-collar workers.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Across the four studies presented here, we find both correlational and experimental evidence across multiple distinct samples that only interdependent values and practices are associated with the benefits of a cultural match for employees from lower-class backgrounds

(i.e., greater social fit). However, these findings are not without their limitations, and there are several promising directions for future research.

First, though we obtained consistent and robust effects across the four studies presented here, the effects we observed across studies were relatively small in magnitude. Despite these small effect sizes, it does seem as though cultural mismatch effects account for a small but meaningful portion of employees' social fit and retention intentions at work. Nevertheless, future studies should seek to more systematically adjudicate between the possible set of inputs into employees' experiences of fit and retention to determine the relative strength of cultural (mis)match effects compared to other previously-identified individual and organizational inputs (e.g., biodata, pre-hire dispositions and attitudes; Barrick & Zimmerman, 2005). Similarly, though we obtained consistent patterns across all four studies utilizing diverse methodologies, a few of our observed effects did not reach conventional levels of significance (i.e.,  $p < .05$ ). We believe this could have occurred for two reasons. First, this may be due to variance in unobserved characteristics. While we sought to include the most relevant control variables grounded in the organizational behavior and social class literatures, and recruit large samples, it is possible that other factors that we did not capture in our studies could be adding unobserved noise to our results. Future research should seek to replicate the findings obtained here utilizing additional methods and designs (e.g., longitudinal approaches).

Second, while extant work on cultural values (e.g., Pamphile & Ruttan, 2017) indicates that organizational values are relatively stable over time, the current work was cross-sectional in nature – we do not test the durability of organizations' interdependent vs. independent values with a longitudinal design. Future work should administer measures of organizational *interdependence* vs. *independence* (i.e., in terms of both values and practices) to a sample of

employees, and then follow up with those employees at a second timepoint and re-administer measure to determine how stable vs. variable these perceptions are. Some research suggests that organizational cultures are likely to be fairly stable over time (Hatch, 2004), but it would nonetheless be worthwhile to confirm whether *interdependence* vs. *independence* is, in fact stable over time. If, instead these values are relatively variable, it would also be interesting to determine whether employees' experiences and outcomes at the organization also covary with these perceptions (i.e., if values dynamically change from independence to interdependence, do employees from lower-class backgrounds then report having better experiences and outcomes?).

Finally, we focused on two key workplace outcomes that were both theoretically and practically important: social fit and retention intentions. However, these constructs and measures reflect predominantly subjective perceptions, and do not capture employees' behavior (e.g., actual quitting behavior). While perceptual and attitudinal measures have been shown to meaningfully predict behavioral outcomes in previous cultural mismatch work (e.g., social fit predicted students' GPAs; Phillips, Stephens et al., 2020), it remains to be seen whether this attitude-behavior link exists in the workplace context. As such, future studies should seek to explicitly test the link between perceptual measures of social fit and retention and observable behaviors like job performance and quitting.

## **Conclusion**

We find evidence that cultural (mis)match, a critical but often-overlooked cultural obstacle, contributes to social class disparities in white-collar organizations. In the studies presented here, we document that only when organizations *both* value and put into practice interdependence do employees from lower-class backgrounds experience the benefits of a cultural match (i.e., greater social fit), in turn, leading to greater retention intentions. These

findings indicate that it is not enough for organizations to simply require teamwork, they must also ensure that interdependence is included and promoted in their broader cultural values to signal to employees from lower-class backgrounds that their interdependent selves are included. In so doing, organizations will ensure that employees from lower-class backgrounds have an equal opportunity to succeed at work – and organizations themselves will also likely benefit from the interdependent selves that these employees bring with them to the workplace.

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## Tables and Figures

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations in full sample in Study 1.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Social class background (1 = lower, 0 = higher)	0.46	0.50										
2. Interdependent Motives	4.79	1.49	.068*									
3. Independent Motives	5.45	1.34	.016	.562***								
4. Age	42.83	13.34	.038	-.05	-.145***							
5. Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)	0.59	0.49	-.03	-.048	.033	-.184***						
6. Underrepresented minority status (1 = URM, 0 = non-URM)	0.13	0.34	.049	.143***	.130***	-.122***	.077*					
7. Tenure	8.72	12.98	-.017	.046	-.039	.361***	-.104**	-.037				
8. Years of Full-Time Work Experience	19.30	12.73	.06	-.051	-.164***	.860***	-.214***	-.099**	.345***			
9. Number of Organizations Worked for	3.35	2.10	-.03	-.094**	-.072*	.408***	-.079*	-.044	-.03	.417***		
10. Supervisor Status (1 = supervisor, 0 = non-supervisor)	0.38	0.48	-.002	.169***	.109***	.105***	-.127***	.055	.168***	.103**	-.005	
11. Promotions	3.29	1.73	-.014	.143***	.104**	.073*	-.042	.021	.226***	.125***	-.146***	.232***

Note. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$   
 $N = 1003$

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations in organizational website subsample in Study 1.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Social class background (1 = lower, 0 = higher)	0.52	0.50												
2. Interdependent Values	0.51	0.50	-.012											
3. Working Together Time	-17.07	18.99	.021	-.021										
4. Social Fit	5.30	1.46	-.019	-.124*	.149*									
5. Retention Intentions	4.34	1.76	.064	-.150*	.123*	.716***								
6. Age	42.63	12.14	.108	-.041	.011	.177**	.215***							
7. Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)	1.59	0.49	-.107	-.006	-.076	-.04	-.136*	-.197**						
8. Underrepresented minority status (1 = URM, 0 = non-URM)	0.14	0.34	-.006	.007	-.119	-.099	-.184**	-.069	.102					
9. Tenure	8.80	20.97	-.059	.061	.111	.103	.145*	.183**	-.095	-.014				
10. Years of Full-Time Work Experience	19.07	11.92	.149*	-.02	.033	.133*	.200**	.878***	-.283**	-.059	.165**			
11. Number of Organizations Worked for	3.37	2.19	.057	-.03	.022	.02	-.032	.379***	-.146*	-.063	.039	.406***		
12. Supervisor status (1 = supervisor, 0 = non-supervisor)	0.35	0.48	.009	-.033	.062	.209***	.112	.144*	-.107	.086	.160*	.150*	.007	
13. Promotions	3.35	1.69	.037	.002	.156*	.177**	.142*	.037	.019	-.002	.122*	.101	-.126*	.228***

Note. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$   
*N* = 257

Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations in full sample in Study 2.

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Social class background (1 = lower, 0 = higher)	0.29	0.46											
2. Interdependent Values	0.39	0.49	.024										
3. Interdependent Practices	41.66	26.41	-.007	-.285***									
4. Social Fit	5.47	1.30	-.009	-.187***	.120***								
5. Retention Intentions	4.36	1.80	.004	-.142***	.056	.501***							
6. Age	43.52	12.44	.113***	-.005	-.03	.052	.083**						
7. Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)	0.49	0.50	.033	-.045	.02	.031	.003	-.089**					
8. Underrepresented minority status (1 = URM, 0 = non-URM)	0.22	0.41	.083**	.009	.092**	-.061*	-.074*	-.061	.024				
9. Tenure	8.80	8.74	.057	-.056	.011	.083**	.080*	.481***	-.056	-.107***			
10. Years of Full-Time Work Experience	19.53	12.18	.128***	-.034	.015	.101**	.100**	.825***	-.136***	-.085**	.470***		
11. Supervisor Status (1 = supervisor, 0 = non-supervisor)	6.28	27.61	-.059	-.063*	.146***	-.033	.015	.034	-.067*	-.018	.083**	.051	
12. Promotions	1.35	2.07	-.032	-.02	.157***	.075*	.06	.119***	-.095**	.006	.412***	.160***	.247***

Note. \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

$N = 1006$

Table 4. *Regression results on social fit in Study 2.*

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Organizational Values:	0.442***	0.333**	0.323**
Working Together (vs. Individually)	(0.088)	(0.104)	(0.105)
Organizational Practices:	0.004*	0.004	0.004
Time Spent Working Together	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Social Class Background	-0.012 (0.088)	0.089 (0.115)	0.023 (0.118)
Values × Practices		-0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)
Values × Social Class Background		0.381* (0.185)	0.308 (0.190)
Social Class Background × Practices		0.008+ (0.004)	0.007 (0.005)
Values × Practices × Social Class Background		0.020** (0.007)	0.019** (0.007)
Constant	5.651*** (0.058)	5.613*** (0.062)	5.256*** (0.269)
Observations	1032	1032	996
R-Squared	0.040	0.053	0.118
Control Variables	No	No	Yes

*Notes:* Standard errors in parentheses

+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

Table 5. *Regression results on retention intentions in Study 2.*

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
Organizational Values:	0.508***	0.406**	0.387**
Working Together (vs. Individually)	(0.119)	(0.146)	(0.151)
Organizational Practices:	0.001	-0.003	-0.003
Time Spent Working Together	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Social Class Background	0.030	0.053	-0.039
	(0.122)	(0.161)	(0.170)
Values × Practices		-0.011+	-0.009
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Values × Social Class Background		0.259	0.151
		(0.258)	(0.272)
Social Class Background × Practices		0.013*	0.013*
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Values × Practices × Social Class Background		0.025*	0.024*
		(0.010)	(0.010)
Constant	4.547***	4.552***	3.534***
	(0.081)	(0.087)	(0.426)
Observations	1032	1032	997
R-Squared	0.021	0.028	0.071
Control Variables	No	No	Yes

*Notes:* Standard errors in parentheses

+  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

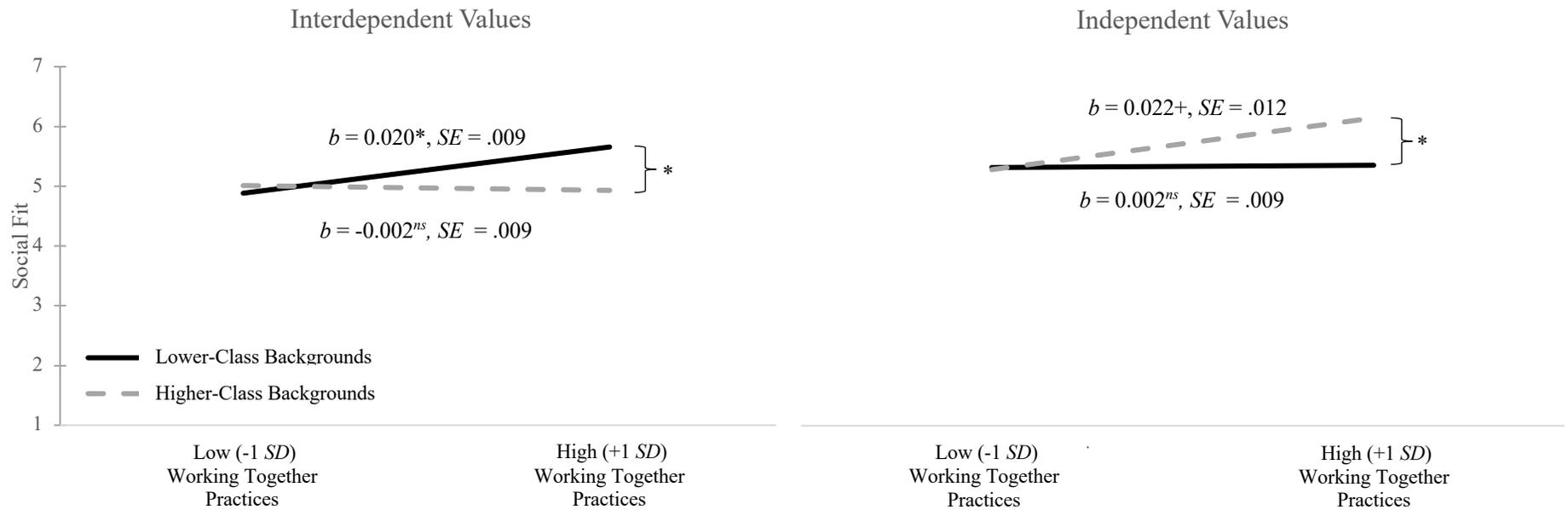


Figure 1. Effect of interdependent (vs. independent) values, practices, and social class background on social fit in Study 1.  
 Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

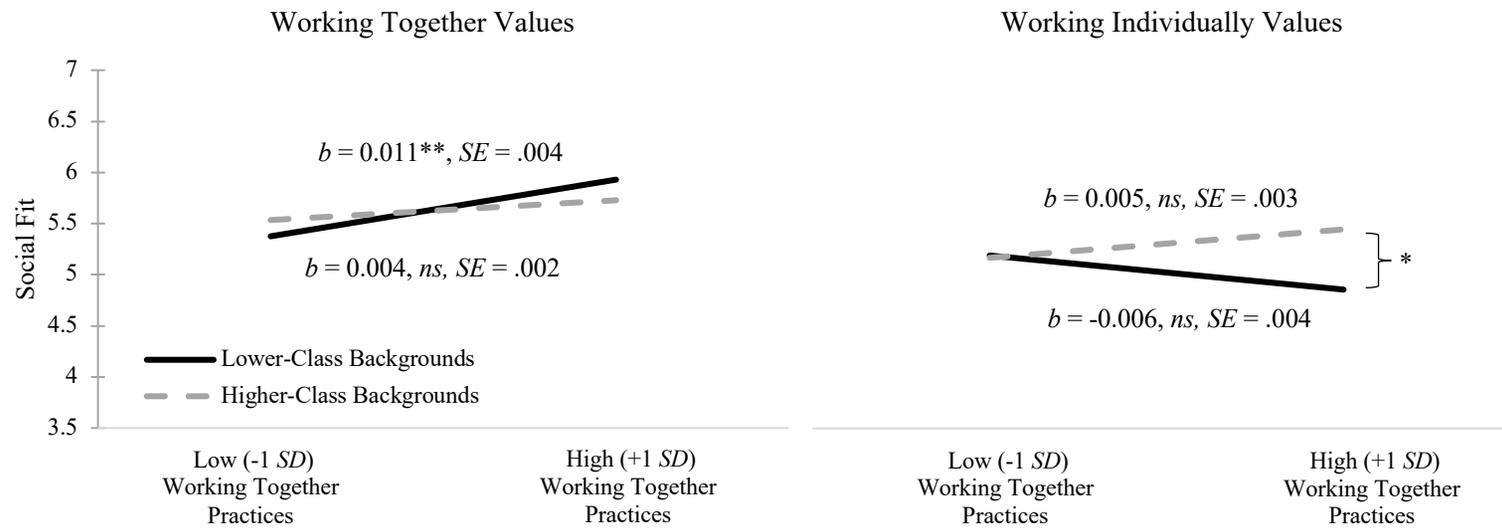


Figure 2. Effect of interdependent (vs. independent) values, practices, and social class background on social fit in Study 2. Note: +  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

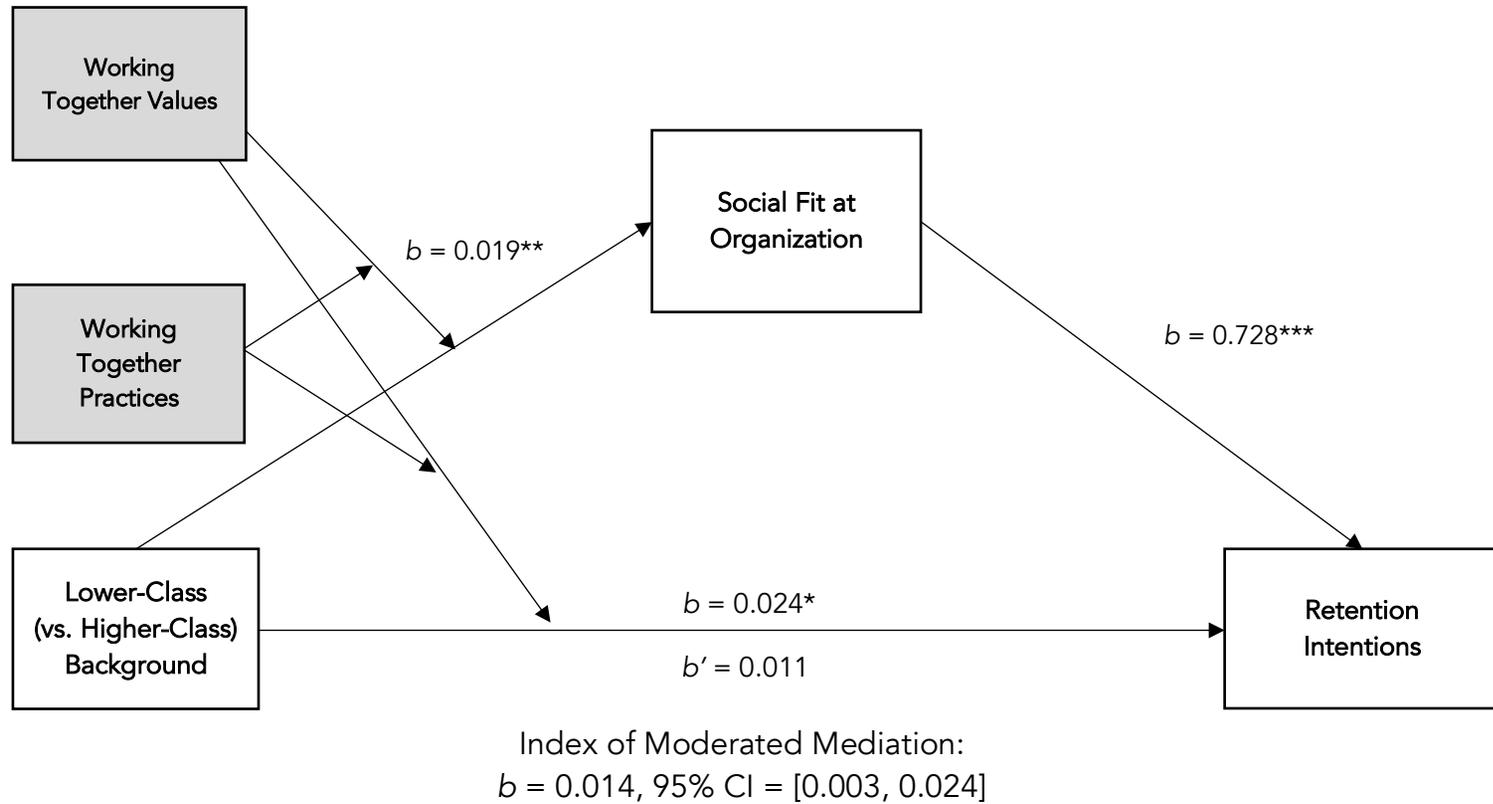


Figure 3. Moderated mediation of perceived values, practices, and social class background on retention intentions via social fit at organization in Study 2. Note: \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ .

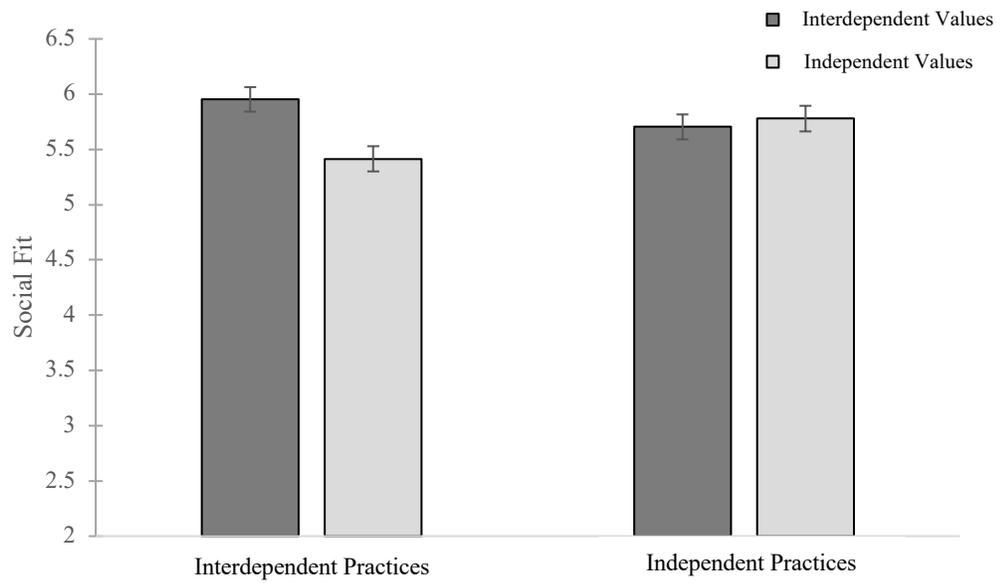


Figure 4. Anticipated social fit by interdependent (vs. independent) values and practices in Study 3 (Error bars represent  $\pm 1$  SE).

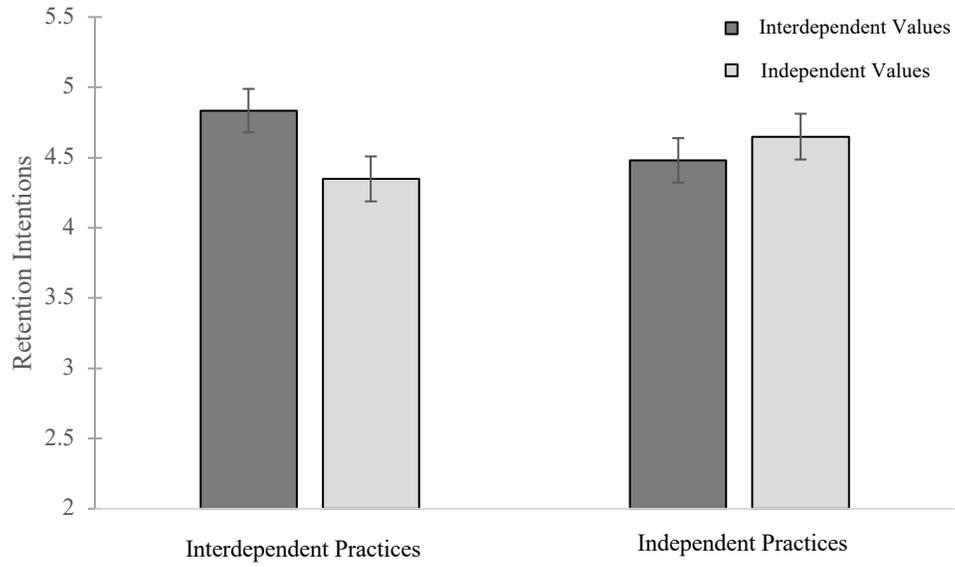
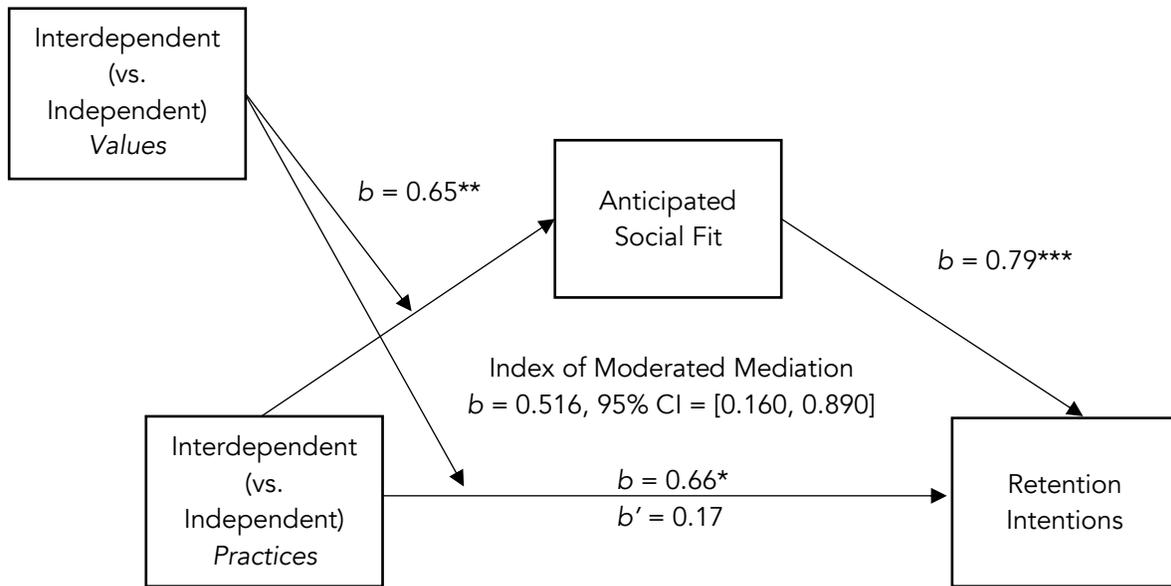


Figure 5. Anticipated retention intentions by interdependent vs. independent values and practices in Study 3 (Error bars represent  $\pm 1$  SE).



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

Figure 6. Moderated mediation model in Study 3 linking interdependent values and practices to retention intentions via anticipated social fit at the organization. Results are robust to inclusion or exclusion of key demographic and organizational covariates.

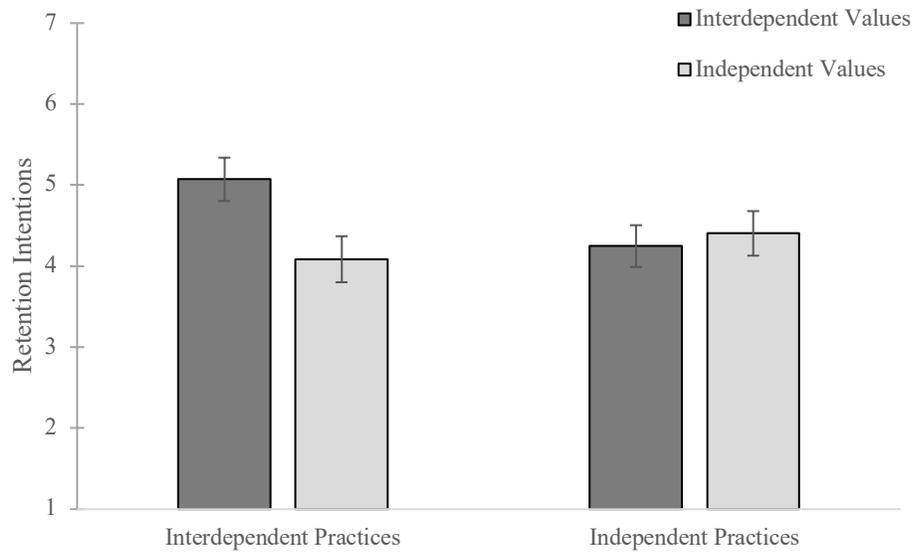


Figure 7. Anticipated retention intentions by interdependent vs. independent values and practices in Study 4 (Error bars represent  $\pm 1$  SE).