

Neural representations of others' traits predict social decisions

Kenji Kobayashi¹, Joseph W. Kable¹, Ming Hsu², & Adrianna C. Jenkins¹

¹University of Pennsylvania

²University of California, Berkeley

Address for correspondence:

Adrianna C. Jenkins or Kenji Kobayashi
acjenk@upenn.edu kenjik@sas.upenn.edu

1 **Abstract**

2
3 To guide social interaction, people often rely on expectations about the traits of other
4 people based on markers of social group membership, i.e., stereotypes. Although the
5 influence of stereotypes on social behavior is widespread, key questions remain about
6 how traits inferred from social group membership are instantiated in the brain and
7 incorporated into neural computations that guide social behavior. Here, we show that
8 the human lateral orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) represents the content of stereotypes about
9 members of different social groups in the service of social decision-making. During fMRI
10 scanning, participants decided how to distribute resources across themselves and
11 members of a variety of social groups in a modified Dictator Game. Behaviorally, we
12 replicated our recent finding that perceptions of others' traits, captured by a two-
13 dimensional framework of stereotype content (warmth and competence), biased
14 participants' monetary allocation choices in a context-dependent manner: recipients'
15 warmth increased advantageous inequity aversion and their competence increased
16 disadvantageous inequity aversion. Neurally, representational similarity analysis (RSA)
17 revealed that perceptions of others' traits in the two-dimensional space were
18 represented in the temporoparietal junction and superior temporal sulcus, two regions
19 associated with mentalizing, and in the lateral OFC, known to represent latent
20 environmental features during goal-directed outcome inference outside the social
21 domain. Critically, only the latter predicted individual choices, suggesting that the effect
22 of stereotypes on behavior is mediated by inference-based, domain-general decision-
23 making processes in the OFC.

24 **Introduction**

25
26 In daily human life, people frequently make decisions about how to treat other
27 people. Whether these decisions are fleeting (e.g., “Do I hold open the door for the
28 approaching person?”) or more consequential (“Whom should I hire?”), a hallmark of
29 human social decision-making is flexibility: the ability to adapt our behavior to
30 interactions with different individuals based on information about what those individuals
31 are like. However, people’s assumptions about what others are like are not always
32 accurate. In particular, they are known to be influenced disproportionately by cues to the
33 person’s group membership, such as the person’s gender, age, nationality, or
34 occupation (i.e., stereotypes)¹⁻⁴, setting up the potential to perpetuate disparities in
35 treatment across different social groups. Although an abundance of research in the
36 behavioral sciences has examined when and how people stereotype others based on
37 their group membership^{5,6} and documented treatment disparities in domains ranging
38 from medicine to healthcare⁷, it has been a challenge to characterize the impact of
39 stereotypes on social decision-making processes, including the computational
40 mechanisms that mediate the influence of stereotype information on social behavior^{8,9}.

41 A recent advance at the intersection of psychology and behavioral economics
42 offers a new framework to test hypotheses about how stereotypes about others’ traits
43 are incorporated into neural computations that guide contextually-flexible social
44 behavior. This advance builds upon the observation that stereotypes are structured
45 along core dimensions of trait perception, such as warmth (the degree to which people
46 have good intentions toward others) and competence (the degree to which people are

47 capable of acting on their intentions)^{5,6}. Using a novel modeling approach, we recently
48 characterized how trait perceptions interact with the decision context to guide people's
49 resource allocation behavior¹⁰ toward members of different social groups⁸. Specifically,
50 by incorporating stereotypes about others' warmth and competence into a
51 computational model of social valuation^{11,12}, we found that these two dimensions of
52 stereotype content exerted dissociable, context-dependent effects on individuals'
53 aversion to different forms of inequity: people were averse to receiving more money
54 than stereotypically warm others, and people were averse to receiving less money than
55 stereotypically competent others. In turn, this approach made it possible to predict with
56 high accuracy not only individuals' behavior toward a wide variety of social groups in a
57 laboratory setting but also people's treatment of members of different social groups in
58 labor and education settings⁸.

59 This evidence points to the possibility that assumptions about others' traits may
60 be represented in the brain in a way that (i) corresponds to a dimensional structure of
61 stereotype content and (ii) enables stereotypes to exert influence on the computations
62 underlying social decisions in a context-dependent manner. To test this, we used fMRI
63 and representational similarity analysis along with a social decision task involving
64 members of different social groups.

65 Our hypotheses build upon our recent behavioral findings along with previous
66 neuroimaging research into trait perception and stereotyping, on the one hand, and into
67 value-based decision-making, on the other. First, a consistent set of brain regions
68 including the temporoparietal junction (TPJ), superior temporal sulcus (STS), and

69 medial prefrontal cortex (MPFC) is activated when people think about the minds of
70 others and is therefore sometimes referred to collectively as the mentalizing network^{13–}
71 ²⁰. Activations of the mentalizing network have been observed across a wide range of
72 social task paradigms, including those that require inference of others' traits based on
73 their group membership (i.e., stereotyping)^{21–25}. However, it remains unclear whether
74 and how these regions mediate the effect of stereotypes on social decision-making, in
75 large part because past studies of stereotyping have primarily involved passive viewing
76 or basic judgments about others, making empirical characterization of behavior
77 inapplicable; have focused mostly on *how active* different brain regions are, rather than
78 on multi-dimensional trait representations²⁶; and have primarily involved judgments
79 about a small number of social groups (e.g., males versus females^{24,27}), rather than a
80 set of targets spanning the space of trait perception²⁸.

81 Second, value-based decision-making has long been associated with processes
82 in a set of frontostriatal regions, including the ventral striatum, the ventromedial
83 prefrontal cortex, and the orbitofrontal cortex (OFC)^{28–33}. A particularly intriguing area is
84 OFC, which is thought to guide flexible, goal-directed decisions by representing defining
85 features of the task or environment, often not directly observable but inferred, that are
86 critical for inferring or imagining future decision outcomes^{29–35}. Accordingly, the OFC
87 may play a critical role in social behavior by representing others' traits in ways that are
88 behaviorally relevant. If so, OFC processes could plausibly serve as a route through
89 which trait representations inform inference-based evaluation of overall decision
90 outcomes in social contexts, including how subjectively rewarding particular monetary

91 allocations with particular recipients will be. This account has the potential to unify the
92 seemingly independent effects observed in past studies of social decision-making,
93 which have shown that choices in the lab and field are modulated by overt
94 characteristics such as race³⁶, gender³⁷, and attractiveness^{38,39}, by suggesting that they
95 share a reliance on core, underlying representations of perceived trait content.

96 Here we report evidence that neural representations of perceived trait content
97 systematically bias social decisions in a way that relies on domain-general mechanisms
98 of value-based decision-making in OFC. To do this, we conducted an fMRI experiment
99 in which participants made decisions about how to allocate money across themselves
100 and individuals from a variety of different social groups. Extending our previous
101 behavioral findings⁸, we find that recipients' perceived warmth increases advantageous
102 inequity aversion and perceived competence increases disadvantageous inequity
103 aversion. At the neural level, RSA revealed that stereotypic trait content was
104 represented along the warmth and competence dimensions in the TPJ and STS, key
105 regions in the mentalizing network, and in the OFC, a key region for goal-directed
106 decision-making. Critically, we found that the representation in the OFC, but not in the
107 other regions, predicted individual participants' contextually-sensitive monetary
108 allocation decisions. This suggests that, while regions of the mentalizing network may
109 be involved in inferences about others' traits, the effects of those trait perceptions on
110 social decisions are mediated by domain-general mechanisms of inference-based, goal-
111 directed decision-making centered in the OFC.

112

113 Results

114 Experimental paradigm

115 Participants ($n = 32$) played an extended version of the Dictator game in an fMRI
 116 experiment. The participant played the role of Dictator and, on each trial, decided how
 117 to allocate money between themselves and a recipient. To experimentally manipulate
 118 the participant's perception of the recipient's traits across trials, we provided one piece
 119 of information about the recipient's social group membership (e.g., their occupation or
 120 nationality). We selected 20 social groups to span a wide range of social perception
 121 along the trait dimensions of warmth and competence, and ratings of their warmth and

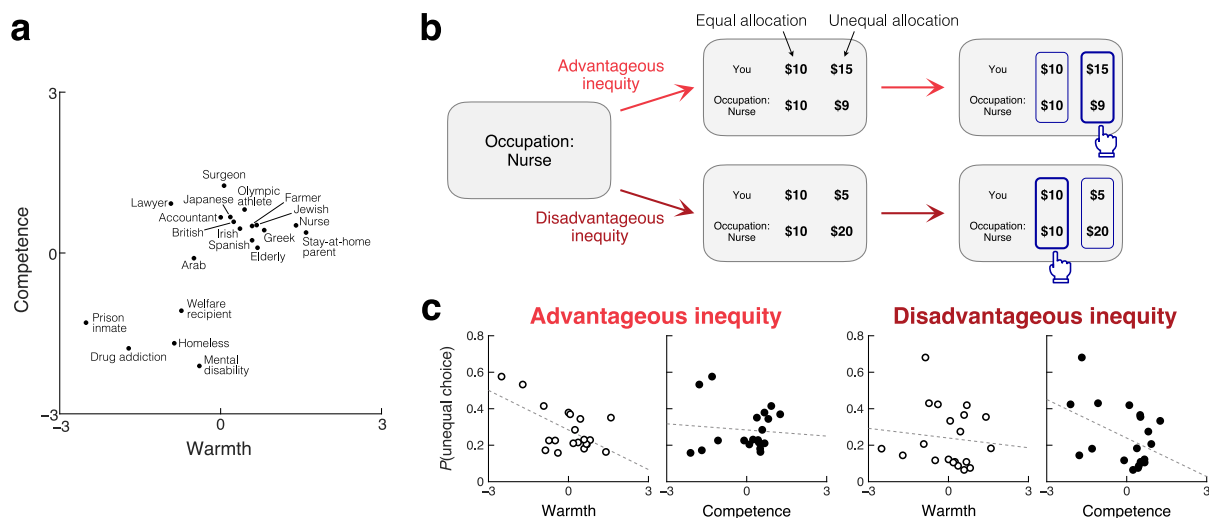


Fig 1. Experimental paradigm and behavioral results. **a.** Recipients in the Dictator game were identified by their social group membership. 20 social groups were chosen so that the recipient's perceived warmth and competence were variable across trials. **b.** On each trial, the recipient's social group was first presented, followed by two allocation options, one equal and one unequal. The participant was asked to make a binary choice. The unequal option allocated more money to the participant than the recipient in advantageous inequality trials (*top*) and less money in disadvantageous inequality trials (*bottom*). **c.** Participants' allocation choices were influenced by the recipient's perceived traits in a context-dependent manner. *Left:* In advantageous inequality trials, participants were less likely to choose the unequal option (and more likely to choose the equal option) when the recipient's perceived warmth was higher ($r = -.60$, permutation $p = .004$), irrespective of their competence ($r = -.09$, $p = .331$). *Right:* in disadvantageous inequality trials, participants were less likely to choose the unequal option when the recipient's perceived competence was higher ($r = -.43$, $p = .040$), irrespective of their warmth ($r = -.11$, $p = .307$).

122 competence were collected in an independent, online sample (Fig. 1a)⁸. We also
123 collected social perception ratings from our fMRI participants after scanning and
124 confirmed that they were highly consistent with the independent ratings (Fig. S1),
125 demonstrating the robustness of our social perception measures.

126 On each trial, the participant was presented with the information about the
127 recipient (e.g., "Occupation: Nurse"; "Nationality: Japanese"), and then with two
128 monetary allocation options, between which they were asked to choose one (Fig. 1b).
129 We manipulated these options so that we could empirically characterize the tradeoff
130 between decision-making motives, i.e., maximization of one's own payoff and concern
131 for the inequity between oneself and the recipient. Specifically, in some trials, the
132 participant chose between an equal allocation and an unequal allocation that created
133 advantageous inequity (i.e., allocating more money to the participant than to the
134 recipient); in other trials, the participant chose between an equal allocation and an
135 unequal allocation that created disadvantageous inequity (i.e., allocating less money to
136 the participant than to the recipient). This forced choice design allowed us to directly
137 examine how participants' preferences about advantageous and disadvantageous
138 inequity depend on the recipient, and specifically, on the recipient's perceived warmth
139 and competence.

140

141 **Context-dependent effects of others' traits on social decisions**

142 Behaviorally, the recipients' perceived warmth and competence exerted diverging
143 effects on participants' monetary allocation decisions; perceived warmth influenced

144 choices in advantageous inequity trials, while perceived competence influenced choices
145 in disadvantageous inequity trials (Fig. 1c). In advantageous inequity trials, participants
146 were less likely to choose the unequal allocation (and more likely to choose the equal
147 allocation) when the recipient's perceived warmth was higher (Pearson's $r = -.60$,
148 permutation $p = .004$). Their choices about advantageous inequity were not correlated
149 with perceived competence ($r = -.09$, $p = .331$), and the effect of warmth was stronger
150 than that of competence ($p = .004$). Conversely, in disadvantageous inequity trials,
151 participants were less likely to choose the unequal allocation when the recipient's
152 perceived competence was higher ($r = -.43$, $p = .040$). Their choices about
153 disadvantageous inequity were not correlated with perceived warmth ($r = -.11$, p
154 $= .307$), and the effect of competence was stronger than that of warmth ($p = .049$).
155 Therefore, aversion to advantageous inequity increases with the recipient's warmth,
156 whereas aversion to disadvantageous inequity increases with the recipient's
157 competence. These behavioral results replicate our previous findings⁸ despite
158 substantial differences in experimental design, including the use of binary forced
159 choices between equal and unequal allocations (rather than continuous allocations) in
160 the current study.

161

162 **Neural representations of others' traits**

163 Our behavioral findings show that perceptions of other people's traits, guided by
164 information about social groups and organized along distinct dimensions of warmth and
165 competence, exert strong and dissociable effects on social decision-making processes

166 as captured by our extended Dictator game. Accordingly, we next looked for neural
167 representations of these perceived traits. To elucidate the representation of perceived
168 traits and not payoff structures or decision processes, we focused on BOLD signals
169 during the portion of each trial when the participant was presented with the recipient's
170 group membership, prior to the presentation of the allocation options (Fig. 1a). We
171 looked for brain regions where two recipients that are similar to each other in perceived
172 traits (e.g., an Accountant and a Japanese person, who are both perceived to have high
173 competence and moderate warmth) evoke similar response patterns, and two recipient
174 that are dissimilar in perceived traits (e.g., an Accountant and a Prison inmate) evoke
175 dissimilar response patterns (representational similarity analysis; RSA⁴⁰). We adopted a
176 whole-brain searchlight approach that looked for brain regions where the
177 representational dissimilarity matrix (RDM) of the local response patterns in a spherical
178 searchlight was correlated with RDM of the perceived trait, defined by pairwise
179 Euclidean distance in the two-dimensional space of warmth and competence (Fig. 2a).
180 To construct the neural RDM, we quantified dissimilarity in response patterns using
181 cross-validated Mahalanobis distance, which is a metric of the extent to which response
182 patterns evoked by different recipients are consistently distinguishable across scanning
183 runs⁴¹.

184 Our RSA revealed that recipients' perceived warmth and competence are
185 represented in left lateral orbitofrontal cortex (OFC), which has long been associated
186 with inference-based, goal-directed decision-making (threshold-free cluster
187 enhancement [TFCE], whole-brain family-wise error [FWE] corrected $p < .05$). In

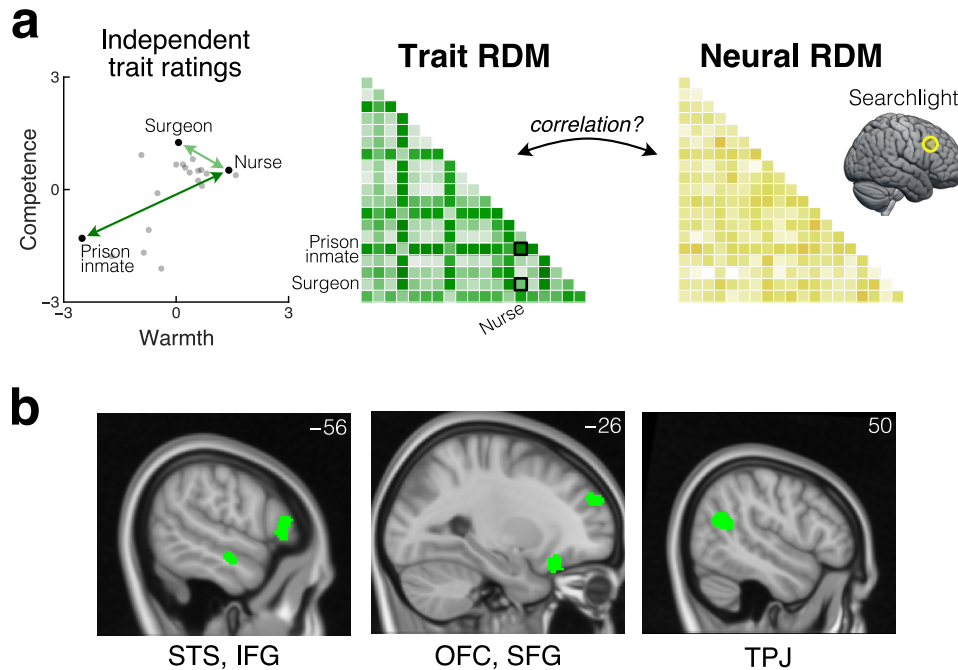


Fig 2. Neural representations of others' traits. **a.** Whole-brain searchlight RSA looked for neural representations of the recipient's perceived traits. The trait RDM was defined based on pairwise Euclidean distance in the two-dimensional space of warmth and competence. The neural RDM was computed for each searchlight based on pairwise cross-validated Mahalanobis distance between voxel-wise responses. **b.** Trait representation was found in left STS, left IFG, left OFG, left SFG, right TPJ, and right PMC (not shown) (whole-brain FWE-corrected TFCE $p < .05$).

188 addition to the OFC, perceived traits are also represented in several other regions,
189 including those associated with mentalizing, such as the right temporoparietal junction
190 (TPJ), left superior temporal sulcus (STS), left inferior frontal gyrus, left superior frontal
191 gyrus, and right premotor cortex (Fig. 2b).

192

193 **Linking neural trait representations to choice behavior**

194 Next, we investigated to what extent trait representations in these regions
195 contributed to participants' subsequent monetary allocation decisions (Fig. 3a). We
196 reasoned that, if representations in any of the trait-representing regions (Fig. 2b)
197 contribute to decision-making, then individual variations in local neural responses in

198 such a region should predict individual variation in allocation choices. More specifically,
199 if two recipients evoke similar response patterns in a particular region of a particular
200 participant's brain, and representations in that region contribute to decision-making in
201 this context, then the participant should have treated those two recipients similarly.
202 Likewise, recipients that evoke dissimilar response patterns in a given participant should
203 have been treated dissimilarly by that participant. To test for such a relationship
204 between neural responses and individual choices, we ran another RSA that examined
205 the relationship between neural RDMs (on response patterns during the epoch of
206 recipient identity presentation, as in the previous RSA) in each of the trait regions (Fig.

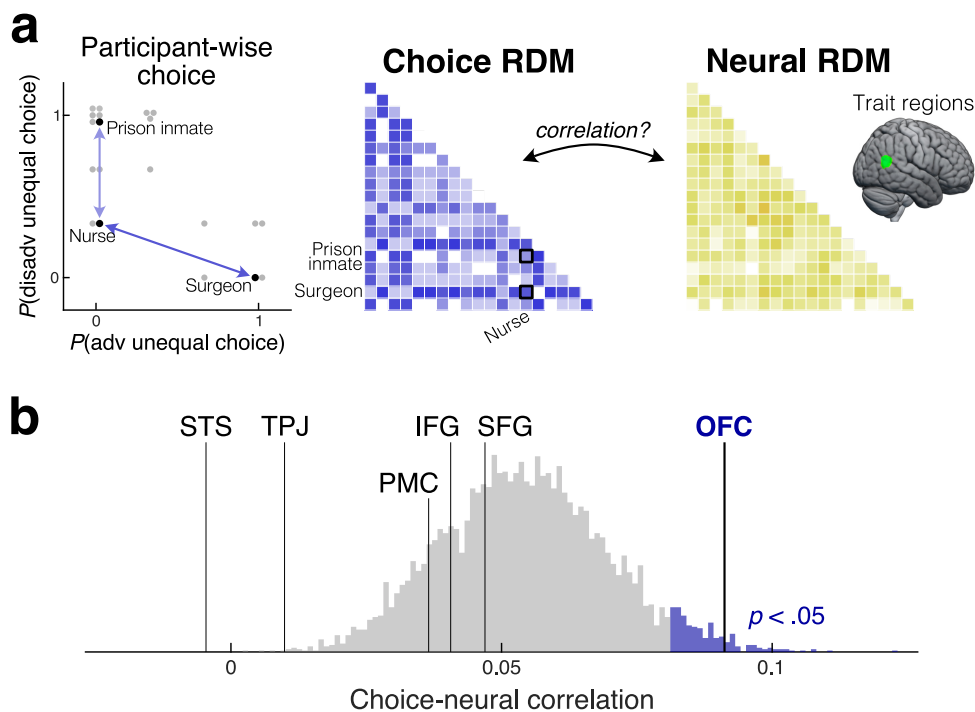


Fig 3. Correlation between neural representations of traits and individual choices. a.

Relationship between individual-level allocation choices and response patterns in the regions that represent others' traits (identified in Fig. 2b) was evaluated in the second RSA. The choice RDM was constructed for each participant based on pairwise Euclidean distance in the two-dimensional space of choice frequency in advantageous and disadvantageous inequity trials. Its relationship with the neural RDM in each trait region was measured by Z-transformed Spearman correlation. Shown is the data from one exemplar participant. b. The neural RDM in the OFC ($p = .011$), but not in any other region ($p > .50$), was significantly correlated with the individual-level choice RDM. Histogram: permutation-based FWE-corrected null hypothesis distribution.

207 2b) and choice RDMs at the individual subject level (Fig. 3a). We visualized each
208 participant's choice frequency against each recipient (i.e., how often they chose the
209 unequal allocation over the equal allocation) as a two-dimensional space, with choices
210 in advantageous inequity trials on one axis and choices in disadvantageous inequity on
211 the other axis. Pairwise Euclidean distance in this choice space was used to construct
212 the individual choice RDM. To test the correlation between individual choice RDMs and
213 neural RDMs above and beyond the population-level effects of warmth and
214 competence, we obtained an FWE-corrected null-hypothesis distribution via permutation
215 (randomly pairing choice and neural RDMs from different participants).

216 This analysis revealed that only responses in the lateral OFC predicted individual
217 allocation choices above chance (FWE corrected across the ROIs, $p = .011$; Fig. 3b).
218 No other region exhibited a significant relationship with choices ($p > .50$). This suggests
219 that the representation of the recipient's traits in the lateral OFC contributes to the
220 allocation decisions. Importantly, while our behavioral analysis revealed that the trait
221 dimension (warmth or competence) that drives choices is *dependent on the decision*
222 *context* (advantageous or disadvantageous inequity), responses in the lateral OFC were
223 characterized by the two-dimensional spaces of traits (warmth and competence) and
224 choices (advantageous and disadvantageous inequity), even before the participant was
225 informed of the specific decision context. Taken together, these results suggest that the
226 OFC plays a critical role in incorporating the perception of others' traits into social
227 decision-making in a highly flexible, goal-directed, context-dependent manner.

228

229 **Discussion**

230 Adaptive social decision-making relies on information about others' traits and
231 mental states. However, we often need to interact with people with whom we have very
232 little experience. In such cases, people sometimes rely on inferences derived from
233 societally shared stereotypes based on cues to others' social group membership^{1-6,8}.
234 Here, we identified a neural route through which stereotype content influences social
235 decision-making. Using an extended Dictator game paradigm in which participants
236 allocated monetary resources between themselves and various recipients identified by
237 information about their social group membership, we first showed that people
238 spontaneously treat others differently depending on their perceived traits in a context-
239 dependent manner; advantageous inequity aversion increased with the recipient's
240 warmth, while disadvantageous inequity aversion increased with their competence.
241 Using fMRI and RSA, we further showed that the recipients' traits were represented in
242 brain regions associated with both mentalizing (TPJ and STS) and goal-directed
243 decision-making (OFC). Critically, the representation in the OFC was predictive of
244 monetary allocation choices at the individual level. Using a permutation test, we
245 confirmed that this relationship cannot be accounted for by population-level effects of
246 warmth and competence, and instead implies that individual differences in the OFC
247 signals are associated with those in decision-making. This shows that the OFC plays an
248 important role in driving social decisions based on the perception of others' traits.

249 Evidence that the lateral OFC mediates the effect of trait representations on
250 social decision-making connects to a large body of evidence in humans and other

251 species that the OFC contributes to goal-directed behavior. Goal-directed behavior is
252 guided by inferred or imagined outcomes, as opposed to habitual behavior that is
253 guided by cached values learned through trial and error. Previous studies used
254 paradigms such as outcome devaluation or preconditioning to demonstrate that the
255 OFC (in particular the lateral OFC) is necessary for goal-directed behavior in rats^{42,43},
256 monkeys^{44,45}, and humans^{46–48}. Furthermore, recent neuroimaging and
257 electrophysiological studies revealed that the OFC represents latent features of the
258 environment, such as the hidden state of the current trial in sequential or learning tasks,
259 that are not directly observable but are critical for outcome prediction^{29,30,49–53}. Based on
260 this evidence, a current influential hypothesis posits that the OFC represents aspects of
261 the environment that are not fully observable but critical (or at least beneficial) for
262 inference on future outcomes, and thereby guides flexible, goal-directed decision-
263 making^{31–35}.

264 Our findings, that the lateral OFC represents the perceived traits of others, and
265 that this representation is predictive of individual choices regarding these others, are
266 consistent with the hypothesized function of the OFC. First, recipients' traits are not
267 directly observable and instead inferred from information about their group membership.
268 Second, decisions in the current paradigm are guided by inferences about how
269 subjectively rewarding it would be to allocate money between the self and the recipient,
270 as opposed to trial-and-error learning. Third, and most important, perceived traits affect
271 inference-based evaluation of allocation outcomes, as demonstrated by the participants'
272 revealed preference in the current study as well as our previous studies with

273 independent samples⁸. Taken together, this points to the possibility that the lateral OFC
274 represent the recipient's traits in the current experimental paradigm because they are
275 critical variables for inference-based evaluation of resource allocations; it is likely that
276 the OFC does not represent others' traits in decision contexts that rely on other
277 variables.

278 Other studies have also shown that the OFC is involved in incorporating
279 perceptions of others' traits into social decisions in a goal-directed manner. For
280 instance, racial features of faces are represented in the OFC when participants chose
281 whether to befriend them (goal-directed decision-making) but not when they judged
282 whether they looked athletic (not goal-directed decision-making)⁵⁴, and patients with
283 lateral OFC damage are able to judge competence of faces but fail to incorporate it into
284 voting decisions⁵⁵. These findings, along with various social deficits exhibited by
285 patients with OFC damage³⁵, show that the role of OFC in inference-based, goal-
286 directed decision-making extends to the social domain. Indeed, inference-based
287 outcome evaluation is critical for a wide range of social decisions, since the social world
288 is characterized by a high degree of uncertainty with complex latent structures (e.g.,
289 who are friends and who are foes) and countless unobservable variables (e.g., beliefs
290 and preferences of individuals)^{56,57}.

291 We also found neural representations of recipients' traits in several regions
292 outside the OFC. Among them, the right TPJ and the left STS are prominent areas in
293 the mentalizing network, which is consistently activated when people infer others' traits,
294 including based on their group membership (i.e., stereotyping)²¹⁻²⁵. Our results extend

295 these previous findings by showing that multi-voxel response patterns in the TPJ and
296 STS contain multi-dimensional information about the perceived traits of others.
297 Interestingly, the STS (particularly its ventral bank, where we found trait
298 representations) is anatomically connected to the lateral OFC in monkeys⁵⁸, raising the
299 possibility that the goal-directed representations in the OFC rely on inputs from the
300 mentalizing network. In addition, the regions where we found trait representations
301 outside the mentalizing network are also anatomically connected to the lateral OFC in
302 monkeys^{58–60}, and many of these regions are also functionally coupled with the lateral
303 OFC in resting-state and task-based fMRI in humans^{61,62}. Taken together, these
304 findings suggest that the use of stereotypes in social decision-making relies on
305 interaction between two key systems: one anchored on the mentalizing network, which
306 is responsible for inferences about others' traits, and the other primarily centered on the
307 OFC, which incorporates the inferred traits into outcome inferences and evaluation in a
308 context-dependent, goal-directed manner. This account is further supported by our
309 finding that signals in the OFC, but not in other regions, are correlated with individual
310 choices, which suggests that the OFC contributes to subsequent decision-making
311 processes⁶³.

312 Our findings open up a number of exciting questions for future research. First,
313 future studies are needed to better understand the circuit-level mechanisms through
314 which multi-dimensional representations in the OFC drive subsequent decision-making
315 processes. For example, it is possible that the context-specific effects of social
316 perception on behavior (warmth affects advantageous inequity aversion, while

317 competence affects disadvantageous inequity aversion) could be mediated by flexible
318 readout of the OFC signals by downstream regions⁶⁴. Second, it remains an open
319 question how trait representations in the mentalizing network and the OFC are
320 constructed from semantic knowledge about social groups, possibly represented in the
321 anterior temporal lobe^{65–67}. Third, while we did not find evidence of trait representations
322 in the hippocampus, a previous study reported that self-other relationships are
323 represented in the hippocampus in a two-dimensional ego-centric space⁶⁸. This raises
324 the intriguing possibility that the OFC and hippocampus play complementary roles in
325 social decision-making by representing the social world in different frames of
326 reference^{31,32,69–71}. Finally, our findings have the potential to inform future inquiry into
327 the neuroscience of discrimination, for example by quantifying relationships between
328 societal treatment of social groups and representations of their traits in the OFC^{9,72,73},
329 as well as into disorders of social function, for example by separating social deficits
330 arising from an atypical neural representation of others' traits from those arising from an
331 atypical integration of trait representations into value-based decision-making⁷⁴.

332 Future research could also elucidate why trait representation was not observed in
333 the MPFC in this context, at least at a standard statistical threshold for whole-brain
334 analysis. Although the MPFC is also generally recruited during stereotyping^{22–25} and
335 mentalizing^{15–19,75,76}, it is possible that the MPFC contributes to stereotyping in a way
336 that does not involve trait representations in a two-dimensional warmth-competence
337 space^{28,71,77,78}; that its contributions might be more specialized for inferences about
338 individuals based on richer, more individuating information^{79–82}; or that its involvement

339 depends on the degree to which mentalizing is explicitly called for. For example,
340 previous studies reported that the MPFC is more activated when participants receive
341 explicit instructions to mentalize⁸³, whereas the TPJ is consistently activated even when
342 no explicit instructions or incentives for mentalizing are provided^{75,84,85}. These
343 possibilities further highlight the potential importance of goals and incentives in
344 understanding the neural basis of social decision-making.

345 More broadly, while the current study focused on stereotypes, this is not the only
346 route to trait inference. For instance, people often assume that others tend to hold
347 attitudes or beliefs like their own (social projection), particularly when making inferences
348 about individuals that are perceived to be similar to themselves^{4,18,81,82,86}. Furthermore,
349 for individuals with whom people interact extensively, trait information can be
350 accumulated across learning from experience^{65,87,88}. It remains an open question how
351 trait information acquired through these different routes impacts social decisions at the
352 cognitive and neural levels. For its part, the current study establishes how stereotypes
353 drive social decisions via goal-directed representations in the OFC, forming the basis for
354 a more comprehensive understanding of the neural mechanisms through which different
355 types of social inferences affect social decisions across different contexts.

356 **Materials and Methods**

357

358 All procedures were approved by the Institutional Review Boards at the University of
359 California, Berkeley, and Virginia Tech.

360

361 **Participants** 43 healthy people provided informed consent in accordance with the
362 Declaration of Helsinki and participated in the experiment. Data from 1 participant were
363 removed for image artifacts and data from an additional 10 participants were removed
364 for excessive motion (showing frame-wise or cumulative displacement of >2mm in
365 translation or >2.5 degrees in rotation), leaving data from 32 participants for analysis (22
366 female, 10 male, age: 18-64, mean = 27.5, standard deviation = 11.4).

367

368 **Task overview** Participants chose how to allocate monetary resources between
369 themselves and a series of recipients in a modified dictator game. On each trial, the
370 participant viewed one piece of social group information about the recipient for that trial
371 (e.g., nurse, Japanese), along with two allocation options. In a majority of trials, one of
372 the options provided an equal division of resources between the participant and the
373 recipient, while the other option provided an unequal division of resources favoring
374 either the participant (advantageous inequity) or the recipient (disadvantageous
375 inequity). In the remaining trials, both options provided equal divisions in different
376 amounts; these trials were only included to encourage the participant to pay attention to
377 both sets of payoffs and were not included in the primary analyses in this paper (see
378 Fig. S2c, d for behavioral data in these trials). In all cases, the participant decided
379 unilaterally which option to choose, while the recipient had no ability to affect the
380 outcome.

381

382 **Recipient identities** The recipient was described by one of 20 social group
383 memberships, which were originally developed in our previous study⁸ to span a wide
384 range of trait perceptions along the core dimensions of warmth and competence. The
385 group membership was described by one of the following attributes: occupation
386 (accountant, surgeon, lawyer, nurse, stay-at-home parent, Olympic athlete, farmer),
387 nationality (Japanese, Irish, British, Spanish, Greek), ethnicity (Jewish, Arab), medical
388 history (mental disability), age demographic (elderly), psychiatric history (drug
389 addiction), housing status (homeless), financial status (welfare recipient), and legal
390 status (prison inmate). The group membership was presented along with the attribute,
391 e.g., "Occupation: Nurse" or "Nationality: Japanese".

392

393 In all behavioral and fMRI analyses, we used ratings of these recipients' warmth and
394 competence collected from an independent sample in an online experiment ($n = 252$,
395 Study 1b in our previous study⁸). To confirm that this independently measured social
396 perception was shared by participants in the current fMRI experiment, we also asked
397 these participants to rate recipients' warmth and competence after the scan. We
398 confirmed that the average ratings obtained in the current study were highly correlated

399 with the independent ratings, demonstrating the robustness of our social perception
400 measures (Fig. S1).

401
402 **Monetary allocation options** While the equal allocation option provided the same
403 amount to the participant and the recipient (\$10) across all trials, payoffs in the unequal
404 allocation option were varied across trials. The payoff structure ([own payoff, the
405 recipient's payoff]) was either [\$20, \$5], [\$15, \$9], or [\$14, \$6] in advantageous inequity
406 trials, and either [\$5, \$20], [\$9, \$15], or [\$6, \$14] in disadvantageous inequity trials.
407 Therefore, in the advantageous inequity trials, the participant can maximize their own
408 payoff by choosing the unequal allocation and maximize the recipient's payoff by
409 choosing the equal allocation. Conversely, in the disadvantageous inequity trials, they
410 can maximize their own payoff by choosing the equal allocation and maximize the
411 recipient's payoff by choosing the unequal allocation.

412
413 **Procedure** Participants completed the task inside the MRI scanner and indicated their
414 choices using a button box. The task was programmed in python using the Pygame
415 package. Prior to scanning, participants were instructed that, although the monetary
416 allocations in this task were hypothetical, they should indicate as honestly as possible
417 which choice they would prefer if it were to affect the actual payoffs of themselves and
418 the recipient. Throughout scanning, each of 8 payoff structures was presented once for
419 each of the 20 recipients; in total, $8 \times 20 = 160$ trials were presented in a randomized
420 order for each participant. The scanning consisted of two runs (80 trials each), with
421 each recipient appearing four times per run.

422
423 In each trial, the participant was first presented with the recipient information (duration
424 between 2.5 sec to 5.5 sec: varied across scanning runs and participants), and then
425 with two allocation options, presented side by side. To mitigate cognitive load, the
426 constant equal allocation [\$10, \$10] was always presented to the left, while the right
427 option was varied across trials. After a delay (jittered between 3 sec and 6 sec), both
428 options were outlined by blue boxes, which prompted the participant to indicate a choice
429 by pressing one of two buttons. Participants were asked to press a button within 5
430 seconds; the trial was automatically terminated (and not repeated) when they did not
431 press a button within that window.

432
433 **Behavioral data analysis** Economic theories of distributional preference posit that
434 decision-making in the Dictator game is driven primarily by two factors: maximization of
435 one's own payoff and concern for the inequity between one's own payoff and the
436 recipient's payoff^{11,12}. They further posit that preferences regarding advantageous
437 inequity are distinct from preferences regarding disadvantageous inequity^{89,90}. In recent
438 work, we found that aversion to advantageous inequity increases with the recipient's
439 perceived warmth (but does not depend on their perceived competence) and aversion
440 to disadvantageous inequity increases with the recipient's perceived competence (but
441 does not depend on their perceived warmth)⁸. In that study, the participant decided how
442 many tokens to share with the recipient in a continuous manner, and thus it was up to

443 them whether and how often they created advantageous or disadvantageous inequity.
444 We adopted a different task design in the current study, which used two-alternative
445 forced choices regarding advantageous and disadvantageous inequity in separate trials,
446 which allowed us to test the dissociable effects of perceived warmth and competence
447 on inequity preference even more directly.

448
449 We counted how often the participants chose the unequal allocation over the equal
450 allocation against each recipient in advantageous and disadvantageous inequity trials
451 and tested their correlation with the perceived warmth and competence of the recipients
452 for those choices (Fig. 1c). The statistical significance of the correlation was assessed
453 via permutation (9,999 iterations). The same permutation test was also used to assess
454 whether the effects of warmth and competence on choice frequencies were different
455 from each other (i.e., statistical significance on the difference in correlations). While Fig.
456 1c shows choice frequencies marginalized over payoff structures in each trial type, the
457 relationship with trait perceptions was robustly observed even when measured for each
458 payoff structure separately (Fig. S2a, b).

459
460 **MRI data acquisition** MR images were acquired by a 3T Siemens Magnetom Trio
461 scanner and a 12-channel head coil. A 3D high-resolution structural image was
462 acquired using a T1-weighted magnetization-prepared rapid-acquisition gradient-echo
463 (MPRAGE) pulse sequence (voxel size = 1 × 1 × 1 mm, matrix size = 190 × 239, 200
464 axial slices, TR = 2300 msec, TE = 2.98 msec). While participants completed the task,
465 functional images were acquired using a T2*-weighted gradient echo-planar imaging
466 (EPI) pulse sequence (voxel size = 3 × 3 × 3 mm, interslice gap = 0.15 mm, matrix size
467 = 64 × 64, 32 oblique axial slices, TR = 2000 msec, TE = 30 msec). Slices were angled
468 +30 degrees with respect to the anterior commissure-posterior commissure line to
469 reduce signal dropout in the orbitofrontal cortex⁹¹.

470
471 **MRI data analysis: trait perception.** We conducted a whole-brain searchlight
472 Representational Similarity Analysis (RSA) to look for neural representations of the
473 recipient's perceived traits⁴⁰. More specifically, we looked for brain regions in which
474 voxel-wise local response patterns evoked by two recipients are similar (dissimilar)
475 when their perceived traits are also similar (dissimilar) to each other. Our RSA
476 formulated this relationship as the correlation between two representational dissimilarity
477 matrices (RDMs), one that captures dissimilarity in trait perception (trait RDM) and one
478 that captures dissimilarity in response patterns (neural RDM), in all possible pairs of
479 recipients (20 recipients, 190 pairwise similarity measures).

480
481 For the trait RDM, pairwise dissimilarity in perceived traits was quantified as Euclidean
482 distance in a two-dimensional space of perceived warmth and competence (Fig. 1a).
483 Empirical measures of warmth and competence perceptions were originally obtained as
484 numeric scores between 0 and 100⁸. We z-scored each dimension across the 20
485 recipients to construct the Euclidean space.

486

487 The neural RDM was computed at every voxel within grey matter in native space.
488 Pairwise dissimilarity in voxel-wise response patterns was quantified as the cross-
489 validated Mahalanobis (Crossnobis) distance in a gray-matter spherical searchlight
490 (10mm radius). Crossnobis distance is an unbiased measure of the extent to which
491 response patterns evoked by two recipients are *consistently distinguishable across*
492 *scanning runs*⁴¹. We chose this distance measure over alternative measures because
493 we were primarily interested in how recipients are *distinguished* in their neural
494 representation, rather than how they are *similarly represented*. In our experiment, since
495 each recipient was presented four times in each of the two scanning runs, we were able
496 to cross-validate distance estimates across runs to mitigate spurious distance caused
497 by noise (overfitting).

498
499 The pairwise Crossnobis distance was estimated following the formulae provided
500 previously⁴¹. We first estimated voxel-wise response patterns evoked by each recipient
501 in each scanning run using a GLM implemented in SPM12. To retain fine-grained
502 signals as much as possible, minimal preprocessing (only motion correction) was
503 applied to EPIs prior to the GLM. The GLM included the regressors of interest, modeling
504 the presentation of each recipient using a box-car function that starts with the onset of
505 the recipient presentation and ends with the onset of payoffs presentation, along with
506 nuisance regressors modeling button presses. These regressors were convolved with
507 the canonical double-gamma hemodynamic response function (HRF) and its temporal
508 derivative. The GLM also included confound regressors for head motion (3 translations
509 and 3 rotations, estimated in the motion correction procedure), 128-sec high-pass
510 filtering, and AR(1) model of serial autocorrelation. The GLM coefficients of each
511 recipient within the searchlight were then cross-validated across the two runs to obtain
512 the Crossnobis distance. For Mahalanobis whitening, we estimated the covariance
513 matrix in the searchlight using the GLM residuals and shrank it for invertibility⁹².

514
515 We computed Fisher-transformed Spearman correlation between the trait and neural
516 RDMs at each gray-matter voxel. We discovered that the trait RDM inadvertently
517 contained information about visual features of the recipient presentation on the screen,
518 and specifically its character count. This visual confound was controlled by partialling
519 out another RDM that captured the character count. The resultant correlation map was
520 normalized to the standard MNI space based on the MPRAGE structural image of each
521 participant and spatially smoothed (Gaussian kernel FWHM = 8 mm) using SPM12. For
522 the population-level analysis, a cluster-level permutation test was conducted using FSL
523 randomise (threshold-free cluster enhancement [TFCE], whole-brain FWE corrected p
524 $< .05$, 4,999 iterations).

525
526 **MRI data analysis: correlation with individual choices.** To look for evidence that any
527 of the regions that represented the perceived traits (Fig. 2b) contributed to the
528 subsequent monetary allocation decisions, we ran another RSA which tested the
529 correlation between neural RDMs and choice RDMs. We predicted that, if a region
530 contributed to the decisions, local response patterns evoked by two recipients in one

531 participant's brain would be similar (dissimilar) to each other when the participant
532 treated them in a similar (dissimilar) manner in their allocation choices.

533

534 The individual choice RDM was built on the frequency at which each participant chose
535 the advantageous or disadvantageous unequal allocation for each recipient. Pairwise
536 Euclidean distance was measured in the two-dimensional space of the observed choice
537 frequencies, one dimension for advantageous inequity trials and the other dimension for
538 disadvantageous inequity trials. Since each recipient was presented in three
539 advantageous inequity trials and three disadvantageous inequity trials, the choice
540 frequency on each dimension was either 0, 1/3, 2/3, or 1.

541

542 These individual-level choice RDM were then correlated with neural RDMs in the
543 regions identified by our first RSA as containing representations of others' traits. Binary
544 masks were functionally defined in standard MNI space based on the aforementioned
545 population-level statistics (TFCE, whole-brain FWE corrected $p < .05$) and converted to
546 the native space of each participant's brain using SPM12. The z-transformed Spearman
547 correlation between the choice and neural RDMs was averaged across all voxels in the
548 native-space masks.

549

550 In order to test whether neural response patterns predicted individual choice patterns
551 *above and beyond* the population-level effects of warmth and competence, we
552 conducted a permutation test, randomly pairing choice and neural RDMs from different
553 participants (4,999 iterations). To control for multiple comparisons across ROIs, the null-
554 hypothesis distribution was constructed by taking the highest population average of
555 correlation scores across the ROIs in each permutation iteration.

556 **References**

557

558 1. Greenwald, A. G. & Banaji, M. R. Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and
559 stereotypes. *Psychol Rev* **102**, 4–27 (1995).

560 2. Asch, S. E. Forming impressions of personality. *J Abnorm Soc Psychology* **41**, 258–
561 290 (1946).

562 3. Greenwald, A. G. & Lai, C. K. Implicit Social Cognition. *Annu Rev Psychol* **71**, 1–27
563 (2019).

564 4. Ames, D. R. Inside the Mind Reader’s Tool Kit: Projection and Stereotyping in Mental
565 State Inference. *J Pers Soc Psychol* **87**, 340–353 (2004).

566 5. Abele, A. E., Ellemers, N., Fiske, S. T., Koch, A. & Yzerbyt, V. Navigating the social
567 world: Toward an integrated framework for evaluating self, individuals, and groups.
568 *Psychol Rev* **128**, 290–314 (2021).

569 6. Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C. & Glick, P. Universal dimensions of social cognition:
570 warmth and competence. *Trends Cogn Sci* **11**, 77–83 (2007).

571 7. Bertrand, M. & Duflo, E. Field Experiments on Discrimination. in *Handbook of Field*
572 *Experiments* (eds. Banerjee, A. & Duflo, E.) (2017).

573 8. Jenkins, A. C., Karashchuk, P., Zhu, L. & Hsu, M. Predicting human behavior toward
574 members of different social groups. *P Natl Acad Sci Usa* **115**, 9696–9701 (2018).

575 9. Amodio, D. M. The neuroscience of prejudice and stereotyping. *Nat Rev Neurosci* **15**,
576 670–682 (2014).

577 10. Andreoni, J. & Miller, J. Giving According to GARP: An Experimental Test of the
578 Consistency of Preferences for Altruism. *Econometrica* **70**, 737–753 (2002).

579 11. Charness, G. & Rabin, M. Understanding Social Preferences with Simple Tests. *Q J*
580 *Econ* **117**, 817–869 (2002).

581 12. Fehr, E. & Schmidt, K. M. A Theory of Fairness, Competition, and Cooperation. *Q J*
582 *Econ* **114**, 817–868 (1999).

583 13. Schurz, M., Radua, J., Aichhorn, M., Richlan, F. & Perner, J. Fractionating theory of
584 mind: A meta-analysis of functional brain imaging studies. *Neurosci Biobehav Rev* **42**,
585 9–34 (2014).

586 14. Saxe, R. & Kanwisher, N. People thinking about thinking people: The role of the
587 temporo-parietal junction in “theory of mind.” *Neuroimage* **19**, 1835–1842 (2003).

- 588 15. Amodio, D. M. & Frith, C. D. Meeting of minds: the medial frontal cortex and social
589 cognition. *Nat Rev Neurosci* **7**, 268–277 (2006).
- 590 16. Spreng, R. N., Mar, R. A. & Kim, A. S. N. The Common Neural Basis of
591 Autobiographical Memory, Propection, Navigation, Theory of Mind, and the Default
592 Mode: A Quantitative Meta-analysis. *J Cognitive Neurosci* **21**, 489–510 (2009).
- 593 17. Frith, C. D. & Frith, U. Interacting Minds--A Biological Basis. *Science* **286**, 1692–
594 1695 (1999).
- 595 18. Jenkins, A. C. & Mitchell, J. P. How Has Cognitive Neuroscience Contributed to
596 Social Psychological Theory? in *Social Neuroscience: Towards Understanding the*
597 *Underpinnings of the Social Mind* (eds. Todorov, A., Fiske, S. & Prentice, D.) (Oxford
598 University Press, 2011).
- 599 19. Molenberghs, P., Johnson, H., Henry, J. D. & Mattingley, J. B. Understanding the
600 minds of others: A neuroimaging meta-analysis. *Neurosci Biobehav Rev* **65**, 276–291
601 (2016).
- 602 20. Mars, R. B. *et al.* On the relationship between the “default mode network” and the
603 “social brain.” *Front Hum Neurosci* **6**, 189 (2012).
- 604 21. Contreras, J. M., Banaji, M. R. & Mitchell, J. P. Dissociable neural correlates of
605 stereotypes and other forms of semantic knowledge. *Soc Cogn Affect Neur* **7**, 764–770
606 (2012).
- 607 22. Van der Cruyssen, L., Heleven, E., Ma, N., Vandekerckhove, M. & Van Overwalle,
608 F. Distinct neural correlates of social categories and personality traits. *Neuroimage* **104**,
609 336–346 (2015).
- 610 23. Contreras, J. M., Schirmer, J., Banaji, M. R. & Mitchell, J. P. Common Brain
611 Regions with Distinct Patterns of Neural Responses during Mentalizing about Groups
612 and Individuals. *J Cognitive Neurosci* **25**, 1406–1417 (2013).
- 613 24. Quadflieg, S. *et al.* Exploring the Neural Correlates of Social Stereotyping. *J*
614 *Cognitive Neurosci* **21**, 1560–1570 (2009).
- 615 25. Delplanque, J., Heleven, E. & Van Overwalle, F. Neural representations of Groups
616 and Stereotypes using fMRI repetition suppression. *Sci Rep* **9**, 3190 (2019).
- 617 26. Tamir, D. I., Thornton, M. A., Contreras, J. M. & Mitchell, J. P. Neural evidence that
618 three dimensions organize mental state representation: Rationality, social impact, and
619 valence. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* **113**, 194–199 (2016).

- 620 27. Mitchell, J. P., Ames, D. L., Jenkins, A. C. & Banaji, M. R. Neural correlates of
621 stereotype application. *J Cognitive Neurosci* **21**, 594–604 (2009).
- 622 28. Harris, L. T. & Fiske, S. T. Dehumanizing the Lowest of the Low: Neuroimaging
623 Responses to Extreme Out-Groups. *Psychol Sci* **17**, 847–853 (2006).
- 624 29. Schuck, N. W., Cai, M. B., Wilson, R. C. & Niv, Y. Human Orbitofrontal Cortex
625 Represents a Cognitive Map of State Space. *Neuron* **91**, 1402–1412 (2016).
- 626 30. Wilson, R. C., Takahashi, Y. K., Schoenbaum, G. & Niv, Y. Orbitofrontal cortex as a
627 cognitive map of task space. *Neuron* **81**, 267–279 (2014).
- 628 31. Padoa-Schioppa, C. & Conen, K. E. Orbitofrontal Cortex: A Neural Circuit for
629 Economic Decisions. *Neuron* **96**, 736–754 (2017).
- 630 32. Wikenheiser, A. M. & Schoenbaum, G. Over the river, through the woods: cognitive
631 maps in the hippocampus and orbitofrontal cortex. *Nat Rev Neurosci* **17**, 513–523
632 (2016).
- 633 33. Stalnaker, T. A., Cooch, N. K. & Schoenbaum, G. What the orbitofrontal cortex does
634 not do. *Nat Neurosci* **18**, 620–627 (2015).
- 635 34. Niv, Y. Learning task-state representations. *Nat Neurosci* **22**, 1544–1553 (2019).
- 636 35. Yu, L. Q., Kan, I. P. & Kable, J. W. Beyond a rod through the skull: A systematic
637 review of lesion studies of the human ventromedial frontal lobe. *Cognitive Neuropsych*
638 **37**, 1–45 (2019).
- 639 36. Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B. & Howard, A. On the Nature
640 of Prejudice: Automatic and Controlled Processes. *J Exp Soc Psychol* **33**, 510–540
641 (1997).
- 642 37. Ben-Ner, A., McCall, B. P., Stephane, M. & Wang, H. Identity and in-group/out-
643 group differentiation in work and giving behaviors: Experimental evidence. *J Econ*
644 *Behav Organ* **72**, 153–170 (2009).
- 645 38. Hamermesh, D. S. & Biddle, J. E. Beauty and the Labor Market. *Am Econ Rev* **84**,
646 1174–1194 (1994).
- 647 39. Mobius, M. M. & Rosenblat, T. S. Why Beauty Matters. *Am Econ Rev* **96**, 222–235
648 (2006).
- 649 40. Kriegeskorte, N., Mur, M. & Bandettini, P. Representational similarity analysis–
650 connecting the branches of systems neuroscience. *Frontiers Syst Neurosci* **2**, 4 (2008).

- 651 41. Walther, A. *et al.* Reliability of dissimilarity measures for multi-voxel pattern analysis.
652 *Neuroimage* **137**, 188–200 (2016).
- 653 42. Gallagher, M., McMahan, R. W. & Schoenbaum, G. Orbitofrontal Cortex and
654 Representation of Incentive Value in Associative Learning. *J Neurosci* **19**, 6610–6614
655 (1999).
- 656 43. Jones, J. L. *et al.* Orbitofrontal Cortex Supports Behavior and Learning Using
657 Inferred But Not Cached Values. *Science* **338**, 953–956 (2012).
- 658 44. Izquierdo, A., Suda, R. K. & Murray, E. A. Bilateral Orbital Prefrontal Cortex Lesions
659 in Rhesus Monkeys Disrupt Choices Guided by Both Reward Value and Reward
660 Contingency. *J Neurosci* **24**, 7540–7548 (2004).
- 661 45. West, E. A., DesJardin, J. T., Gale, K. & Malkova, L. Transient Inactivation of
662 Orbitofrontal Cortex Blocks Reinforcer Devaluation in Macaques. *J Neurosci* **31**, 15128–
663 15135 (2011).
- 664 46. Reber, J. *et al.* Selective impairment of goal-directed decision-making following
665 lesions to the human ventromedial prefrontal cortex. *Brain* **140**, 1743–1756 (2017).
- 666 47. Wang, F., Howard, J. D., Voss, J. L., Schoenbaum, G. & Kahnt, T. Targeted
667 Stimulation of an Orbitofrontal Network Disrupts Decisions Based on Inferred, Not
668 Experienced Outcomes. *J Neurosci* **40**, 8726–8733 (2020).
- 669 48. Howard, J. D. *et al.* Targeted Stimulation of Human Orbitofrontal Networks Disrupts
670 Outcome-Guided Behavior. *Curr Biol* **30**, 490-498.e4 (2020).
- 671 49. Chan, S. C. Y., Niv, Y. & Norman, K. A. A Probability Distribution over Latent
672 Causes, in the Orbitofrontal Cortex. *J Neurosci* **36**, 7817–7828 (2016).
- 673 50. Zhou, J. *et al.* Evolving schema representations in orbitofrontal ensembles during
674 learning. *Nature* **590**, 606–611 (2021).
- 675 51. Stalnaker, T. A., Raheja, N. & Schoenbaum, G. Orbitofrontal State Representations
676 Are Related to Choice Adaptations and Reward Predictions. *J Neurosci* **41**, 1941–1951
677 (2021).
- 678 52. Nassar, M. R., McGuire, J. T., Ritz, H. & Kable, J. W. Dissociable Forms of
679 Uncertainty-Driven Representational Change Across the Human Brain. *J Neurosci* **39**,
680 1688–1698 (2019).
- 681 53. Saez, I. *et al.* Encoding of Multiple Reward-Related Computations in Transient and
682 Sustained High-Frequency Activity in Human OFC. *Curr Biol* **28**, 2889-2899.e3 (2018).

- 683 54. Gilbert, S. J., Swencionis, J. K. & Amodio, D. M. Evaluative vs. trait representation
684 in intergroup social judgments: Distinct roles of anterior temporal lobe and prefrontal
685 cortex. *Neuropsychologia* **50**, 3600–3611 (2012).
- 686 55. Xia, C., Stolle, D., Gidengil, E. & Fellows, L. K. Lateral Orbitofrontal Cortex Links
687 Social Impressions to Political Choices. *J Neurosci* **35**, 8507–8514 (2015).
- 688 56. Jenkins, A. C. & Mitchell, J. P. Mentalizing under uncertainty: dissociated neural
689 responses to ambiguous and unambiguous mental state inferences. *Cereb Cortex* **20**,
690 404–10 (2010).
- 691 57. Karmarkar, U. R. & Jenkins, A. C. Neural and Behavioral Insights into Online Trust
692 and Uncertainty. in *Organizational Neuroethics* (eds. Martineau, J. & Racine, E.) 191–
693 207 (2020).
- 694 58. Carmichael, S. T. & Price, J. L. Sensory and premotor connections of the orbital and
695 medial prefrontal cortex of macaque monkeys. *J Comp Neurol* **363**, 642–664 (1995).
- 696 59. Saleem, K. S., Kondo, H. & Price, J. L. Complementary circuits connecting the
697 orbital and medial prefrontal networks with the temporal, insular, and opercular cortex in
698 the macaque monkey. *J Comp Neurol* **506**, 659–693 (2008).
- 699 60. Carmichael, S. T. & Price, J. L. Connectional networks within the orbital and medial
700 prefrontal cortex of macaque monkeys. *J Comp Neurol* **371**, 179–207 (1996).
- 701 61. Zald, D. H. *et al.* Meta-Analytic Connectivity Modeling Reveals Differential
702 Functional Connectivity of the Medial and Lateral Orbitofrontal Cortex. *Cereb Cortex* **24**,
703 232–248 (2014).
- 704 62. Kahnt, T., Chang, L. J., Park, S. Q., Heinzle, J. & Haynes, J.-D. Connectivity-based
705 parcellation of the human orbitofrontal cortex. *J Neurosci* **32**, 6240–6250 (2012).
- 706 63. Ballesta, S., Shi, W., Conen, K. E. & Padoa-Schioppa, C. Values encoded in
707 orbitofrontal cortex are causally related to economic choices. *Nature* **588**, 450–453
708 (2020).
- 709 64. Birman, D. & Gardner, J. L. A flexible readout mechanism of human sensory
710 representations. *Nat Commun* **10**, 3500 (2019).
- 711 65. Amodio, D. M. Social Cognition 2.0: An Interactive Memory Systems Account.
712 *Trends Cogn Sci* **23**, 21–33 (2019).
- 713 66. Amodio, D. M. & Cikara, M. The Social Neuroscience of Prejudice. *Annu Rev*
714 *Psychol* **72**, 1–31 (2020).

- 715 67. Olson, I. R., McCoy, D., Klobusicky, E. & Ross, L. A. Social cognition and the
716 anterior temporal lobes: a review and theoretical framework. *Soc Cogn Affect Neur* **8**,
717 123–133 (2013).
- 718 68. Tavares, R. M. *et al.* A Map for Social Navigation in the Human Brain. *Neuron* **87**,
719 231–243 (2015).
- 720 69. Behrens, T. E. J. *et al.* What Is a Cognitive Map? Organizing Knowledge for Flexible
721 Behavior. *Neuron* **100**, 490–509 (2018).
- 722 70. Park, S. A., Miller, D. S., Nili, H., Ranganath, C. & Boorman, E. D. Map Making:
723 Constructing, Combining, and Inferring on Abstract Cognitive Maps. *Neuron* **107**, 1226-
724 1238.e8 (2020).
- 725 71. Park, S. A., Miller, D. S. & Boorman, E. D. Inferences on a multidimensional social
726 hierarchy use a grid-like code. *Nat Neurosci* **24**, 1292–1301 (2021).
- 727 72. Kubota, J. T., Banaji, M. R. & Phelps, E. A. The neuroscience of race. *Nat Neurosci*
728 **15**, 940–948 (2012).
- 729 73. Mattan, B. D., Wei, K. Y., Cloutier, J. & Kubota, J. T. The Social Neuroscience of
730 Race- and Status-Based Prejudice. *Curr Opin Psychology* **24**, 27–34 (2018).
- 731 74. Gray, K., Jenkins, A. C., Heberlein, A. S. & Wegner, D. M. Distortions of mind
732 perception in psychopathology. *Proc National Acad Sci* **108**, 477–479 (2011).
- 733 75. Van Overwalle, F. & Vandekerckhove, M. Implicit and explicit social mentalizing:
734 dual processes driven by a shared neural network. *Front Hum Neurosci* **7**, 560 (2013).
- 735 76. Schurz, M. *et al.* Toward a hierarchical model of social cognition: A neuroimaging
736 meta-analysis and integrative review of empathy and theory of mind. *Psychol Bull* **147**,
737 293–327 (2021).
- 738 77. Van Overwalle, F., Ma, N. & Baetens, K. Nice or nerdy? The neural representation
739 of social and competence traits. *Soc Neurosci* **11**, 1–12 (2015).
- 740 78. Li, M. *et al.* Warmth is more influential than competence: an fMRI repetition
741 suppression study. *Brain Imaging Behav* **15**, 266–275 (2021).
- 742 79. Van Overwalle, F. Social cognition and the brain: A meta-analysis. *Hum Brain Mapp*
743 **30**, 829–858 (2009).
- 744 80. Heleven, E. & Van Overwalle, F. The person within: memory codes for persons and
745 traits using fMRI repetition suppression. *Soc Cogn Affect Neur* **11**, 159–171 (2016).

- 746 81. Mitchell, J. P., Macrae, C. N. & Banaji, M. R. Dissociable Medial Prefrontal
747 Contributions to Judgments of Similar and Dissimilar Others. *Neuron* **50**, 655–663
748 (2006).
- 749 82. Jenkins, A. C., Macrae, C. N. & Mitchell, J. P. Repetition suppression of
750 ventromedial prefrontal activity during judgments of self and others. *Proc Natl Acad Sci*
751 *USA* **105**, 4507–4512 (2008).
- 752 83. Mitchell, J. P., Banaji, M. R. & Macrae, C. N. The Link between Social Cognition and
753 Self-referential Thought in the Medial Prefrontal Cortex. *J Cognitive Neurosci* **17**, 1306–
754 1315 (2005).
- 755 84. Boccadoro, S. *et al.* Defining the neural correlates of spontaneous theory of mind
756 (ToM): An fMRI multi-study investigation. *Neuroimage* **203**, 116193 (2019).
- 757 85. Kestemont, J., Vandekerckhove, M., Ma, N., Hoeck, N. V. & Van Overwalle, F.
758 Situation and person attributions under spontaneous and intentional instructions: an
759 fMRI study. *Soc Cogn Affect Neur* **8**, 481–493 (2013).
- 760 86. Tamir, D. I. & Mitchell, J. P. Anchoring and adjustment during social inferences. *J*
761 *Exp Psychology Gen* **142**, 151–162 (2013).
- 762 87. Hackel, L. M., Doll, B. B. & Amodio, D. M. Instrumental learning of traits versus
763 rewards: dissociable neural correlates and effects on choice. *Nat Neurosci* **18**, 1233–
764 1235 (2015).
- 765 88. Mende-Siedlecki, P., Cai, Y. & Todorov, A. The neural dynamics of updating person
766 impressions. *Soc Cogn Affect Neur* **8**, 623–631 (2013).
- 767 89. Morishima, Y., Schunk, D., Bruhin, A., Ruff, C. C. & Fehr, E. Linking brain structure
768 and activation in temporoparietal junction to explain the neurobiology of human altruism.
769 *Neuron* **75**, 73–79 (2012).
- 770 90. Bruhin, A., Fehr, E. & Schunk, D. The many faces of human sociality: Uncovering
771 the distribution and stability of social preferences. *J Eur Econ Assoc* **72**, 738 (2018).
- 772 91. Weiskopf, N., Hutton, C., Josephs, O. & Deichmann, R. Optimal EPI parameters for
773 reduction of susceptibility-induced BOLD sensitivity losses: A whole-brain analysis at
774 3 T and 1.5 T. *Neuroimage* **33**, 493–504 (2006).
- 775 92. Ledoit, O. & Wolf, M. Honey, I Shrunk the Sample Covariance Matrix. *J Portfolio*
776 *Management* **30**, 110–119 (2004).

777

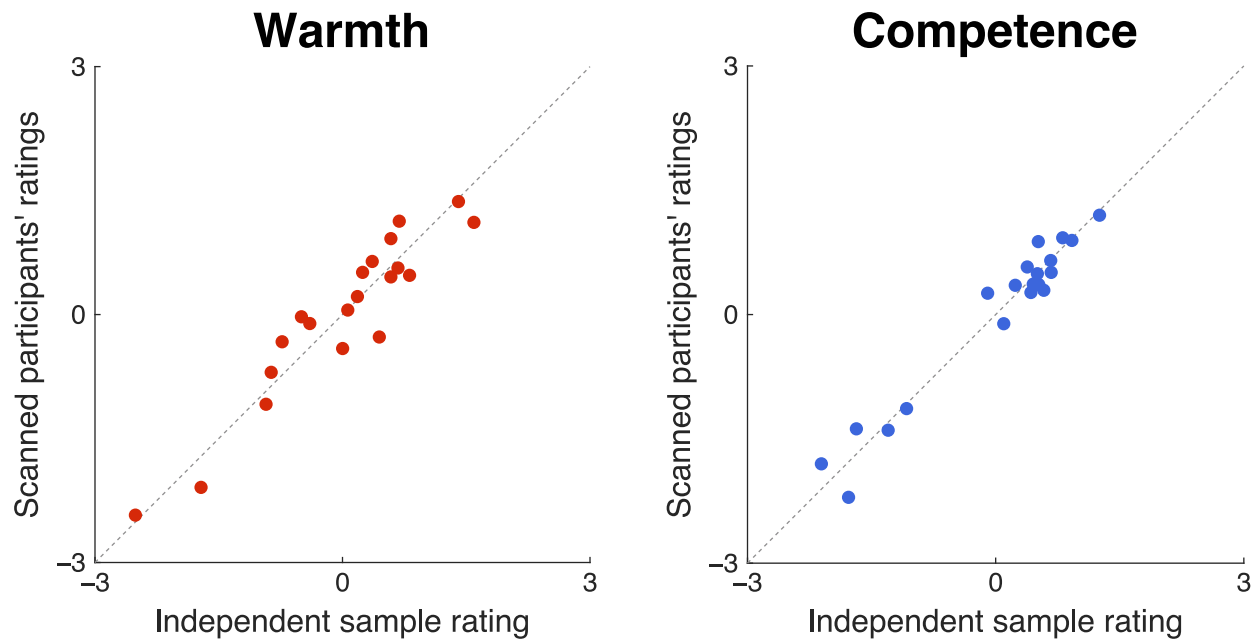
778 **Acknowledgments**

779

780 The authors thank Nakyung Lee and Pierre Karashchuk for assistance with paradigm
781 development; Duy Phan, Amanda Savarese, and Cassandra Carrin for assistance with
782 data collection; and Dilara Berkay for helpful input and assistance with the preparation
783 of fMRI data for analysis.

784 **Supplementary Figures**

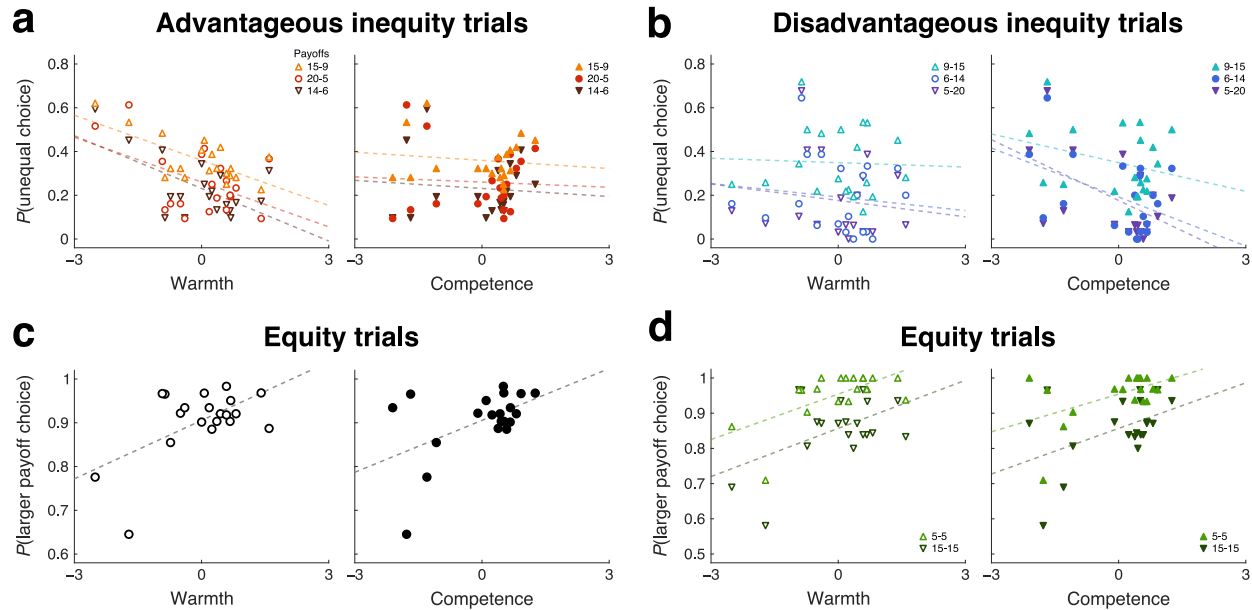
785



786

787

788 **Fig. S1.** Consistency in trait perception. In all behavioral and fMRI analyses, we used
789 ratings of warmth and competence from our previous study (Jenkins et al., 2018, Study
790 1b, $n = 252$; x axis). We also collected ratings from our participants after scanning ($n =$
791 32 ; y axis). These two sets of ratings are highly correlated (warmth: Pearson's $r = .943$,
792 competence: $r = .978$), demonstrating the robustness of trait perceptions.



793
794

795 **Fig. S2.** The effect of perceived traits on monetary allocation choices, separately for
 796 each payoff structure. **a.** In advantageous inequity trials, the unequal self-recipient
 797 allocations were either \$15-\$9, \$20-\$6, or \$14-\$6. Consistent patterns were observed
 798 across these payoff conditions; participants were less likely to choose the unequal
 799 allocation as the recipient's perceived warmth was higher (*left*, 15-9: Pearson's $r = -.68$,
 800 permutation $p = .001$, 20-5: $r = -.47$, $p = .021$, 14-6: $r = -.60$, $p = .004$) irrespective of
 801 the recipient's perceived competence (*right*, 15-9: $r = -.12$, $p = .285$, 20-5: $r = -.06$, $p =$
 802 $.386$, 14-6: $r = -.09$, $p = .331$), and the effect of warmth was stronger than
 803 competence (15-9: $p = .001$, 20-5: $p = .017$, 14-6: $p = .004$). **b.** In disadvantageous
 804 inequity trials, the unequal self-recipient allocations were either \$9-\$15, \$6-\$14, or \$5-
 805 \$20. Consistent patterns were observed across these payoff conditions, except that the
 806 competence effect did not reach statistical significance in 9-15; participants were less
 807 likely to choose the unequal allocation as the recipient's perceived competence was
 808 higher (*right*, 9-15: $r = -.28$, $p = .125$, 6-14: $r = -.44$, $p = .036$, 5-20: $r = -.52$, $p = .018$)
 809 irrespective of the recipient's perceived warmth (*left*, 9-15: $r = -.04$, $p = .417$, 6-14: $r =$
 810 $-.12$, $p = .287$, 5-20: $r = -.14$, $p = .265$), and the effect of competence was stronger than
 811 warmth (9-15: $p = .120$, 6-14: $p = .054$, 5-20: $p = .024$). **c.** In some trials, the participant
 812 was presented with two equal allocations (one option was \$10-\$10, and the other option
 813 was either \$5-\$5 or \$15-\$15). These conditions were only included to encourage the
 814 participant to pay attention to both sets of payoffs and were not discussed in the main
 815 text. In these trials, participants chose the option with higher payoffs more often when
 816 the recipient's warmth was higher ($r = .57$, $p = .009$), and also when their competence
 817 was higher ($r = .51$, $p = .022$). The effects of warmth and competence did not differ
 818 significantly ($p = .362$). These results demonstrate that participants incorporated the
 819 recipient's warmth and competence into their choices in a highly context-dependent
 820 manner. **d.** Consistent behavioral patterns were observed across both payoff conditions
 821 in the equity trials; the larger payoff frequency increased with warmth (*right*, 5-5: $r = .63$,

822 $p = .006$, 15-15: $r = .49$, $p = .022$) and competence (*left*, 5-5: $r = .52$, $p = .020$, 15-15: r
823 $= .46$, $p = .033$), and their effects were comparable (5-5: $p = .287$, 15-15: $p = .440$).