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Who does most of the work? High self-control individuals compensate for low self-control partners

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Abstract

Accomplishing goals with others can be troublesome. Some people may work extra hard while others do much less. When does this workload asymmetry occur? The present research investigates the role of perceived partners' self-control in workload distribution. Specifically, we tested the hypothesis that high self-control individuals work harder and compensate when they work together with low self-control partners. Results from two studies indicate that high self-control individuals are sensitive to their partners' level of self-control and adjust their behavior accordingly (i.e., exerting extra effort) when working with them.

| INTRODUCTION

"Some people do all the work". A statement that is well known to those who have participated in projects that involve more than one person. Projects in which two (or more) people have to cooperate to accomplish a joint goal can be troublesome. For some, the time, work, and effort that is dedicated to these joint goals exceeds that of the partner. How is that some people work extra hard and others engage in social loafing? And what predicts if a person will exert extra work and effort?

When working with another person on a joint goal, people try to understand whether their partner will be helpful and supportive in reaching the common goal (Karau & Williams, 1993; Shea, Davisson, & Fitzsimons, 2013; vanDellen & Baker, 2010). They hence try to infer traits in their partners that are diagnostic of how much their partner will contribute to the goal. Given that self-control is linked to successful goal pursuit (Baumeister, Vohs, & Tice, 2007; Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998) self-control can signal the amount of hard work that one will do to reach the goal.

Perceiving a partner to be low in self-control might signal that the partner is not going to successfully contribute to the achievement of the joint goal because they may be more easily distracted

by immediate, hedonic temptations. When this occurs, the perceiver might decide to work harder on the joint goal to prevent possible failure. However, it seems likely that only high self-control individuals will compensate when working together with a low self-control partner, since high self-control individuals have the capacity to exert extra effort and persistence on a task (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998). The present research examines whether high self-control individuals will work harder to accomplish a goal when working with a low, rather than high, self-control partner.

1.1 | Self-control and goal pursuit

Individuals pursue goals on a daily basis, and sometimes goal pursuit activities can be challenging and require time, effort and energy (Baumeister et al., 1998; Hofmann, Baumeister, Förster, & Vohs, 2012). An important factor that promotes successful goal achievement is self-control (Baumeister et al., 2007; Muraven et al., 1998). Self-control is the capacity to alter responses to bring them in line with standards to support the pursuit of long-term goals (Baumeister et al., 2007; Inzlicht, Legault, & Teper, 2014; Muraven et al., 1998). Thanks to self-control, instead of acting on tempting impulses, the

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individual controls his/herself and redirects effort toward the long-term goal (Muraven & Baumeister, 2000). Consistently, individuals high in self-control have been found to be more persistent on goal pursuit activities and work harder on reaching goals than low self-control individuals because they are less likely to be derailed by more immediate, hedonist temptations that would distract them from the focal goal (Tangney, Baumeister, & Boone, 2004). In fact, low-self-control individuals are less capable to fit their behavior to long-term goals because they exhibit more self-defeating behaviors such as procrastination, ineffective goal setting, taking destructive risks, and pursuing short-term temptations (e.g., Baumeister et al., 1998).

1.2 | Joint goal pursuit

Goals, however, are not always individually accomplished. Rather, the majority of goal pursuit is done with others (Fishbach & Tu, 2016). When two people are working together on a joint goal, the couple has to coordinate and make decisions on how to pursue the goal (Finkel et al., 2006). Given that self-control is an important trait that influences individual goal attainment, it is also likely to influence the successful pursuit of joint goals (Fitzsimons & vanDellen, 2015). Previous research indeed has found that dyads in which both partners are high in self-control are more likely to reach their joint goal. Dzhogleva and Lamberton (2014) find that dyads in which both partners are high in self-control are better capable to make choices which benefit the dyads in the long term, by making less indulgent consumer choices compared to mixed or low self-control dyads.

Thus, when assigned to work together with another person, perceiving to have a low self-control partner could represent a risk for the successful completion of the joint goal.

In addition, findings by vanDellen, Shah, Leander, Delose, and Bornstein (2015) suggest that potential collaborators high in self-control are seen as having higher motivation than potential collaborators lower in self-control. Hence, people may expect a low self-control partner to be less motivated, engage in procrastination, show low persistence, and other disfunctional behaviors that prevent successful goal achievement. Not surprisingly, previous research has shown that low self-control partners are trusted less than high self-control partners (Righetti & Finkenauer, 2011). To prevent failure, high self-control individuals may respond constructively and work harder on a joint task when the partner is expected to show (potentially) goal-destructive behavior.

1.3 | High self-control and sensitivity to partner's self-control

Why would only high self-control individuals attend to their partner's self-control and decide to compensate for a potential lack of effort? High and low self-control individuals differ in the construction of their social environment. Specifically, high self-control individuals prefer to spend time with, be informed by, and collaborate with partners who are high, rather than low, in self-control because those partners are more likely to be instrumental for their own goal pursuit (Koval, VanDellen,

Fitzsimons, & Ranby, 2015; Righetti, Finkenauer, & Rusbult, 2011; vanDellen et al., 2015). Only high, and not low, self-control individuals are sensitive to other people's level of self-control and prefer high self-control partner when they want to reach a joint goal.

However, people cannot always choose the person they would like to work with. In the present work, we test the novel hypothesis that when high self-control individuals have to work with a low-self-control partner, they will try to compensate and exert extra effort in the task. High self-control individuals are especially likely to be the ones to work harder than their low self-control partner for at least two reasons. First, high self-control individuals are more likely to show accommodation, the willingness to respond constructively when a partner shows (potentially) destructive behavior (Finkel & Campbell, 2001). In a joint goal, when the partner is believed not to work as hard as necessary, accommodation would consist of working extra hard and compensate for the partner's lack of effort, instead of working as much as (and not more than) their partner or raising a conflict by voicing their dissatisfaction with the (potential) lack of work done by the partner.

A second reason why high self-control individuals are especially likely to be the ones to compensate is that, as mentioned before, high self-control individuals are the ones that have the resources to exert extra effort (Baumeister et al., 1998). High self-control individuals are more persistent on goal pursuit activities, less distracted by temptations, and work harder on achieving their goals than low self-control individuals (Tangney et al., 2004). When high self-control individuals cooperate with a partner that is perceived to have low self-control, they are likely to expect their partner to exert less effort than needed due to the partner directing their effort to other distracting impulses. With smaller groups or dyads, individuals have a stronger belief that their cooperative behavior has an actual effect on the outcome (Dewitte & De Cremer, 2001). Thus, high self-control individuals can decide to compensate for their partner's expected lack of effort because they have the capacity and the resources to do so.

1.4 | Research overview

In the present research, we tested the role of individual and partner's self-control trait on effort distribution in a joint goal. We hypothesized that high self-control individuals will work harder than their partner when they work with a low self-control partner as opposed to a high self-control partner. We tested this prediction in two studies. In study 1, we assessed whether high self-control individuals reported to have worked harder than their low self-control partner on a past joint task. In study 2, we examined whether high self-control individuals actually worked harder when paired with a low, rather than high, self-control partner on a joint laboratory task.

2 | STUDY 1

In study 1, we asked participants to recall a time in which they had to cooperate with another person to reach a joint goal. We asked them

to think of a past task in which each of the partners had to be equally necessary to reach the goal. We assessed participant and partner's self-control, the difference between participant and partner's workload and whether participant perceived to have worked harder than their partner. We hypothesized that high self-control participants would report to have worked harder than their partner when their partner was low in self-control (as compared to high in self-control).

2.1 | Method

2.1.1 | Participants

Study 1 was conducted online via Crowdflower and consisted of 496 participants (148 females). The average age was 33.81 years old (SD = 10.16). Participants were paid \$ 0.20.

2.1.2 | Procedure

Participants received an informed consent at the start of the experiment. To assess participants' trait self-control, participants completed the Tangney et al. (2004) Self-Control Scale (13 items; e.g., "I am good at resisting temptation;" α = 0.82). After that, participants were asked to recall a time in which they cooperated with another person to reach a common goal. Participants were specifically asked to recall an instance in which both partners' contribution had to be necessary to reach the goal. Only if participants reported to be able to recall such episode, they could proceed with the experiment and respond to further questions (this excluded 67 participants before starting the experiment).

They were asked to give a brief description of the common goal and of their partner. Specifically, participants answered questions regarding the partner's self-control (3 items; e.g., "[Partner's name] is good in resisting temptations"; (Righetti & Finkenauer, 2011); α = 0.87), participant's perceived workload (2 items; e.g., "I worked very hard on the joint goal," α = 0.78), partner's perceived workload (2 items; e.g., "[Partner's name] worked hard on the joint goal," α = 0.89), participant's perceived effort on the task (1 item; e.g., "I put a lot of effort to reach the joint goal"), partner's perceived effort on the task (1 item; e.g., "[Partner's name] put a lot of effort to reach the joint goal") and the perception of having worked harder than the partner (1 item; e.g., "I worked harder than [Partner's name] on the task"), on a 7-point Likert-scale. Difference scores were calculated

between participant and partner's perceived workload and participant and partner's perceived effort in order to assess the difference in work load between them. Higher scores meant that participants worked harder than their partners.

2.2 | Results

To assess whether the participants' self-control interacted with the partner's self-control in predicting the difference in perceived workload, the difference in perceived effort and the perception of having worked harder than the partner, we conducted our analyses with the General Linear Model procedure.

A confirmatory factor analysis was done to assess whether the three dependent variables (perceived workload, the difference in perceived effort, and the perception of having worked harder than the partner) would best be modeled in one factor that represents compensation. This was indeed the case, $\chi^2(3) = 431.363$, p < 0.001. Hence, our analyses were conducted considering this single factor of compensation.

Consistent with the hypotheses, a significant interaction between participants' self-control and partner's self-control was found for the difference in compensation, F(1,411) = 8.46, p = 0.004, $p\eta^2 = 0.020$. To interpret the interaction, we performed simple slope analyses in a multiple regression. When participants worked with a low self-control partner (1SD below the mean), participants' self-control was positively associated with a difference in workload, b = 0.41, t(411) = 4.66, $SE_b = 0.09$, p = <0.001, 95% CI [0.32, 0.49]. However, when partner's self-control was high (1SD above the mean), there was no significant association between participants' self-control and partner's workload, b = 0.08, t(411) = 1.01, $SE_b = 0.08$, p = 0.313, 95% CI [0.003, 0.16] (see Figure 1 for a graphical representation of these results).

2.3 | Discussion

In Study 1, our three dependent variables confirmed our hypotheses. High self-control participants perceived to have had a higher workload, to have exerted more effort and to have worked harder than their partner when they recall an episode of working together with a low self-control partner as compared to a high self-control partner. Although the results supported our hypotheses, Study 1 assessed the recall of the work load distribution rather than what happens

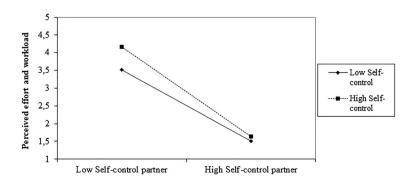


FIGURE 1 Interaction of participants and partner's self-control on perceived effort and workload in Study 1

when people are actually working together. To address this issue, in study 2 we manipulated the perception of the partner's self-control and we objectively assessed work persistence in a laboratory task.

3 | STUDY 2

Study 2 sought to replicate the findings of Study 1 and tested the hypothesis that high self-control individuals would work harder when paired with a low (vs. high) self-control partner in a laboratory task. Furthermore, in Study 2 participants did not have any information about the actual effort exerted by their partner in the task. This way we could assess whether high self-control participants preemptively compensate for a low self-control partner. Specifically, in this experiment, we gave participants information about their partner's self-control. We told them that they would be cooperating with this partner in solving several anagrams, and that their score would be added to their partner's score to form a couple score. Time spent on the anagrams was taken as a measure hard work. Since solving anagrams requires not only self-control but also intelligence, and people who are high in self-control may be perceived as more intelligent (Baumeister et al., 1998; Righetti et al., 2011), we ensured that our findings were driven by perception of partner's self-control and were not confounded with perception of partner's intelligence.

3.1 | Method

3.1.1 | Participants

Study 2 consisted of 126 participants (89 females). The average age was 20.96 years old (SD = 5.72). Three participants were not considered in the analyses because they produced invalid data by not following instructions. Participants were recruited at a Dutch university, and received \in 2 or 15 credits as compensation. Upon arrival in the laboratory, participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: cooperating with a high self-control partner (N = 63) versus with a low self-control partner (N = 60).

3.1.2 | Procedure

Upon arrival in the lab, participants received a written informed consent. Participants completed the Dutch Tangney et al. (2004) Self-Control Scale to assess their own trait self-control (11 items; e.g., "I am good at resisting temptations"; (Finkenauer, Engels, & Baumeister, 2005; α = 0.70). Participants were then told that, later in the experiment, they would be cooperating with another (ostensible) participant on a joint task. Participants were told that in order to get to know each other a little bit before the joint task, they both, separately, had to write a story about an event that happened to them in the past week. After writing these stories they had to call the experimenter to exchange the stories with the partner. Participants received a story ostensibly written by the other participant who reflected high versus low self-control behavior (Righetti & Finkenauer, 2011). After that,

TABLE 1 Means and standards deviations of Study 2

	Low self-control partner	High self-con- trol partner
Participant self-control	2.97 (0.61)	2.87 (0.49)
Estimated partner self-control	2.42 (0.41)	3.24 (0.66)
Perceived intelligence	3.42 (0.65)	3.43 (0.62)
Participant persistence	365.20 (293.97)	315.06 (223.12)

they were asked to form an impression of their partner and to reply to questions about him or her. We assessed perceived partner's intelligence (1 item; "How intelligent do you think the other participant is") and perceived partner's self-control with the Dutch version of the Tangney et al. (2004) Self-Control Scale (11 items; e.g., "I think that the other participant can be good at resisting temptation"; (Finkenauer et al., 2005); α = 0.87).

Participants were then given the instructions about the joint task. Participants were told that they were going to perform an anagram task (e.g., Baumeister et al., 1998; Dzhogleva & Lamberton, 2014; Fitzsimons & Finkel, 2010; Muraven et al., 1998; Shah, 2003), in which they had to solve 10 anagrams. Their partner would also receive 10 anagrams and the number of solved anagrams by both participants would be added to form a couple score. If this score was higher than 80% of the scores of the couples who performed the task in the previous sessions, the couple would each win an extra € 30. Unbeknownst to the participants, the anagrams were unsolvable. Time in seconds spent on the anagram task was taken as a measure of effort and persistence. In order to compensate participants for the € 30 that could not be earned via the anagram task, a lottery was held to determine which participant would receive € 30 bonus. Participants had to sign up for this lottery using their e-mail address.

3.2 | Results

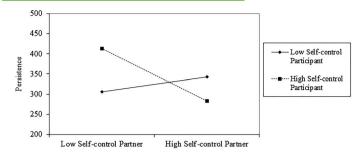
The descriptive statistics of the assessed constructs can be found in Table 1.

To see if the manipulation of partner's self-control was effective, we performed a one-way ANOVA. A significant difference was found between the two conditions, F (1,121) = 68.48, p < 0.001, $p\eta^2$ = 0.36. Participants in the low self-control partner condition judged the partner as significantly lower in self-control (M = 2.42, SE = 0.07) than participants in the high self-control partner condition (M = 3.24, SE = 0.07).

To test our main hypothesis, we conducted a General Linear Model in which we tested the interaction between participant's self-control and self-control partner condition, controlling for perceived partner's intelligence on persistence in the anagram task.¹ Results revealed a significant interaction F(1,118) = 3.39, p = 0.051, $p\eta^2 = 0.03$ (see Figure 2 for a graphical representation of the

 $^{^1\}mbox{All}$ our findings remained significant, or marginally significant, when we did not include this covariate.

FIGURE 2 Participants and partner's self-control on persistence in the anagram task in Study 2



results). Specifically, simple slopes analyses in a multiple regression revealed that with a low self-control partner (–1SD below the mean), participant increasing self-control was related with spending more time on the anagram task (b=126.91, t(118)=2.25, $SE_{\rm b}=56.52$, p=0.027, 95% CI [16.13, 237.69]). However, participants' self-control was unrelated to time spent on the anagram when they were doing the task with a high self-control (+1SD above the mean) partner, b=-41.86, t(118)=-0.64, $SE_{\rm b}=0.65.68$, p=0.53, 95% CI [–170.59, 86.87].

3.3 | Discussion

Study 2 replicated the findings of Study 1. High self-control participants exerted extra effort when performing a task with a low self-control partner. Furthermore, Study 2 revealed that high self-control individuals preemptively compensate and exert extra effort when they know they will work on a joint task with a low self-control partner. On the contrary, individuals' self-control does not predict effort when they are working with a high self-control partner.

4 | GENERAL DISCUSSION

Self-control is an essential ingredient of successful goal pursuit, whether goals are individual pursuits or shared with a partner. Previous studies have examined the interpersonal influences of self-control on goal attainment (see Fitzsimons & Finkel, 2010 for a review) by examining, for example, the contagious effect of perceiving self-control in others on one's own self-control (Ackerman, Goldstein, Shapiro, & Bargh, 2009), and how people can outsource regulatory effort to their partners (Fitzsimons & Finkel, 2010). Little attention has been given to how both partners' self-control can influence their cooperation on a joint goal. To our knowledge, the present work is the first one to examine whether high self-control individuals work harder than their partner in a joint goal when paired with a low self-control partner.

The results of our studies indicate that high self-control individuals compensate and work harder with a low self-control partner than with a high self-control partner. In Study 1, it was found that high self-control individuals perceived to have had a higher work load, have exerted more effort and have worked harder than their low self-control partner. In Study 2, it was found that high self-control individuals actually exerted extra effort by spending more time on

solving the task when they worked with a low, rather than high, selfcontrol partner.

Previous research has shown that high self-control individuals prefer to work with high self-control partners (Koval et al., 2015; Righetti et al., 2011; vanDellen et al., 2015). However, people do not always have the possibility to choose their partner and, sometimes, have to work with low self-control others. Our findings support the results of vanDellen et al. (2015) and show that, under the circumstances of a low self-control partner, high self-control individuals are especially at risk of being burdened by the task. Negative consequences (e.g., burnout) might indeed be experienced by high self-control individuals because in these circumstances most of the hard work is done by them. In addition, people also expect that high self-control individuals need less time and effort to finish a certain goal (Koval et al., 2015), thus they might feel less grateful to them for taking the extra work. Not surprisingly, recent research has found that individuals high in self-control feel burdened when working with others and, when this higher workload occurs, they report to be less satisfied with the relationship (Koval et al., 2015).

Multiple laboratory studies have found that we prefer to cooperate with and be informed by high self-control others and that we trust these high self-control others more (e.g., Koval et al., 2015; Righetti et al., 2011; vanDellen et al., 2015). In these studies, most of the dyads are formed by strangers who are paired up for the duration of the study. This does not discount the result of these studies, but rather show that these findings may especially apply to nonclose relationships (e.g., acquaintances, strangers, colleagues, etc.). If we focus on real-life romantic couples, there are many reasons why people decide to have a romantic relationship together then solely the possibility to work well on joint goals. This explains why Shea et al. (2013) find that although people depend more on high than low self-control romantic partners, there is no difference in commitment toward high or low self-control partners. Whether we are committed to our romantic partner (or prefer a romantic partner) does not depend on self-control alone.

Thus, it would be interesting to replicate our findings among romantic couples and to examine how each partner's self-control influence their effort to make the relationship function.

In our current studies partners were forced to work together on a joint goal, in which motivation toward the goals was likely to be moderate. Given that high motivation can compensate for low self-control in goal pursuit (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007), at least until a certain point (Vohs et al., 2008), future research should explore the interplay between the perception of the partner's self-control and of the perception of the partner's motivation. It is indeed possible that people would not rely much on the perception of the partner's self-control when they know that the partner is very motivated. Under these circumstances, they may expect low self-control partners to work as hard as high self-control partners. Furthermore, it is possible that when high self-control individuals do not care about their goal, they will not exert extra effort to compensate for a low self-control partner. Some limitations of the current studies need to be addressed. First, in Study 1, we asked participants to recall a past experience. Little is known about the accuracy of the report of this past experience. However, in Study 2 we replicated our findings employing an objective assessment of effort in a laboratory task (i.e., persistence on the anagram task), in which we experimentally manipulated the perception of another person's self-control. Replicating the results of Study 1, individuals high in self-control worked harder when matched with a low self-control rather than high self-control partner. Second, in the current studies, self-control was measured (Study 1) and manipulated (Study 2) as a dispositional trait. Self-control can also vary across situations (Tangney et al., 2004). One can have a diminished level of self-control (Baumeister et al., 2007; Gailliot et al., 2007; Muraven & Baumeister, 2000). Previous research has shown that people can detect in others not only their dispositional self-control trait but also their situational self-control state (e.g., Righetti & Finkenauer, 2011). Thus, it would be interesting to test whether high self-control individuals would compensate for a partner who is temporarily (and not chronically) low in self-control.

Several strengths of the present work should also be acknowledged. Findings have been replicated in two studies that have used different methodologies. Furthermore, in Study 2, we have tested the hypothesis in a laboratory task that enabled us to assess whether high self-control individuals preemptively compensate for low self-control partners when there is no concrete information about the partner's actual performance. Finally, the effect has been replicated in both an American and a Dutch sample.

4.1 | Conclusions

When working together with others it is not always possible to choose a partner. Partners can be assigned by supervisors or external circumstances may dictate with whom one should work with. More often than not, the workload in a dyad is asymmetrical. Some people invest more time and effort than their partner does. The present work reveals when this asymmetry can occur. Results from two studies show that, when trying to reach a joint goal, high self-control individuals compensate and work harder when working together with a low self-control partner. Thus, while having high self-control usually brings benefits in one's life because high self-control individuals are usually successful in goal-pursuit activities, self-control may also backfire in some particular interpersonal contexts. When people need to work together with others, high self-control individuals

may be compelled to compensate and work extra hard for partners who lack self-regulatory capacity.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

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