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# The Social Perception of Social Class: An Integrative Review

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## ABSTRACT

Social class profoundly affects people in a wide range of ways, leaving its mark on individuals' behaviour, cognition, experiences and outcomes. Social class also plays a role in social perception, and, in this review, I provide a snapshot of the current body of knowledge related to the social perception of social class. Specifically, I review research examining accuracy and bias in social-class perceptions from nonverbal cues, in addition to the consequences of these perceptions. Altogether, perceivers show some accuracy in judging individuals' social class from various nonverbal cues, indicating that nonverbal behaviour provides signal to individuals' social class and that perceivers can detect this. A large body of evidence simultaneously highlights substantial bias in social-class perceptions, with social-class stereotypes meaningfully affecting impressions. Finally, research illustrates the broad range of consequences of social-class perceptions, perhaps most importantly in the domain of competence and hiring judgments, which can serve to perpetuate inequality.

## 1 | Introduction

Individuals' social-class standing substantially influences both micro and macro aspects of their lives. A growing body of psychology research explores social class's many effects, including in the domain of social cognition and person perception. Here, I provide a current snapshot of one such area of research: the social perception of social class.

### 1.1 | Defining and Measuring Social Class

Social class<sup>1</sup> is multifaceted, encompassing objective differences in resources and subjective perceptions of one's standing in society (e.g., Côté 2011; Jackman and Jackman 1973). Social class furthermore includes differences in rank (Kraus et al. 2013), culture (e.g., values, behaviours; Stephens and Townsend 2013) and capital (economic, social, cultural; Bourdieu 1973; Fendinger et al. 2023; Savage et al. 2013). Given these many facets, research

in psychology and related disciplines operationalizes social class in various ways, including via income (e.g., Bjornsdottir and Rule 2017), educational attainment (e.g., Kuppens et al. 2018; van Noord et al. 2019), social-class category (e.g., Stellar et al. 2012), occupational prestige (Hughes et al. 2024) and subjective status (e.g., Adler et al. 2000; for discussions of social-class measurement, see Antonoplis 2023; Laurin et al. 2024; Oakes and Rossi 2003).

### 1.2 | Importance

Social class is crucial to consider; it has seemingly ubiquitous effects on individuals' lives (see Manstead 2018), ranging from long-term outcomes, including health/well-being (Marmot et al. 1991; Stansfeld and Marmot 1992; Tan et al. 2020), to the everyday, including decision-making (Haushofer and Fehr 2014; Sheehy-Skeffington 2020) and interpersonal interactions (Côté et al. 2017; Hughes et al. 2025). People also form impressions of others' social

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class from various cues, including signals of cultural capital and consumption (Kiebler and Stewart 2024; Rinn et al. 2023; Voyer et al. 2022) but also more subtle nonverbal cues (Kraus et al. 2017), the focus of the present review.

## 2 | Accurate Perception

As social class exerts such a pervasive influence on people's lives, social class may leave its mark on individuals' nonverbal behaviour (akin to 'behavioural residue'; e.g., Gosling et al. 2002; Naumann et al. 2009), providing *signal* to social-class standing. Perceivers should detect such signal, which provides valuable social information (e.g., who holds resources), making accurate social-class perception adaptive (see McArthur and Baron's 1983, ecological theory of social perception). Social class is, however, a *perceptually ambiguous* social category, making its perception less accurate and consensual than that of perceptually obvious categories like age, gender and race (Bjornsdottir et al. 2022; see also Tskhay and Rule 2013).

Indeed, research finds accuracy (i.e., significant self-other agreement, above-chance categorizations) in social-class perception from multiple nonverbal cues. Some United States-based research has examined this in the context of social interactions, where dynamic nonverbal cues may provide especially rich information. Using candid photographs of dyadic workplace interactions, Schmid-Mast and Hall (2004) found that perceivers accurately discerned primarily White individuals' relative status at work. Posture and clothing facilitated accuracy, with women's downward head tilt and men's forward lean and formal dress conveying higher status. Kraus and Keltner (2009) further found that seven undergraduate perceivers accurately judged (predominantly White and Asian) individuals' social-class standing from thin slices of dyadic interaction. Nonverbal cues to (dis)engagement helped explain accuracy, with higher-class (vs. lower-class) individuals exhibiting more disengagement and fewer engagement cues. Recent research — with far more perceivers/targets — and furthermore showed that racially diverse individuals engaging in a video-call-mediated social interaction accurately perceived one another's social-class standing (Hughes et al. 2025).

Outside the context of interpersonal interactions, nonverbal cues still convey social-class information. For example, North American studies (using stimuli from multiple racial groups, both ambient and standardized images) indicate that perceivers can detect social-class standing from facial appearance (Bjornsdottir et al. 2025; Bjornsdottir and Rule 2017; Paul et al. 2022). More healthy/attractive and positive/warm facial appearance cued higher social class standing and facilitated accurate perceptions (Bjornsdottir et al. 2025; Bjornsdottir and Rule 2017), in line with social-class differences in health/well-being (e.g., Singh-Manoux et al. 2003; Tan et al. 2020).

More recent research shows that nonverbal cues from bodies (e.g., shape, posture, clothing) contain even more social-class signal than faces. Primarily White North American perceivers' social-class perceptions were more accurate from photos of (predominantly Asian and White) whole persons and just bodies than just faces (Bjornsdottir, Connor, and Rule 2024). In bodies, as with faces, attractiveness helped explain accuracy — also aligning

with findings on social-class perceptions from individuals' shoes (Gillath et al. 2012).

Beyond appearance, individuals' speech contains potent social-class cues (for early research, see Ellis 1967), with accents particularly salient. 'Ideal' or 'standard' accents are often associated with higher social-class standing (e.g., 'Received Pronunciation', RP, in British English, Roach 2004; see also Coupland and Bishop 2007; 'r' pronunciation in American English, Labov 1986). Consistent with this, American perceivers accurately discerned speakers' social-class standing from audio clips and even isolated spoken words (Kraus et al. 2019). Higher-class speakers' speech was rated as more standard and ideal, helping explain accuracy. Similar patterns recently emerged in a Chinese sample (Niu et al. 2024).

Finally, cues to social class appear in individuals' personal environments. In online environments, nine American perceivers showed accuracy in judging individuals' social-class standing from social media profile photos (Becker et al. 2017). In physical environments, American perceivers discerned social class from photographs of inside individuals' homes (Loignon et al. 2024; see also Davis 1956).

## 3 | Biased Perception

Despite evidence for accurate detection of social-class standing from nonverbal cues, there is nonetheless substantial bias in social-class perception — crucially, accuracy and bias are not mutually exclusive (Freeman et al. 2022). A wealth of research illustrates how stereotypes bias social-class judgments from nonverbal cues. Stereotypes associate social-class standing with particular traits (e.g., competence; Cuddy et al. 2008; Fiske et al. 2016; but see Grigoryan et al. 2020), other social categories (gender, race; Heilman 2001; Moore-Berg and Karpinski 2019), outcomes (well-being; Akin et al. 2009) and features (e.g., particular speech patterns; Coupland and Bishop 2007).<sup>2</sup> Although *some* of these bear kernels of truth (e.g., class differences in well-being), stereotypes bias perceptions more than they inform accuracy.

For example, a wealth of research shows a conflation of social class and race in person perception. Clothing cueing higher- or lower-class occupations (suit, janitor's uniform) affected predominantly White American perceivers' race categorization of racially ambiguous men's faces, such that lower-class and higher-class clothing, respectively, increased the likelihood of categorizing the face as Black and White (Freeman et al. 2011). Paralleling this, investigations using reverse correlation have revealed that primarily White American perceivers mentally represented the faces of welfare recipients and the poor as more Black-looking than non-welfare recipients and the rich, respectively (Brown-Iannuzzi et al. 2017; Lei and Bodenhausen 2017). There is also longitudinal evidence for social class fluidly affecting race perception (Penner and Saperstein 2013).

Other work found Asian, Black, and White British perceivers to categorize Asian and White faces as higher class (vs. lower class) more often than Black faces (Bjornsdottir and Beacon 2024). Similarly, a racially diverse sample of American adolescents viewing fictitious social media profiles rated White individuals

as higher in social class, compared to East Asian individuals, who perceivers rated higher than Black and Latinx individuals (Ghavami and Mistry 2019). Consistent with this, Black and White American adult perceivers tended to pair Black faces with lower-class occupations and White faces with higher-class occupations (Dupree et al. 2021). Perceptions of racialized names in the United States echo these findings, with individuals with more typically Black and Hispanic (vs. White or Asian) names perceived as lower in social class (Crabtree et al. 2022; see also Barlow and Lahey 2018; Landgrave and Weller 2022).

Aligning with valenced stereotypes of social class (e.g., higher social class = positive), other research shows that emotion expressions affect perceptions of faces' social class. British and American perceivers categorized the *same faces* as higher class more often when expressing happiness and less often when expressing negative emotions, compared to neutral (Bjornsdottir and Beacon 2024; Bjornsdottir and Rule 2020). Emotion expressions also affected social-class perception more strongly for Black than White faces, among Black and White British perceivers (Bjornsdottir and Beacon 2024).

Recent work using reverse correlation with three-dimensional faces revealed that the specific facial features (e.g., facial width, mouth corner curvature, complexion yellowness/redness) driving social class perceptions in a White British sample also drove perceptions of traits stereotypically tied to social class (e.g., competence, warmth), highlighting the strong overlap between stereotypes and social-class perception (Bjornsdottir, Hensel 2024; see also Bin Meshar et al. 2022; Xie et al. 2021). The facial features identified in this research also overlap with other stereotypes — for example, yellower/redder complexions driving higher-class perceptions align with stereotypical links between class and health (yellower/redder complexion appears healthier; e.g., Ip et al. 2019; Stephen et al. 2011). Echoing this, another study found that manipulating faces' yellowness/redness affected Black and White British perceivers' social-class perception across Asian, Black and White faces (Bjornsdottir and Beacon 2024).

Research also demonstrates bias in social-class perception from speech, highlighting stereotypes linking social class and accent. For example, British adolescents perceived a speaker as higher in class when speaking with RP, compared to a regional accent (Giles 1970). Later surveys of British participants asked to rate a variety of named accents (rather than accented speech), similarly found that participants rated 'Queen's English' and 'Standard English/RP' as more prestigious than regional and foreign accents (Coupland and Bishop 2007; Sharma et al. 2022).

#### 4 | Consequences of Social Class Perception

Why do these perceptions matter? Kraus et al. (2017) argue that signs of social class emphasize class boundaries and perpetuate inequality. Indeed, perceptions of social class effect a range of consequences that can serve this function. First, social-class perceptions affect basic processes in person perception and recognition. For example, manipulating individuals' perceived social class (via business professional vs. casual clothing) in a photo array revealed a pattern of preferential attention: West-

ern undergraduate perceivers showed greater visual fixation on photos of higher-class, compared to lower-class, men (but not women; Maner et al. 2008). Another clothing-based manipulation of social class (using occupational uniforms, e.g., doctor's lab coat, mechanic's uniform) showed greater attention to higher-class than lower-class White women's and men's faces in a sociospatial memory task among White American undergraduates (Ratcliff et al. 2011).

Using yet another paradigm, Italian undergraduates viewed men's faces alongside CVs that indicated higher or lower social class via occupation and education (Dalmaso et al. 2011). A subsequent gaze-cueing task with these faces showed that perceivers shifted their attention in response to higher-, but not lower-, social class individuals' gaze. Finally, research with White American undergraduates showed a bias to perceive anger, a high-power emotion, in higher- compared to lower-class White men's faces (manipulated via occupational titles; Ratcliff et al. 2012). That is, perceivers showed quicker onset detection and slower offset detection of anger in higher-class faces.

Perceived social class also affects face memory. Research with White American undergraduates showed better recognition memory for higher- than lower-class (indicated by occupational titles or coloured backgrounds) White men's faces — partly explained by greater holistic processing of the higher-class faces (Ratcliff et al. 2011). Adding further nuance, other research with White American undergraduates found that perceived social class (manipulated via occupational titles) interacted with faces' race to affect recognition memory: When presented with both Black and White men's faces, a recognition disadvantage appeared only for lower-class Black faces (Shriver and Hugenberg 2010). Research with Chinese undergraduates similarly found better recognition of higher-class than lower-class other-race faces, but no effect of perceived class for own-race faces (class manipulated via occupational labels; Fan et al. 2022). In contrast, when White middle-class American undergraduates viewed Black and White men's faces displayed in lower- or higher-class contexts (e.g., images of dilapidated vs. suburban houses), lower-class context impaired recognition only for own-race faces (Shriver et al. 2008).

Social class perception also crucially affects other social perceptions and judgments, showing an overall pattern of advantage for those perceived as higher in social class (e.g., an implicit positive bias; Mattan et al. 2019). Such an advantage is particularly consequential when considering judgments relating to competence and employment, which have the potential to reinforce social-class boundaries and inequality. Early research found British perceivers to prefer an RP-accented speaker (perceived higher class) for higher-status occupations and a Welsh-accented speaker (perceived lower class) for lower-status occupations (Giles et al. 1981). More recent work found less favourable evaluations of lower-class-sounding speakers for an entry-level law firm job in the United Kingdom (though factors such as age moderated this; Levon et al. 2021) and an unspecified position in the United States (Kraus et al. 2019), and a recent meta-analysis found that speakers with standard (i.e., higher-class) accents are perceived as more employable than those with non-standard accents (Spence et al. 2024).

Appearance-based perceptions of social class also affect hiring and competence judgments. For example, primarily White American perceivers rated White and East Asian faces perceived as high (vs. low) in social class as more suitable for a middle-class position (accountant; Bjornsdottir and Rule 2017). Similarly, American perceivers' judgments of Black and White men's competence shifted with their apparent social class, such that perceivers rated faces as more competent when they appeared in higher-class, compared to lower-class, attire (Oh et al. 2020). Social class perceived via video-call background (i.e., glimpses into home environments) had similar effects, with speakers appearing with higher-class backgrounds rated as more competent and preferentially chosen as leaders by American perceivers (Loignon et al. 2024). Other research has shown class-culture markers in Americans' social media profiles (Galos 2024) and CVs (Rivera 2012) as well as explicit social class labels in Spain (Vázquez and Lois 2020) to have similar effects.

This pattern of advantage for those perceived as higher class also manifests in other kinds of social judgments and behaviours. For example, in a video-call-mediated interaction, American participants reported greater interest in affiliating with those perceived as higher class (Hughes et al. 2025). An American field experiment found people to donate more money to a White male confederate dressed to signal higher- (vs. lower-) social class (Callaghan et al. 2022), conceptually replicating earlier experiments conducted in the Netherlands (Nelissen and Meijers 2011). These findings align with lab-based tests of trustworthiness and financial decisions. For example, Chinese perceivers allocated more money in a trust game to East Asian and White faces presented as higher, versus lower, in social class (high vs. low income; Qi et al. 2018).

Even children show different judgments of ostensibly high- and low-class others. After viewing photographs of Black and White boys and girls alongside markers of their social class standing (clothing, houses or possessions), racially diverse young children in the United States reported liking higher-class children and perceiving them as more competent and popular, compared to lower-class children (Shutts et al. 2016; see also Horwitz et al. 2014). Another study manipulating perceived social class of Black, Hispanic, and White children via vignettes also found greater liking for higher-class children — but, in contrast with some findings for adults reviewed above, greater allocation of resources (toys) to lower-class children (Shutts et al. 2016; see also Li et al. 2014).

Other research shows that perceived social class predicts various trait judgments — though not all positive. American undergraduate perceivers rated higher-class individuals (manipulated via descriptions of their possessions) as being more capable and sophisticated but less considerate (Christopher and Schlenker 2000). British undergraduates' impressions based on accent showed a similar pattern, with greater competence but lower warmth ascribed to a higher-class (standard-accented) speaker (Giles et al. 1981). In line with impressions of higher-class individuals as less considerate or warm, recent research in the United States found participants to be less likely to cooperate with individuals signalling high social class (via, e.g., a luxury logo on an avatar) in tasks such as the prisoner's dilemma (Srna et al. 2022). Thus, although perceived higher

social class affords a variety of advantages, these are not without exception.

## 5 | Future Directions

Important avenues for future research remain. Much of the research in this area has used highly controlled stimuli or methods, focusing on specific nonverbal channels or cues — leaving a gap in understanding of the *multimodal* perception of social class from nonverbal cues, including the relative importance of different cues for forming social-class perceptions. Additionally, further examination of how perceiver characteristics (including perceivers' social-class standing) impact social-class perception and its consequences is needed (see, e.g., Stephens and Townsend 2019). Little research examines perceiver effects (e.g., perceiver social class; Bjornsdottir and Rule 2017; Kraus et al. 2019) or interactions between perceivers' and targets' characteristics (e.g., race; Bjornsdottir and Beacon 2024; Dupree et al. 2021) in social-class perception, which are important gaps to address and formalize (i.e., to understand relative contributions of targets, perceivers and their interaction to social-class perception). Finally, the research reviewed here suffers from an overrepresentation of Western (and often, White North American) samples and stimuli. The cross-cultural perception of social class remains ripe for exploring and is necessary for a more complete and generalizable understanding of these consequential social judgments — not least because cultures and countries differ in their degrees of economic inequality and social class stratification, potentially affecting perceptions of social class, and how nonverbal cues reflect social class.

## 6 | Conclusions

Altogether, this research literature demonstrates that social class leaves its mark on individuals' nonverbal behaviour. Theoretically, this could occur through two different pathways. The first could be through the physical and psychological realities afforded by rank differences — for example, differences in resources and health/well-being could explain how social class manifests in facial and bodily appearance. Another pathway could be via cultural aspects of social class (e.g., Stephens and Townsend 2013), with different values, practices and cultural capital helping explain how social class is reflected in speech, interpersonal interactions and voluntary aspects of appearance (e.g., choice of clothing or grooming). Nonverbal social-class signals enable perceivers to detect others' social class, but pervasive cultural stereotypes also strongly bias perceptions. Addressing these stereotypes may provide a fruitful route to interrupt biased social-class perceptions and their consequences.

### Disclosure

No data were collected for this review. There are no associated data or materials.

### Ethics Statement

The author has nothing to report.

## Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

## Data Availability Statement

The author has nothing to report

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>The term 'social class' is not universal in the literature. Some researchers use 'socioeconomic status,' 'social status,' or measure-specific terminology. Throughout this review, I use 'social class' for consistency, although the original authors may have used other terms.

<sup>2</sup>There is a rich literature on intergroup relations and social cognition detailing social-class stereotyping (e.g., Durante et al. 2017; Grigoryan et al. 2020) and dehumanization (e.g., Loughnan et al. 2014), which is largely outside the scope of this review's focus on the interpersonal social perception of social class.

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