Oswald Social Sciences First Place: Two is Company, Three is an Envious Crowd: Effects of a Third Party Evaluator on Expressions of Envy According to Lacanian Psychoanalytic Perspective

Elina Matveeva

Abstract

Students on the University of Kentucky's campus were randomly selected to read and respond to vignettes designed to evoke envy. Researchers hypothesized that envy increases in the presence of a third party that publically recognizes the envied quality and increases its desirability, just as Jacque Lacan predicted. The researchers also hypothesized that envy correlates positively with both shame and hostility and negatively with humiliation. The results suggest that envy does indeed increase when the desirability of an envied object or trait is increased by public recognition. Envy shared significant positive correlations with both shame and hostility, but failed to decrease when humiliation was present, which might be due to experiment limitations. Possible applications of envy to motivate people to improve themselves are also explored and discussed.

Two is Company, Three is an Envious Crowd: Effects of a Third Party Evaluator on

Expressions of Envy According to Lacanian Psychoanalytic Perspective

Social emotions are emotions that occur within communal contexts; they require

interactions between individuals. This includes emotions like anger, guilt, disappointment,

dependency, compassion, and love, among a host of others. Perhaps one of the most common

social emotions is envy, an unpleasant feeling resulting from the desire to obtain something that

another person has. Research on envy confirms that it often includes painful feelings of

inferiority, hostility, and resentment (Smith, R. H., Kim, S. H., & Parrott, W. G., 1988) and that

it is motivated by perceived lack (Smith & Kim, 2007). In addition to qualitative features,

researchers have also skimmed the surface of envy's interactions with other psychological

phenomenon like shame (Smith & Kim, 2007) and humiliation (Navaro, L. & Schwartzberg, S.

L., 2007). Overall however, research on the psychological experience of envy is scant. What

little research exists focuses on the distinction between envy and jealousy, which are mistakenly

believed to be synonymous by many nonpsychologists (Smith, R. H., et al., 1988; Smith & Kim,

2007; Parrott, W. G., & Smith, R. H., 1993) and the qualitative characteristics of an envious

experience (Smith & Kim, 2007). Psychology could benefit from research into the origins of

envy within the self and envy's definitive interactions with other emotions such as humiliation

and shame. The primary purpose of the present study is to delve into these topics and provide a

catalyst for future research.

The research questions in the present study were inspired by the ideas of Jacques Lacan.

Lacan (1901-1981) was a French psychoanalyst who made substantial contributions to numerous

fields in psychodynamics. One of his contributions was an explanation of the origin of envy

within children; according to Lacan, envy first develops during what he coined as the "Mirror

Phase" –a moment in a child's life in which he recognizes his own image in a mirror and identifies it as a representation of himself with the validating help of a parent looking over his shoulder into the mirror (Vidaillet, 2008). The child, according to Lacan, notices that the parent's gaze is focused on the "other" in the mirror and not on the child, igniting the first sparks of envy in the child's psyche. The child sees a "complete" image of himself in the mirror that appears idealized and craves what this "little other" has that is capable of attracting the attention and ultimately love of the parent whom Lacan labels as the "Big Other". While not only providing a hypothesis about when exactly envy rears its green head in a child's life, Lacan's theory also challenges a well-accepted idea within social psychology that envy only requires two parties. The idea is so central to an academic understanding of envy that the two-party vs. three-party distinction is frequently quoted as a primary difference between envy proper and jealousy proper. General consensus among social psychologists is that envy and jealousy are distinct emotions, set apart by unique combinations of feelings (Parrot, W. G., & Smith, R. H., 1993). Parrot and Smith found that envy is generally characterized by feelings of inferiority, self-disapproval, and longing while jealousy is a more intense emotion that includes feelings of distrust, anxiety, and fear of rejection or loss. The separateness of the two is not in question, though there is still much semantic confusion regarding their connotations. This is probably due to the fact that cases of jealousy will often include feelings of envy, which Parrot and Smith (1993) found in studies in which participants had to recall past situations in which they had felt envy or jealousy. Besides semantic ambiguity however, it is uncontestable that there are qualitative differences between the two emotions. Lacan's theory challenges one of the long-accepted differences --the assumption that envy requires two parties, an envier and a person to be envied, while jealousy requires at least three, a jealous person, the object of the jealous person's affection, and a person who

threatens to take away the object (Smith & Kim, 2007). Lacan's "mirror phase" theory adds a "Big Other" to the envy equation, which flies in the face of a multi-decade-old assumption that envy only requires two people (Ze'ev, B.,1990).

Academic tradition aside, it is important to investigate the possible validating role of a third party observer in the envy experience. Lacan's "Big Other" doesn't necessarily have to be a third person, but can also encompass societal values, occupational pressures to succeed, or public recognition of success (Vadaillet, 2008). We hypothesized that the inclusion of a "Big Other" would increase envy.

Undoubtedly, future research on the effects of a "Big Other" on the expression of envy carries the promise of practical applications. Envy can drive a person to either wallow in inferiority or it can motivate someone to improve. In a workplace, it is important to be mindful of situations which can foster envy and hostile feelings between coworkers. In schools, it would benefit instructors to know whether the presence or implication of a "Big Other" can be manipulated to evoke productive envy in students which motivates achievement. Even more generally, a comprehensive understanding of envy's overall effects on motivation, another topic the present study will investigate, would prove useful. Studies have shown that certain kinds of envy can motivate people to improve themselves (Van de Ven, N., Zeelenberg, M., & Pieters, R., 2011; Crusius, J., & Mussweiler, T., 2012; van de Ven, N., Zeelenberg, M., & Pieters, R., 2011). These studies revealed that the desire to improve performance occurred when participants believed that self-improvement was reachable. Another study affirmed that upward comparisons generated motivation if the comparer perceived that he/she was able to control their own circumstances (Testa, M., & Major, B., 1990). However, there is also evidence that envy may lead to discouragement. Past studies suggest there is no motivation to improve when participants

believe that self-improvement will prove too difficult. Testa and Major (1990) found that in cases where participants assumed that the cause of their failures was stable, they reported more hopelessness. Therefore, in situations in which participants believe that they cannot improve their circumstances, upward comparisons actually lead to discouragement from trying. The present experiment is meant to either affirm or challenge past research and add to cumulative knowledge about motivation and envy.

The present research also strives to explore envy's interactions with other emotions -- particularly shame and humiliation since these two are especially associated with envy (Navaro, L. & Schwartzberg, S. L., 2007; Smith & Kim, 2007). Shame is a painful emotion caused by consciousness of guilt, shortcoming, or impropriety, according to Merriam-Webster (2012). Researchers have found that envy often gives rise to shame (Vadaillet, 2008), although research is lacking on whether the expression of envy is altered in the presence of significant amounts of shame. Previous research on shame suggests that it would share a positive correlation with envy. It has been shown that shame is caused by an unsatisfactory internal characteristic that is made public (Hareli, S., & Weiner, B., 2002). When envy is due to perceived lack of an internal trait, shame should naturally follow. Alternatively, shame may bubble forth because of societal condemnation of envy; envy does not foster cohesion between people so it is denounced by society as disgraceful (Smith & Kim, 2007). We hypothesized that shame would increase as envy increased.

Humiliation, separate from shame, is the state of being "brought low in condition or status; reduced in dignity; humbled" (Combs, D. J. Y., Campbell, G., Jackson, M., Smith, R. H.,2010, pg. 129). While it is known that envy is often accompanied by feelings of humiliation (Navaro, L. & Schwartzberg, 2007), there is very little to no research that aims to investigate the

expression of envy when humiliation is present within the self. In order to predict a particular interaction, it is necessary to consider the role of hostility, an emotion that has been linked to envy and humiliation (Smith & Kim, 2007;Combs, D. J. Y., et al., 2010; Steingburg, B. S., 1991; Gilligan, J.,2003).

Smith & Kim (2007) emphasize that envy is a hostile emotion; in fact, participants in their study identified a hostile reaction as a tell-tale sign of envy. The authors also mention a study in which participants have the option to burn some of their opponents' money in a video game, but at the cost of their own. The disadvantaged players (the participants with less money who had greater cause for envy) burned more of their opponents' money, deliberately sacrificing their own resources. This disregard for self suggests intense hostility in which harming an enemy takes precedence over personal well-being. Smith & Kim (2007) also mention that a social comparison that sparks envy may cause the envious person to perceive injustice. The researchers argue that people often compare themselves with others who are *similar* in status, appearance, or socioeconomic condition, thus the existence of a sudden advantage for the other results in feelings of unfairness. An envious man might think, "Why should he have gotten that promotion and not me even though we both received the same level of education?"

Hostility also relates to humiliation. Combs, D. J. Y., et al. (2010) asked students to either read a vignette in which a character experiences humiliation and imagine their own feelings had they been in the character's place or write about a past personal experience that involved humiliation. The researchers found that as humiliation increased, hostility and anger at the humiliator, or the cause of the humiliation, rose and feelings such as shame and guilt either remained stagnant or decreased. Individuals abhor feeling humiliated and view it as an injustice. ''People believe they deserve their shame; they do not believe they deserve their humiliation''

(Combs, D. J. Y., et al., 2010, pg. 129). As humiliation increases, so does indignation at the humiliator and hostility towards him/it for seemingly attacking the humiliated person. In place of feelings of inferiority or guilt, the humiliated person now has an emotional outlet –anger –that is less threatening to his self-worth and easier to bear. In light of this evidence, we hypothesize that as humiliation increases, envy will remain stagnant or decrease because the hostility resulting from humiliation will distract participants from feeling envious.

The experiment will explore Lacan's ideas and envy's interactions with other emotions by having participants read vignettes written about a character that experiences envy both within the presence of a third party evaluator and without one, based on the participant's assigned condition. The participants will then be asked to rate the character's emotions on a Likert-scale. The different conditions also introduce variation of public vs. private settings, and varying amounts of shame and humiliation. The researchers hypothesize that participants will report higher ratings of envy when the character is in the presence of a third party evaluator than when he encounters an envy-provoking situation without a third party present. We also hypothesize that envy will share a positive correlation with shame and hostility, but that in the presence of extreme humiliation, envy will either remain stagnant or decrease while hostility significantly rises**.**

Method

A random sample of 111 University of Kentucky undergraduates were approached by researchers on campus and asked to participate in a quick study. Students' ages ranged between 18-24 years of age. Materials included packets consisting of the reading materials and the dependent measure survey that participants filled out after they finished reading. Other materials include access to the University of Kentucky's Department of Psychology research labs.

Procedure

Students from the undergraduate pool were approached in public campus locations and asked to read short scenarios about a man named Andrew who doesn't receive a promotion at work. There were six different scenarios created according to condition; the six conditions varied the strength of a perceived third party evaluator (in this case, a committee responsible for selecting employees for promotion), whether the rejection was private or public for Andrew, whether there existed a "small other" as a reference point for comparison, and whether humiliation was introduced into the scenario. For example, in the first condition, Andrew finds out privately that he has not received the promotion yet remains ignorant of the actual recipient (See Appendix A). In the next condition, a "small other" is introduced in the form of a co-worker named Paul, whom Andrew discovers received the promotion instead of him. The third and fourth conditions incorporate a selection committee, a third party that assesses each candidate for the promotion; the difference between conditions 3 and 4 is that in condition 4, the promotion is announced at a company banquet, publicizing Andrew's lack and his subsequent envy. The final two conditions simply add to condition 4 two unique series of events meant to evoke humiliation in Andrew. In condition 5, Paul sits near Andrew and makes Andrew feel self-conscious of direct comparisons between them (See Appendix A). Condition 6 adds upon condition 5 by having a co-worker comment on Paul's success to Andrew.

In addition to reading a scenario, each student was asked to complete a dependent measure survey. The survey (see Appendix B) requested that the participants rate on a Likert scale how strongly they would have felt certain emotions had they been in Andrew's place in the scenario. The scale ranged from 0 (Not at all) to 4 (Very Much) and dependent items included feelings such as "hostile", "humiliated", "envious", "jealous", and "hopeful", among others.

Each student was randomly assigned to a condition by being handed an unmarked manila folder with the reading materials and dependent measure surveys inside. The researchers took note of the participants' gender but all identification information was separated from the dependent measure survey during data entry.

Results

Measuring Envy

To measure envy, researchers combined the dependent variable items "envious" and "jealous" after an initial reliability test showed a Cronbach's Alpha of .782 between the two items. A subsequent inter-item correlation test showed a correlation between "envious" and "jealous" ($r = .643$), indicating that participants interpreted the two items to mean similar things. Although semantically the two words have very distinct meanings, Smith & Kim (2007) were right that many people commonly assume they are interchangeable. For the sake of face validity, the two items were combined into one dependent variable item that we called "Total Envy". This item was then used to measure the expression of envy from participants.

Effect of a Third Party Evaluator

The original hypothesis stated that the presence of a third party, which acts as the "Big Other" in Lacan's envy theory, would increase the expression of envy in participants. The results suggest that envy indeed increased in the presence of a third party, but not in the way originally anticipated by the researchers. When the scenarios were being written, it was assumed that Lacan's "Big Other" would act as an evaluator of the envious person, judging him/her to be either sufficient or inadequate. In the scenarios, the third party evaluator was intended to be a committee that decided whether Andrew received the promotion he wanted or not. The results showed that the committee had no significant effect on the expression of envy. However, when

the initial six conditions were rearranged into three new conditions based on whether the conditions were private or public, a one-way ANOVA showed a significant difference between the private and public conditions. We took the first three conditions, which were all considered "private" because there was no banquet to congratulate Paul, and combined them into a private condition (n = 56). The fourth condition (n=20) made up a new condition all on its own because it was a "clean Lacanian condition", which means it retained the elements of Lacanian envy (a small other, Big Other) with the added investigative element of publicity (a banquet honoring Paul) without the possibly confounding factors of increased humiliation, which the last two conditions possessed. The last two conditions made up a third new condition (n=35) that was included in order to investigate the effects of humiliation on envy. When a one-way ANOVA was used to check for differences in Total Envy between the three new conditions, a significant difference was discovered between them $(F(2,108)=3.094, p = .049)$. A Post Hoc test revealed that the significant difference lay between the first two conditions, private vs. public. When a subsequent one-way ANOVA was conducted on just those two conditions with total envy as the dependent variable, an extremely significant difference was detected, $(F(1,74)=4.722, p = .010)$, suggesting that the banquet, and not the committee, had a significant influence on the amount of envy reported by participants.

Shame

In order to measure shame, researchers simply used the item, "ashamed", which was included on the list of dependent variable items given to participants. Using this item increased our measurement's face validity as well as increased the simplicity of the analysis. There were no significant differences between the first four "clean Lacanian" conditions in terms of amount

of shame reported by participants ($F(3, 72)=.197$, $p = .898$). However, there was a weak positive correlation found between Total Envy and shame ($R = .360$, $\alpha = .01$).

Humiliation

In order to measure humiliation, researchers combined the scores for two of the dependent items, "humiliated" and "embarrassed", because a reliability test determined that participants interpreted the two items to mean very similar abstracts (Cronbach's Alpha = .854). A one-way ANOVA measuring for differences in humiliation between the initial six conditions revealed no significant differences. However, a mid-strength correlation was found between humiliation and Total Envy ($R= .535$, $\alpha = .01$), which argues against our initial hypothesis that envy decreases in the presence of humiliation.

Hostility

In order to measure hostility, researchers used the item "hostile" on the dependent variable survey given to participants. The results showed that hostility is in fact related to both shame and humiliation; the item "hostile" correlated positively with humiliation ($R = .457$, $\alpha = .01$) and shame ($R=.316$, $\alpha = .01$). The variable "hostile" also correlated positively with Total Envy ($R=.476$, $\alpha = .01$).

Hope, Motivation, and Discouragement

In addition to how certain social emotions interact with each other, the researchers were interested in the potential motivating effects of envy, specifically how envy interacts with feelings of hope for the future, with feelings of motivation to improve oneself, and inversely, with feelings of despair and discouragement. To measure these abstract affective states, we created several new variables combining items from the rating exercise the participants completed at the end of the experiment. In order to measure hope, we combined the scores from

two separate scores of "hopeful" from the dependent scale measure, calling this new variable "Total Hope". To measure motivation, we combined and averaged the scores from "Total Hopeful", "Inspired to work harder", "excited about the future", and "determined". Reliability tests showed that these variables were highly related to each other. Finally, to measure discouragement, we combined scores from the items "feeling like a failure" and "feeling defeated".

To bolster validity, we completed preliminary correlation tests to test the validity of our new variables. As expected, Total Envy had a weak negative correlation with the item Total Hope (R= -.284, α = .01, p = .003). Total Hope correlated positively with motivation (R= .810, α = .01, p = .013) and negatively with discouragement (R= -.396, α = .01). The preliminary correlations offered greater assurance that our new variables were actually measuring what they were designed to measure.

In a one-way ANOVA measuring levels of motivation in the presence of varying levels of Total Envy, significant differences were found. The most interesting finding is that there are significant mean differences between motivation levels at Total Envy level 4 (the highest rating on the Likert scale) and motivation at Total Envy levels 1.50, 2.50, 3.00, and 3.50 (See Table 1). As envy increased, motivation increased until Total Envy reached a level of 2.5. Motivation then steadily decreased as envy increased. Overall, the highest levels of motivation were found in accordance with mid-range levels of envy, not high or low levels of envy.

Finally, a one-way ANOVA measuring levels of discouragement across varying levels of Total Envy revealed a significant increase of discouragement as envy increased. A Pearson correlation test found a strong correlation of .586 between the two variables (α = .01).

Discussion

The results of the present study were unexpected. What the researchers initially labeled as the third party "Big Other" had no significant effects on the Total Envy reported by participants. The factor that did influence the expression of envy in the scenarios was the presence of a banquet to publically recognize Paul for his accomplishment. Perhaps the implication from these findings is that Lacan's "Big Other" needs to be reinterpreted to mean not a third party that evaluates the envier as inadequate, but a third party that deems the enviable quality or trait as worthy of envy. The "third party" in this case is the banquet and the public recognition it gave Paul for achieving success. The publicity lifted Paul's success upon a pedestal, making his successful position more desirable.

The banquet's effect on the expression of envy is understandable; Vadaillet (2008) specified that the "Big Other" didn't necessarily manifest itself in the form of a human being, but encompassed societal norms dictating the value of a trait and public recognition of the superiority of some traits over others. In other words, the banquet was more influential because it showcased Paul's success and cast his promotion in a desirable light. Seeing Paul receive praise and recognition at the banquet evoked more envy in Andrew than did the private conditions which had no banquet. The researchers initially supposed that a committee evaluating Andrew served as the "Big Other" because the committee selected Paul over Andrew, elevating Paul's traits to a higher level of desirability. However, the results show that the researchers' understanding of Lacan's "Big Other" was limited, which introduces the threat of confounds. Also, a variable limitation exists because the inclusion of the item "jealousy" in composing the variable "Total Envy" pollutes the measurement of pure envy proper. In light of these limitations, further research is necessary with a focus on the exact nature of the "Big Other" and its characteristics. Lacan's theory did receive support from the results of this study because

reported envy did increase when more people were involved and when the enviable trait was publicized. The increased envy could not alternatively be explained by increased shame or humiliation because there were no significant changes observed for either variable.

The fact that shame did not change significantly across conditions was initially surprising. This could be due to a sample size limitation or a validity limitation if the item "ashamed" did not actually measure shame. However, a better explanation for the absence of an increase in shame is that the Lacanian model is not an ideal condition for shame to be present. Shame increases in circumstances in which an internal characteristic is publically scrutinized and deemed inadequate (Hareli, S., & Weiner, B., 2002). In our scenarios, the targets of public recognition were not Andrew's inadequacies but Paul's strengths. Lacan's "Big Other" does not scrutinize the envious person, but instead elevates the desirability of a trait or a possession. The conditions were not optimal to create shame, which forces researchers to investigate other avenues for explaining the effects of Lacan's "Big Other". Ultimately however, the results are consistent with Lacanian theory that envy, with or without shame, is affected by a third party evaluator.

Our results revealed significant correlations between shame, humiliation, and envy. Both shame and humiliation increased as envy increased; however humiliation increased more drastically. There is a chance that these results are due to inaccurate variables and limitations in the design of the study. Because humiliation is comprised of both items "humiliation" and "embarrassment", it cannot be said that the variable is measuring just humiliation. Humiliation and embarrassment are distinct emotions (Pulham, D., J., 2009). Also, the last two conditions, initially designed to evoke more humiliation from participants, failed to produce significant increases in humiliation. The researchers may have inadvertently introduced another social

emotional abstract into the last two conditions which remain unidentified but still exert an influence on our results. However, regardless of whether our conditions evoked the emotions they were designed to, a certain degree of trust may be placed in participants' understanding of the connotations of the words used as dependent items. The words "humiliated" and "embarrassed" are widespread in modern vocabulary, relatively simple emotions to understand, and commonly assumed to be synonyms, according to multiple dictionaries. In light of these facts, the researchers were comfortable trusting that our variable "humiliation" could be trusted to measure levels of humiliation proper, namely as the affective condition of feeling humbled or brought lower in status or dignity.

The results of the present study support the hypothesis that shame accompanies envy. The question of whether envy causes shame because of the negative connotations of perceived lack needs to be further researched. The correlation between humiliation and envy tells a clearer story because there are situations in which one is envious but not humiliated, implying that the relationship is either due to envy naturally accompanying humiliation or that there is a third variable at work. Further research is necessary to clearly understand the relationship between these three important emotions.

Whatever the specific interactions between shame, humiliation, and envy, it is clear that our hypothesis that envy decreases in the presence of both humiliation and hostility was false, as is the hypothesis that shame decreases in the presence of humiliation. Differences in operational definitions of humiliation may account for the discrepancy with previous research (Combs, D. J. Y., et al., 2010)**.**

Finally, due to the possible practical applications of envy in workplaces and schools, we were extremely interested in the motivational effects of envy. The Total Hope and motivation

measurements were meant to offer us some insight about the usefulness of envy. Can envy inspire students to improve academically? Can it increase productivity in the workplace? Can it inspire people to improve their economic situations? The results of the current study seem promising; while increasing envy correlated with decreased overall hope, the feeling of motivation to improve seemed to increase slightly with the addition of a moderate amount of envy. This could mean that some envy can push someone to work harder in order to acquire the envied advantage, as long as the envy isn't so strong that it becomes debilitating. As Testa and Major (1990) showed, upward comparisons only becomes debilitating when there is low perceived control on the part of the comparer. Using these combined results, a teaching technique may be developed that exposes students to the superior success of high achieving students while simultaneously providing encouragement and opportunity to improve.

Exactly why higher levels of envy are related to higher levels of discouragement is unclear. Perhaps the preoccupation with the lack of an envied trait or possession distracts from working to attain it. Another possible explanation could be that a higher level of envy is associated with higher feelings of inadequacy, essentially paralyzing any drive to improve. Exploring the reasons for low levels of motivation as envy increases is an excellent topic for future research experiments.

The results of this study are already playing out in contemporary settings. Teachers unconsciously instill varying amounts of envy in their students by showcasing certain high achieving students' accomplishments on a public board or announcing it in a ceremony like an award presentation at the end of the academic year. Employers provide public recognition for jobs well-done by handing out promotions and celebrating employees' achievements at banquets. These are "Big Others", prompting envy and motivating the rest of the population to work harder

because the traits of their high-achieving peers are being praised. There are many possible

applications of research involving the usefulness of envy; hopefully, envy will soon shed its

"monster" coat and become instead a tool that can propel people to achieve their goals.

References

Ben-Ze'ev. A. (1990). Envy and Jealousy. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy, 20*, 487-516.

Combs, D. J. Y., Campbell, G., Jackson, M., & Smith, R. H. (2010). Exploring the consequences

of humiliating a moral transgressor. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 128–143.

Crusius, J., & Mussweiler, T. (2012). When people want what others have: The impulsive side of

envious desire. *Emotion, 12* (1), 142-153. DOI: 10.1037/a0023523.

Hareli, S., & Weiner, B. (2002). Social emotions and personality inference: A scaffold for a new

direction in the study of achievement motivation. *Education Psychologist, 37*, 183-193.

Navaro, L. & S. L. Schwartzberg (2007). *Envy, competition and gender: theory,*

clinical applications and group work, Psychology Press.

Parrott, W. G., & Smith, R. H. (1993). Distinguishing the experiences of envy and jealousy.

Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64, 906–920.

Pulham, D. J. (2009). *Humiliation and its relationship to embarrassment and shame.*

Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Denver, Denver.

Smith, R. H., Kim, S. H. (2007). Comprehending envy. *Psychological Bulletin, 133*(1), 46-64.

Smith, R. H., Kim, S. H., & Parrott, W. G. (1988). Envy and jealousy: Semantic problems and

experiential distinctions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 14*, 401-409.

Steinberg, B. S. (1991). Psychoanalytic concepts in international politics: The role of shame and

humiliation. *International Review of Psycho Analysis, 18*, 65-85.

Testa, M., & Major, B. (1990). The impact of social comparisons after failure: The moderating effects of perceived control. *Basics and Applied Social Psychology, 11*, 205-218.

Van de Ven, N., Zeelenberg, M., & Pieters, R. (2011, March). Why envy outperforms admiration. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37* (6), 784-795.

Van de Ven, N., Zeelenberg, M., & Pieters, R. (2011, July 10). Appraisal patterns of envy and related emotions. Springerlink.com. DOI 10.1007/s11031-011-9235-8.

Vidaillet, B. (2008). Psychoanalytic contributions to understanding envy: Classic and contemporary perspectives. In Smith, R. H., *Envy: Theory and research* (267-289). Oxford University Press.

Appendix A

Example of scenario given to students in condition 1:

*Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.***

*Imagine what **HE** would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been informed. Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

Example of scenario given to students in condition 2:

*Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.***

*Imagine what **HE** would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been informed. Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

Later, Andrew is in the stairwell and he overhears the distinctive voice of Paul, one of his co-workers, coming up the stairs and talking on his cell phone one floor below. He is not talking loudly, but the stairwell is like an echo chamber and it is easy to hear even a soft conversation. Andrew and Paul are similar in a lot of ways in terms of background and education. They are about the same age and even look quite similar. Paul is telling someone that he looking forward to the new responsibilities that will go along with being promoted. As they pass each other, Paul softens his voice more and has a pleased grin on his face.

Example of scenario given to students in condition 3:

*Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.***

*Imagine what **HE** would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been informed. *The decisions were made by an influential committee of high level managers that had carefully reviewed employees for their potential.*

Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

A week later, Andrew is in the stairwell and he overhears the distinctive voice of Paul, one of his co-workers, coming up the stairs and talking on his cell phone one floor below. He is not talking loudly, but the stairwell is like an echo chamber and it is easy to hear even a soft conversation. Andrew and Paul are similar in a lot of ways in terms of background and education. They are about the same age and even look quite similar. Paul is telling someone that he looking forward to the new responsibilities that will go along with being promoted. As they pass each other, Paul softens his voice more and has a pleased grin on his face.

Example of scenario given to students in condition 4:

*Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.***

*Imagine what **HE** would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been

informed. *The decisions were made by an influential committee of high level managers that had carefully reviewed employees for their potential.*

Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

A week later, at the annual company banquet, the company boss rises up onto the stage and stands at the podium. He announces that Andrew's coworker Paul has received the promotion and invites Paul onstage. Andrew and Paul are similar in a lot of ways in terms of background and education. They are about the same age and even look quite similar. Paul walks towards the stage with a huge smile on his face. Paul accepts the promotion with a hand shake and tells everyone that he looking forward to the new responsibilities that will go along with being promoted.

Example of scenario given to students in condition 5:

*Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.***

*Imagine what **HE** would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been informed. *The decisions were made by an influential committee of high level managers that had carefully reviewed employees for their potential.*

Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

A week later, at the annual company banquet, the company boss rises up onto the stage and stands at the podium. He announces that Andrew's coworker Paul has received the promotion and invites Paul onstage. Andrew and Paul are similar in a lot of ways in terms of background and education. They are about the same age and even look quite similar. Paul walks towards the stage with a huge smile on his face. Paul accepts the promotion with a hand shake and tells everyone that he looking forward to the new responsibilities that will go along with being promoted.

After his speech, Paul walks off the stage and towards Andrew's table. To Andrew's surprise, Paul sits down right next to him. Everyone else in the room is still looking at and clapping for Paul. When the clapping has stopped, Andrew looks around the room and sees a lot of people still casting approving glances towards Paul. Andrew realizes that everyone sitting at his table knew he had been in the running for the recent promotion as well, but hadn't gotten one.

Example of scenario given to students in condition 6:

Please read the following account very carefully and, as you do, **take the point of view of Andrew.**

Imagine what **HE** *would be feeling and thinking. Then, after reading the account, turn to the next page*

and answer the questionnaire items that follow.

****

Andrew works at a large company as a financial analyst. His long term goal is to eventually move up in the company and increase his salary. He is dissatisfied with his low level position in the company, but keeps working in hopes of eventually securing a position higher up. Andrew is feeling very frustrated and stuck, and he hopes he will be one of those who receive a promotion.

One day, Andrew sees a memo left on a copy machine from a middle level manager discussing company matters. It is hard for Andrew to avoid noticing that the memo reads that promotion decisions had been made the previous week and that anyone who had received a promotion had already been informed. *The decisions were made by an influential committee of high level managers that had carefully reviewed employees for their potential.*

Andrew realizes that he would not be receiving one.

A week later, at the annual company banquet, the company boss rises up onto the stage and stands at the podium. He announces that Andrew's coworker Paul has received the promotion and invites Paul onstage. Andrew and Paul are similar in a lot of ways in terms of background and education. They are about the same age and even look quite similar. Paul walks towards the stage with a huge smile on his face. Paul accepts the promotion with a hand shake and tells everyone that he looking forward to the new responsibilities that will go along with being promoted.

After his speech, Paul walks off the stage and towards Andrew's table. To Andrew's surprise, Paul sits down right next to him. Everyone else in the room is still looking at and clapping for Paul. When the clapping has stopped, Andrew looks around the room and sees a lot of people still casting approving glances towards Paul. Andrew realizes that everyone sitting at his table knew he had been in the running for the recent promotion as well, but hadn't gotten one. A co-worker on the other side of Andrew nudges him and asks, ""Andew, isn't that the position you wanted?" He then turns to the other people at the table and says, "Maybe he can take pointers from Paul next time."

Appendix B

Keeping in mind the details of the situation, indicate the extent to which Andrew would be feeling the following:

0	1	2	3	4
Not at All				Very Much

1._____happy for Andrew

2. _____ regret

3. ____embarrassed

4. ____humiliated

5._____inferior

6._____vengeful

7._____angry at himself

8._____worried about how he appears to others

9._____small

10._____like a failure

11.____inspired to work harder

12.____remorseful

13.____sorry

14.____wished he was a different kind of person

15.____exposed

16.____depressed

17.____envious

18.____angry at someone

19.____self-concious

20.____mistreated

21.____hostile

22.____hopeful

23.____worthless

24.____worried

25.____jealous

26.____lost others' esteem

27.____self-respect decreased

28.____superior

29.____defeated

30.____dissatisfied with self

31.____wanting something better

32.____frustrated

33.____excited about the future

34.____hopeful

35.____ashamed

36.____content

37.____proud

38.____indignant at being bossed around

39.____wants Paul to fail

40.____wants Paul to succeed

41.____insecure

42.____determined