The Interplay between Fairness and the Experience of Respect:

Implications for Group Life

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Abstract

Purpose. To present a new conceptual framework for understanding how perceptions of fairness shape the experience of respect in groups and its implications for individuals' engagement in groups, their psychological well-being, and intergroup relations.

Design/methodology/approach. Research on fairness perceptions and respect emerge from different theoretical traditions including theories of justice, social identity theory, and social context and health. We review this body of work and present the dual pathway model of respect, developed to integrate the different lines of research into a single testable framework. Research testing the model's predictions is presented.

Findings. The dual pathway model posits that concerns about respect follow from the need for social inclusion and for status attainment. Fair treatment from group peers and authorities communicates the extent to which these needs are satisfied, and as such, perceptions of being liked (indicative of inclusion) and of being judged worthy (indicative of status attainment) independently and differentially predict social engagement and psychological well-being.

Originality/value. The dual pathway model provides a framework for integrating and extending existing research on the experience of respect in groups. The model highlights how the inclusion and status dimensions of respect differentially shape outcomes relevant to group functioning: social engagement and psychological well-being. Insights from the model address a broad array of challenges faced by organizations, including building commitment, managing diversity, and promoting health and well-being among its members.

The Interplay between Fairness and the Experience of Respect:

Implications for Group Life

The question of who deserves respect is a core concern of normative theories of justice (e.g., Rawls, 1971). However, respect is more than a mere abstraction. Those who have experienced social exclusion, a loss of standing within a community, or endured unfair and undignified treatment fully understand and appreciate the social and psychological significance of respect. This point is driven home by the sociologist, Richard Sennett, who poses the question: "Unlike food, respect costs nothing. Why then should it be in short supply?" (2003, p. 3). We will argue in this chapter that an answer may be found in the observation that respect is a form of social if not material currency. As such, it is valued by the group as a collective and by individuals within the group, and it plays a central role in regulating group life.

This chapter has three overarching goals. First, we review research on respect motivated by justice theories, social identity approaches to group behavior, and emerging research on links between social context and health. We then present the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008) which was developed to integrate these different approaches into a single conceptual framework. Second, we present empirical evidence to evaluate the hypotheses derived from the dual pathway model and to highlight their implications for the functioning of the group as a whole and for the psychological well-being of individual group members. Finally, we turn our attention to the internal dynamics of groups and consider how the present model might operate differently in relations within groups in contrast to relations that cross group boundaries (i.e. intergroup relations).

GOAL I. Overview of Research on Respect

In everyday language, respect can evoke ideas as diverse as deference to social rules (adhering to the rule of law), attitudes toward the distribution of power in groups (deference to individuals with greater power), and concern for others (protecting the rights of the vulnerable) (Langdon, 2007). These various conceptions of respect are important in their own right and useful in the analysis of a broad range of phenomena from close relationships (Hendrick & Hendrick, 2006) to the formation of social policy (Sennett, 2003).

Our focus, in contrast, is specifically on the role of respect in shaping group life. In this context, the feeling of respect, in its broadest sense, can be defined as individuals' assessment of how they are evaluated by those with whom they share common group membership. This is akin to the notion of *social reputation* – a reflection of the opinions other group members hold of the person (Emler & Hopkins, 1990). A vast body of research has documented that respect, broadly conceptualized, has significant implications for the functioning of both groups and the individuals within them (see Huo & Binning, 2008 for a review). For example, experimental evidence suggests that the experience of being respected by fellow group members leads to more positive attitudes toward the group and greater willingness to engage in activities that propel the collective goals of the group (e.g., Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; De Cremer, 2002; Simon, Lucken, & Sturmer, 2006; Simon & Sturmer, 2005; Smith & Tyler, 1997; Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005). Moreover, findings from multiple field studies suggest that the significance of respect to the group is neither an artifact of the lab nor a weak, transient feeling that simply comes and goes (Boeckmann & Tyler, 2002; Smith & Tyler, 1997; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996).

Although all these studies suggest that respect is crucial to group life, they have often focused their research efforts on different aspects of the broad construct of respect. Respect has been conceived of by some researchers as the quality of treatment that individuals receive from other group members (Tyler & Smith, 1999). Alternatively, respect has been conceived of as information filtered through the eyes of social perceivers, such that the experience of respect is characterized by perceptions that one is well-liked or is a highly valued group member (Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006). Figure 1 illustrates how these different notions of respect are brought together in the present article. We suggest that how one is treated by other group members, both authorities and peers, can convey two distinct messages to the individual: social inclusion (liking) and social standing (status) within the group. For instance, fair treatment may convey messages of the extent to which individuals are warmly embraced by the group on one hand (indicative of inclusion) and the extent to which they are valued by the group on the other hand (indicative of status). Thus, the message of whether one belongs in the group is distinguished from whether one is valued by the group. Most critically, we argue that these two messages – inclusion and status – have unique, distinguishable, and significant implications for group life.

Psychological Approaches to Respect

Having highlighted the relevance of previous work to the present conception of respect, we pursue the question of *why* respect matters. Why does this non-instrumental reward, something that does not tangibly or materially improve one's fortunes, affect groups and individuals in such fundamental ways? One possible answer to these questions can be found in the research on the group-value model of procedural justice (Lind & Tyler, 1988) and the related, relational model of authority (Tyler & Lind, 1992). These models represent a theoretical

perspective, which proposes that high quality treatment from group authorities matters because

of its social identity implications. For instance, when an important group representative or

authority deals with individual members in a fair way (defined as treatment characterized by the

relational criteria of neutrality, trust, and standing – see Lind, Tyler, & Huo, 1997), they convey

the centrality of that person to the group (analogous to status evaluations in our model). In other

words, relationally fair treatment communicates the regard to which the group holds the

individual.[1]

Empirical studies have demonstrated that perceptions of respect from the group mediate

the relationship between treatment quality and attitudes toward the group (Tyler, Degoey, &

Smith, 1996). Similarly, other studies have demonstrated that the link between treatment quality

and perceptions of status is moderated by the social context, such that the relationship is stronger

in an intragroup context (authority and subordinate belong to the same social category) than in an

intergroup context (authority and subordinate belong to different social categories) (Huo &

Tyler, 2001; Smith et al., 1998; Tyler et al., 1998).

While these models provide an explicit and unique explanation for the interplay between

treatment quality and perceptions of worth to the group, they focus almost exclusively on

hierarchical relationships between authorities and subordinates in established groups and

organizations. As reflected in our model of respect, subsequent research has suggested that

issues of fairness in treatment quality generalize beyond the authority-subordinate relationship.

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[1] In this chapter, we focus on the informal aspects of procedural justice (i.e., quality of relational treatment) rather

than the formal aspects of procedures (i.e., whether individuals adhere to objective rules or regulations). Our focus

stems from the theoretical perspective we draw from, the group-value model of procedural justice and the relational

model of authority, which emphasizes the interpersonal aspects of social interactions that characterize perceptions of

fair treatment.

Fair and respectful consideration from equal status peers in groups constructed in the laboratory elicited similar effects as those observed in studies of authority relations, including greater identification with the group and greater willingness to engage in behavior that serve the goals of the group (Simon & Sturmer, 2003; 2005). Similarly, a body of research motivated by a social identity framework has focused on the role of respect in motivating group behavior among equal status group members and has documented the influence of respect feedback on group-oriented attitudes in the context of ad hoc groups (Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006).

These different lines of thinking about respect have in common the shared understanding that what is at stake are people's relationships to the group and to fellow group members. As social beings, people seek out meaningful social interactions and are attentive to information about the quality of their relationship with others in the group. Thus, while relying on different methodological and theoretical approaches, the two traditions converge in suggesting that the experience of respect addresses unique and fundamental questions about social relationships within groups.

Where the approaches differ, however, is in *how* they conceptualize respect. The relational models conceive of respect as judgments of one's worth or value as a group member. In contrast, research focusing on respect from equal status peers tends to operationalize respect as the extent to which the group likes or feels warmly toward individual members. That is, whereas the latter focuses on whether one belongs in the group or not, in the former, one's inclusion in the group is assumed and the focus is on one's standing within the group. We argue that these distinct conceptions correspond to basic social needs – the need for inclusion (social acceptance) and the need for status attainment (social standing recognition). In doing so, we contextualize our notion of respect within the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning,

2008), which organizes the existing research along these two social needs and, more importantly, generates testable predictions about the interplay between fairness concerns, perceptions of respect, and downstream psychological outcomes that affect the functioning of the group and of the individuals within it.

Dual Pathway Model

The various lines of research that contribute to the emerging field of the social psychology of respect in groups point to two general conclusions. The first, less controversial conclusion, is that perceptions of relationally fair treatment matter. Whether it comes from ingroup authorities or peers – fair treatment plays a central role in whether and the degree to which individuals feel respected in the groups they belong to. The second conclusion is that concerns about the informal aspects of procedural fairness and subsequent perceptions of respect are rooted in concerns about individuals' relationship to the group. That is, while the general conclusion that fair treatment is a key indicator of the quality of one's relationship with the group is generally accepted, there is no consensus about the *specific* aspect of the relationship that individuals focus on when reacting to information about respect. As alluded to above, there are two distinct pieces of information that may be conveyed by relationally fair treatment: 1) one's status within the group (e.g., judgments of worth, standing, and competence); and 2) one's inclusion within the group (e.g., feelings of belongingness, liking, and warmth). The recent wave of empirical research on the experience of respect implicates both of these motives. A potential source of conceptual confusion, however, is that these two motives are often confounded and used interchangeably.

The dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008) was developed to address and clarify some of the existing conceptual ambiguities. Drawing from previous theorizing and

research, we base the model on the premise that the experience of respect matters to people because it satisfies two core motives of group life – the need to belong and the striving for status. Relying on these core motives as organizing principles, we propose two pathways (inclusion and status) through which fairness experiences within groups shape perceptions of specific dimensions of respect, which in turn influence attitudes and behaviors that affect the welfare of the collective (group engagement) and of the individual (personal well-being).

The status motive. The striving for status has been argued to be a universal and primary social motive that underlies interactions in social groups (Anderson et al., 2006; Frank, 1985; Hogan & Hogan, 1991). Sociological (and lay) conceptions of status traditionally focus on the individual's objective role or position within the group (e.g., captain of the team vs. one of the players) (Berger, B. P., Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972). However, status can also be thought of as derived from the collective opinions of the group and reflecting the reputational self (i.e., part of one's identity that is linked to attributes valued by the group) (Tyler & Smith, 1999). In the current work, we subscribe to this latter conception of status and view status-based respect as reflecting the individuals' perceptions of their standing or worth as group members (i.e., perceived status). In this way, status evaluations in the present research are not necessarily zero-sum or positional in nature; it is theoretically possible for all group members to feel valued by their group (see supporting argument in Tyler & Blader, 2002).

The inclusion motive. Just as some researchers argue that respect reflects the status motive, others argue that it reflects another basic human motive – the need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). As such, respect serves a critical function by communicating information about a person's inclusion within a social group or acceptance as a group member. There are several lines of work in support of respect as fulfilling the need to belong. One investigation found that

the effect of respectful treatment on willingness to contribute to group welfare was more pronounced among peripheral members than among more central members (De Cremer, 2002). Another found that self-reports of belongingness mediated the relationship between perceived respect and contributions to the group (De Cremer, 2003). A third study found that respectful treatment increased individuals' perception that they are welcomed or accepted within a group in which they were a member (Simon & Sturmer, 2005). These findings are consistent with the idea that respect is rooted in a fundamental need for acknowledgment that one is an accepted member of the group and that one belongs and is liked by other group members.

Status and liking: Two pathways

By recognizing that previous research attributes concerns about respect to two related, but theoretically distinct social motives, the dual pathway model is organized around the premise that there are two corresponding dimensions on which individuals can be judged by the group: how worthy or valued a group member they are (reflecting status motive) and how much they are liked by others (reflecting inclusion motive). Both are social evaluations of the person and contribute to general assessments of perceived respect within the group. Although these two forms of evaluations presumably share common variance, they are theoretically distinguishable much like the basic dimensions of warmth and competence identified in the social perception literature (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). One can easily think of examples in which the most well liked person in a group is not the person conferred with the highest status within the group (e.g., winner of Miss Congeniality in a beauty pageant). Similarly, a high status individual within a group may not be well liked (e.g., the CEO of a company). In this way, the respect accorded an individual can alternately be informed by how well one is liked and warmly

accepted by other group members and by perceptions of one's standing in the eyes of the same group members.

Work by Ellemers, Spears, and their colleagues offer insight into the important distinction between the liking and status aspects of respect. How well one is liked by other group members as a basis for respect has been implicated in a number of social phenomena including intergroup discrimination (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002) and willingness to work on behalf of the group (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004). There is also evidence that competence judgments reflecting status concerns have similar effects as liking on both the desire to exert effort on behalf of the group and on self-evaluations (Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005). Interestingly, when the two dimensions are considered jointly in an experimental context, an interaction effect emerged such that individuals who are judged to be highly competent (reflecting status) but not well-liked by other group members report the highest level of negative emotions although not lower commitment to the group. Thus, although not being liked affects the internal emotional life of highly competent group members, it does not negatively affect group commitment. In sum, there is evidence that there are two distinct dimensions of respect – being liked by the group and being viewed as worthy by the group (in general or on a specific dimension valued by the group). Moreover, the work by Ellemers, Spears and colleagues suggest that the two dimensions can uniquely predict group-based attitudes and emotions.

How Perceptions of Respect are Formed: The Role of Fair Treatment

Next, we move on to discuss the role of relationally fair treatment in shaping perceptions of respect. The interplay between these two related experiences of respect first emerged in work by Tyler and colleagues (see Tyler & Smith, 1999 for a review) on relational models of authority

relations. As noted previously, in the relational model, fair treatment by group authorities communicates to individuals that they are valued by the group. This approach further suggests that such recognition, in turn, motivates the individual to internalize the group's norms and to adopt attitudes and behaviors that benefit the group – what we call group engagement. Being accorded standing also shapes the individual's evaluations of him or herself (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). The actions of group authorities are argued to matter because they represent the views of the group as a whole. It follows that peer treatment should similarly feed into perceptions of one's status within the group. Work by Simon and Sturmer (2003) suggest that peer treatment can motivate social engagement in much the same way as authority treatment. Previous research has consistently generated findings in line with the proposition that perceptions of standing (status respect) mediate between perceptions of fair treatment and group-oriented attitudes and behaviors across a number of different group contexts, including families, university communities, and the workplace (Smith et al., 1998; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996).

To date, there has been little research directly assessing the question of whether a similar meditated relationship would occur for the inclusion dimension of respect (liking). Much of the research focused on the inclusion dimension is motivated by the study of social identity processes in groups which emphasized the influence of direct feedback about liking on group-behavior (see Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005 for a review). In considering the possible link between procedural fairness experiences and perceptions of being warmly embraced and accepted by other group members, it is not unreasonable to speculate that the actions of peers may play a more important role than would the actions of authorities. After all, it has been argued that dimensions of warmth or liking should be most salient in communal relationships

such as that found among peers (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Moreover, work on the sociometer theory also points toward the role of peers in shaping perceptions of how well one is liked by the group. According to the sociometer hypothesis, the self-esteem system functions like an internally held meter of the extent to which individuals are being included or excluded in social situations (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). Support for the hypothesis has primarily come from studies in which feedback in the form of level of liking from interaction partners resulted in systematic changes in self-evaluations (e.g., Srivastava & Beer, 2005). This line of inquiry highlights the role of equal others in communicating information about belongingness.

To summarize, the dual-pathway model suggests there are two related but distinct components of respect and that it is through these two experiences (inclusion and status) that treatment by authorities and peers indirectly shape outcomes relevant to group and individual functioning. In the next section, we begin to examine some of the testable implications of the model.

GOAL II. The Dual Pathway Model: Empirical Evidence

In this section, we consider the empirical evidence in support of the pathways specified in the model and their implications for group engagement and psychological well-being of individual members. We begin by presenting empirical findings from a study we conducted to evaluate the hypothesized relationship between aspects of respect and group engagement. We also consider the potential moderators of the observed relationship. Finally, we present evidence from others' research and our own that are consistent with the hypothesized link between fairness, respect, and psychological well-being.

Fairness, Respect, and Group Engagement

We first consider the question of how fairness perceptions and feelings of respect together shape willingness to embrace the goals of the group, to commit to its success, and to take action to benefit the collective. There is strong empirical evidence that the status pathway plays a significant role in shaping group engagement (Smith et al., 1998; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003; Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996). In addition to the empirical evidence for the status-centered meditated path, we can find theoretical reasons for why status concerns would be important in motivating group engagement. After all, perceived status reflects how generally useful we are to the group and the extent to which our specific talents and abilities contribute to the overall functioning of the group. Moreover, as a form of social identity, when respect is granted, it activates norms for behavior that are consistent with group goals (Tyler & Smith, 1999; Spears et al. 2006). It can also be thought of as a reward or recognition that the group gives to a member who contributes or has the potential to contribute to the group's success (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Thus, the relationship between status-based respect and group members' willingness to act on behalf of the group is reinforced in both directions.

There is also research evidence showing that information about how much one is liked by other group members leads to higher levels of group commitment and group-oriented behavior (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004). However, findings from other studies suggest that when status is controlled for, the relationship between liking and indicators of group engagement attenuates (Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005). More importantly, no study we are aware of has examined the meditated relationship outlined in the inclusion path. That is, there is no existing evidence that can speak to whether the inclusion aspect of respect (perceptions of being liked) mediates between fair treatment and group engagement.

We conducted an initial study to evaluate the utility of the dual pathway model for understanding how fairness judgments and perceptions of respect together predict outcomes relevant to the functioning of the group (for study procedure details see Huo, Molina, Binning & Funge, 2007). The data (*N*=801) were collected in a large urban high school in Southern California. The school context is in some ways particularly suited for testing predictions from the dual pathway model. In schools, we can capitalize on a meaningful group membership and participants' day-in and day-out interactions with both group authorities (teachers/ staff/ administrators) and peers (other students). The sample was 57% female and ethnically diverse (33% Latino; 30% White; 20% Asian; 10% African American; and 7% who indicated "multiethnic" or "other").

One key finding from our analysis of this dataset is that the four main predictors can be empirically distinguished from each other. When considered together, factor analysis produced a four-factor solution. That is, items assessing the extent to which the individual feels others in their community like them and feel warmly towards them can be distinguished from items assessing the extent to which the community values their opinions and respects their achievements. Similarly, although we used parallel items to assess relational fairness judgments from authorities and peers, these items fall onto two distinct factors as well. Interestingly, when composite scales of status evaluation and liking were entered into a regression model to predict a single but face valid measure of respect ("Most of the time I feel that people at my school have a lot of respect for me."), both variables were significant predictors of general respect. In other words, status evaluation and liking, while significantly correlated with each other (*r* =. 52), explained unique variance in perceptions of general respect.

To evaluate predictions from the dual pathway model, we conducted structural equation modeling (SEM). Figure 2 shows the result of the SEM for each of three indicators of group engagement: a) group identification; b) organizational citizenship behavior; and c) school alienation. Whereas group identification and organizational citizenship behavior reflect engagement in the group and its goals, alienation reflects disengagement. The model tests a hypothesized causal path in which perceptions of respect mediate the relationship between perceived treatment quality and the outcome variables. The path coefficients are remarkably similar across the three indicators (Figures 2(a-c)) and provide support for mediation. First, we consider the paths flowing from treatment quality to each of the two dimensions of respect: perceived status and perceived liking. Consistent with past research, both treatment from group authorities and treatment from other group members predicted the extent to which individuals feel valued within the group (perceived status). Moreover, the two coefficients are not significantly different from each other, indicating that authorities and peers were equally influential in shaping perceptions of respect. To date, the path from treatment to perceived liking has not been tested. Figures 2 shows that these paths were significant. However, judgments of how fairly one is treated by one's peers (other students) were a stronger predictor of perceived liking than was treatment from authorities (teachers and staff). Interestingly, when we consider the paths from respect to the outcome variables, only the path from perceived status was significant. Within the full model, perceived liking does not predict any of the three indicators of group engagement.

The findings described here offer preliminary evidence for the utility of the dual pathway model. In particular, they suggest that respect can be parsed into two dimensions – one reflecting the desire for status attainment (status evaluation) and one reflecting the need for

social inclusion (liking). Moreover, the data show that information about the actions of authorities and peers contribute independently to explaining variance in group engagement via the information they convey about group-based respect. When individuals feel that group authorities and peers generally treat them in a fair way (e.g., treat individuals politely, honest in their dealings with individuals), these fairness judgments shape feelings of respect, which in turn, predict the extent to which individuals express attitudes and behavioral intentions consistent with group engagement.

Of course, the findings we presented may be somewhat specific to the context of the data collection site. Below, we consider the factors that may influence the weight assigned to status versus inclusion concerns in shaping attitudes and behaviors indicative of group engagement. We also consider factors that may affect the relative weight assigned to authority versus peers as sources of fairness information. A consideration of these factors suggests directions for future research that will further test the validity of the assumptions that underlie the dual pathway model of respect.

Factors that influence importance of status versus inclusion concerns. We consider three factors that may influence the importance of status and inclusion concerns in shaping group engagement: 1) primary function of the group; 2) duration of the group (new vs. long established); and 3) social needs of individuals. First, we address the issue of the function served by different types of groups. Research on groups suggest that three types of groups can be distinguished depending on the primacy of their function: 1) intimacy groups; 2) task groups; and 3) social categories (Johnson et al., 2006; Lickel et al., 2006). Intimacy groups such as families, friendship networks, and other social groups serve primarily to fulfill affiliation needs (i.e., the feeling of belonging). In contrast, task groups such as work groups or committees serve

primarily to fulfill achievement needs (i.e., the feeling of being competent or judged worthy). In contrast to these two groups, social categories such as gender or ethnicity may serve either or both needs. This framework suggests that the relative importance of inclusion and status concerns may differ depending on the primary function served by the group. For example, in intimacy groups, the role of liking may become more important whereas in task groups, the role of status may become more important. One could argue that the school context in which we tested the conceptual model serves both intimacy and task functions. However, the findings show that when both dimensions of respect were included in the statistical model, only status emerged as a significant predictor. This pattern of finding suggests that the motivation to socially engage in a group is, as we suggested earlier, inextricably linked to concerns about status. However, in order to adequately evaluate this explanation against the alternative possibility that the function of the group would moderate the strength of relationship between each respect path and social engagement would require data collected across different types of groups.

Another factor that may affect which dimension of respect predicts group engagement is the membership status of the individual. For individuals who are long time members of established groups, attention may turn to issues of status differentiation. As we demonstrated with the findings presented earlier of students in their school community, perceptions of their worth as group members are the main predictor of group identification and willingness to act on behalf of the group. However, consider a different situation in which individuals come together to form a new group – one that does not yet have an established structure. In this alternative scenario, the dominant question may not be one of "Am I a worthy and valued member of the group?" but instead one of, "Do I belong at all?" Consequently, inclusion concerns may

dominate and group engagement may be more strongly influenced by signals of affiliation

(liking).

Our suggestion that length of membership in groups may affect the importance assigned

to status and inclusion concerns, if tenable, would potentially reconcile seemingly conflicting

findings in the empirical literature. The study we presented along with a number of findings

collected in the field context including work organizations, schools, residential communities, and

the political system (see Huo & Binning, 2008 for a review) point to the role of status

perceptions in shaping group engagement. In contrast, based on several experiments, Spears and

colleagues (2005) concluded that inclusion concerns as operationalized by liking, rather than

judgments of competence (related to performance status), are the primary factor that shape

willingness to act on behalf of the group. Some notable differences between the field studies and

the experimental evidence (in addition to their conclusions) include the existence of an

established group structure and members' prior history with the group. Whereas the field studies

focus on existing groups with well-established social structures (and presumably mechanisms for

evaluating standing of individual group members), the laboratory experiments examined

processes within ad hoc groups in which there was no established structure nor did any members

have a prior history with the group or each other. Thus, it is easy to see how in this particular

situation, concerns about belongingness may emerge even within the context of a performance

oriented group (i.e., group charged with the task of creating a collaborative project).

Finally, the needs of individuals may also affect their responsiveness to feedback about

status and inclusion. Ethnographic studies point to the idea that status respect gains special

meaning in places with a weak or informal system of law enforcement, because it is these places

where the appearance of honor and social status becomes most critical to protecting one's socio-

economic livelihood (E. Anderson, 2000; D. Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Being

deprived of standing can be construed as a signal to outsiders that one is unable or unwilling to

protect oneself or one's resources, which can trigger anger and violence on behalf of the

wronged in an effort to restore status. Similarly, those who have a high need to belong are more

responsive to information that signals inclusion (De Cremer, & Blader, 2006; Jetten,

Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003).

   Factors that influence importance assigned to authorities and peers. We also consider

ways in which social context may moderate the relative importance of treatment quality in

shaping perceptions of the two dimensions of respect. As we suggested earlier, individuals

appear sensitive to how fairly they are treated by both group authorities and by peers. Group

authorities, it is argued, exert influence through their action because they are empowered by

group members and their actions are symbolic of the views of the group as a whole. However, it

stands to reason that day-to-day interactions with fellow group members may also send messages

about one's standing or inclusion within the group. What might be some conditions under which

fair treatment from authorities may play a more influential role than similar treatment from peers

and vice versa? We consider this question below.

   In intimacy groups in which the ideal is for individual group members to be equally

valued (if not have equal power – e.g., parent-child relationships), individuals may be sensitive

to the actions of all fellow group members. That is, the extent to which they feel that their peers

act in a neutral, polite, and respectful way towards them may play an important role in shaping

their overall attachment to the group and their willingness to engage in its goals. In contrast, in

large groups with highly differentiated structure (clear authorities and subordinates) such as the

work organization, individuals may pay closer attention to how fairly they are treated by group

authorities. In this situation, each individual is unlikely to have repeated interaction with all group members. Hence, a group authority becomes symbolic of the collective's opinion of the individual. For example, employees' evaluations of how fairly their workplace supervisor conducts an annual performance review may be particularly telling of how the organization as a whole respects them as members of the group.

Fairness, Respect, and Psychological Well-Being

One direct indicator of how well a group is functioning is having members who are loyal and willing to engage in activities that help the group achieve its goals. However, it is also worth considering how well *individual* group members are doing as another indicator of the overall well-being of the group. Groups comprised of individuals characterized by high levels of psychosocial and physical well-being should have a clear advantage over groups that do not. Thought of in a different way, individual group members' well-being is at least partially a reflection of the overall climate of the group or organization in which they function. Below, we review evidence that perceptions of respect from the group are linked to indicators of how individuals feel about themselves and can include outcome variables such as self-esteem, mental health, and even physical health.

Some of the most compelling evidence for the link between perceptions of respect and well-being is derived from research on the group-value model of procedural justice. Because of the social identity implications of fair versus unfair treatment, that research has focused on self-esteem as the outcome variable. The status component of respect has been documented to mediate between perceptions of fair treatment from the ingroup and self-esteem both in correlational studies of experiences in real groups (Tyler, Degoey, & Smith, 1996) and in experimental studies in the laboratory (Smith et al., 1998). Moreover, a review of ten datasets

found positive associations between perceptions of being respected by other group members and self-esteem with an average effect size of .36 (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). Other studies have found similar effects for respect on collective self-esteem or the aspect of one's self-concept associated with group identity (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004). As a form of social evaluation, respect appears to play an important role in shaping the self-concept.

Although the evidence is more tentative, there are hints in the literature suggesting an intriguing and potentially important link between experiences with respect and another aspect of personal well-being – the individual's mental and physical health. The epidemiologist, Michael Marmot (2004), coined the term, "status syndrome," to describe the idea that social evaluations have fundamental effects on our health. Drawing on large-scale epidemiological datasets, Marmot observed that after controlling for obvious predictors of health and longevity, such as income and lifestyle, status (social position within a community) independently predicted health outcomes. That is, those in positions socially recognized as having higher status are healthier and live longer. One of the key ideas behind this research is that a lack of status is associated with relatively less control over one's life outcomes, and this lack of control contributes to relatively high levels of stress, depression, and poor physical health.

Attesting to the link between subjective experiences of respect and health outcomes, a large scale survey of over 30,000 Finnish public sector employees found that perception of fair and respectful treatment by work supervisors was negatively related to length of sickness-related absenteeism (Elovianio, van den Bos, Linna, Kivimaki, Ala-Mursula, Pentti, & Vahtera, 2005). The study also found that the relationship between perceived treatment and on-the-job illness can be explained by two factors – lack of work-time control and negative changes in the work environment. A survey of German factory workers uncovered a similar finding. That study

found that experiences of fair and respectful treatment were negatively associated with psychosomatic well-being (number of sick days reported and frequency of feeling ill at work) (Schmitt & Dorfel, 1999). Finally, a field experiment of nurses who received an involuntary salary reduction found that those with supervisors trained to behave in a respectful and fair manner suffered fewer occurrences of sleep problems such as insomnia (Greenberg, 2006).

These linkages are not surprising when we consider the psychological benefits of social inclusion and standing. The sociometer hypothesis highlights the importance of inclusion, by proposing that self-esteem is a reflection of social acceptance – the degree to which one is liked by others and included in the group (Leary & Baumeister, 2000). This premise is consistent with studies showing that social exclusion leads to anxiety and depression (see Williams, Forgas, von Hippel, & Zadro, 2005, for a discussion). Status, in contrast, is associated with power and control, which are positively correlated with psychological functioning (Adler et al., 2000). Thus, both the need for social inclusion as reflected in the liking component of respect and the need for status as reflected in judgments of one's worth or contributions to the group are both potential predictors of well-being, albeit for different reasons.

In the school sample described earlier, we found that both the inclusion and status components of respect independently predict a number of well-being indicators including self-esteem and self-reports of mental health (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010). In each case, however, the inclusion component exerted a slightly stronger influence. There is also evidence that respect mediates between perceptions of fair treatment from group members and indicators of well-being. Although this evidence is suggestive, programmatic research is needed to: 1) demonstrate the robustness of the link between fair treatment, respect, and well-being; and 2)

explore the hypothesized social motives that underlie these relationships (need for inclusion and desire for control that is associated with status).

GOAL III. Exploring Fairness and Group Level (vs. Personal) Respect

The analysis presented thus far is based on the assumption that the social evaluative feedback comes from other members of self-relevant ingroups (Branscombe et al.*,* 2002; Smith et al., 1998). However, the reality is such that social relations within many groups are more complex than that of a simple ingroup composed of individual members. At the workplace, employees are organized into departments and work groups. In diverse communities and groups, ethnicity and race become salient forms of social categorization (Huo & Tyler, 2001). Within these nested social groups, evaluative feedback about one's *subgroup* (e.g., work department, ethnicity) may take on special meaning. For a number of reasons, social evaluative feedback about one's social identity (i.e., the social category one is a part of) may function differently than feedback about an individual as a group member (Huo & Molina, 2006).

In our work, we find that feeling that one's ethnic subgroup (e.g., Latinos) is respected by others in the broader community (more inclusive, superordinate category – e.g., nation, work organization) predicts support for political institutions among Americans (Huo & Molina, 2006) and school engagement among students (Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2007). However, we also found that the relationship between group-level respect and support for the broader community is limited to members of ethnic minority groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos). Among Whites (dominant ethnic group in the United States), group-level respect did not predict any willingness to engage with the broader community. Among this group, personal level respect (evaluations of the person as an individual member of the superordinate category), in contrast to group-level respect (evaluations of the individual's ethnic

subgroup) predicted greater identification with the United States and greater support for its institutions (Huo & Molina, 2006).

The pattern of findings just described suggest that the dynamics we have outlined for intragroup relations may need to be modified when elevated to the context of relations among subgroups who share a superordinate category. For ethnic minority group members, their ethnic group membership is more salient than it would be for majority, dominant group members. Moreover, because of power asymmetries, ethnic minorities who hold a subordinate role in the social context may feel less certain about their status and thus more attentive to social evaluative feedback that communicates relevant information about their group's standing in the broader community.

As we suggested earlier, it is worthwhile to consider the psychological well-being of individuals as an indicator of the group's overall functioning. There is suggestive evidence that social evaluative threat to one's subgroup predicts the overall state of individual well-being. The literature on experiences with racial prejudice (a form of negative social evaluative feedback of one's social identity) and health outcomes shows that experiences with discrimination are associated with adverse effects on indicators of psychological and physical well-being, including self-esteem, stress, depression, and cardiovascular reactivity (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Fang & Myers, 2001; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000). This direct relationship between group-level evaluations and well-being demonstrated in these investigations parallels the body of evidence linking personal respect to self-esteem (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004; Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003) and linking perceptions of fair, respectful treatment to work-related illness (Elovianio et al., 2005; Greenberg, 2006; Schmitt & Dorfel, 1999). Research on stereotype threat (Steele, 1997)

provides a potential illustration of how perceived respect at the group level can contribute to poor health outcomes. This research suggests that being a member of a low status, negatively stereotyped group is a psychological stressor that interferes with academic performance (e.g., on an exam) and thereby contributes to still lower social status (e.g., lower grades) in the domain (G. L. Cohen Garcia, Apfel, & Master, 2006). Low performance in one domain, such as academics, might then limit one's ability to achieve status in another domain, such as employment. This could of course further limit one's control and increase stress in a downward cycle.

There is, however, evidence suggesting that group respect may operate differently than personal respect in predicting indicators of well-being. On the one hand, one can argue that when a self-relevant group identity is under scrutiny, it poses an additional source of threat to the self, and the effects on well-being would be additive. In contrast, contemporary research on the psychology of stigma suggest that for targets of discrimination, appraisal and coping processes may be engaged to protect the self from group-based evaluations (Major, 2006). In the now classic work by Crocker and Major (1989) three such processes are identified: 1) devaluing the domain in which the group is disadvantaged, 2) making intragroup versus intergroup comparisons, and 3) attributing negative events to discrimination rather than to one's internal, stable characteristics (Crocker & Major, 1989). An alternative strategy may involve seeking emotional, social, and instrumental support from the ingroup to defend against experiences of discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Jones, 2004; and Sellers et al., 1998).

In an initial test of the relationship between group-level respect and psychological well-being, we analyzed data collected from an ethnically diverse group of students (Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2007). The analysis produced two notable findings. The first is that group-

level respect did not predict personal self-esteem among any of the four ethnic groups included in the study (African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, or Whites). The second is that group-level respect did predict self-reports of physical well-being but only among Asian Americans and Latinos. In interpreting these findings, we first consider the case of Whites. It is not surprising that group respect was unrelated to self-esteem or physical well-being for Whites. As we argued previously, race may not be a salient or meaningful identity for members of dominant groups (Waters, 1990). Next, we turn to the more complex pattern of findings involving the ethnic minority groups. The finding that for Asian Americans and Latinos, the influence of group-level respect seems to manifest itself most strongly in indicators of physical well-being in contrast to self-esteem suggests the importance of distinguishing among different indicators of well-being. When considered together, the findings are suggestive of the possibility that the impact of group respect may be more easily detected in physiological processes or physical symptoms, which is a less controlled measure of internal states than are reports of self-esteem.

Future Research on Fairness and Group-Level Respect

An important direction for future research is to pinpoint the psychological mechanism(s) underlying the relationship between group-level respect and psychological well-being. To what extent is the relationship accounted for by stress attributable to loss of control or by feelings of isolation resulting from social exclusion? This distinction, which we have focused on in our analyses of intragroup relations, has not been systematically evaluated at the intergroup level. There is also need for work to examine how fairness concerns shape responses to group-level respect. Endorsement of beliefs that legitimize group-based inequality, for example, may affect how individuals respond to group-level social evaluative feedback (Major & Schmader, 2001).

Those who feel that social inequalities are legitimate and fair may, ironically, be most adversely affected by information that their group is devalued. These individuals are least likely to engage in appraisal and/or coping strategies to deal with such feedback. Another potentially important question for future research is the issue of how fairness in interpersonal interactions may shape perceptions of group-level respect. Within a group, we found that interpersonal procedural fairness is positively related to perceptions of personal respect (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2010). It is possible that the same fair treatment, when it comes from an outgroup member, may have the opposite effect on perceptions of group-level respect. This reasoning follows work by Ellemers and colleagues (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004) demonstrating that positive feedback from outgroup members elicits feelings of shame.

In sum, the dynamics between fair treatment, respect, and group and individual outcomes we outlined for relations that occur within a group are likely to be distinct from the dynamics that would occur in relations that cross group boundaries. Thus, in organizations characterized by high levels of cultural/ethnic diversity or specialization, the role of respect, its antecedents, and its outcomes for the collective and individuals within it must be evaluated in light of factors relevant to intergroup relations.

Conclusion

Research on the psychological experience of respect suggests that it is a basic form of social evaluation that emerges in interactions with fellow group members and that it plays an important role in shaping not only engagement in group life but also in the well-being of individual group members. Moreover, it is rooted in meeting two basic social motives - the desire for inclusion and the desire for status attainment – and is shaped in part by judgments of how fairly oneself or one's ingroup is treated by others. Unfair treatment can lead to feelings

that one or one's group is devalued and/or excluded. Such perceptions then lead to disengagement which has the potential to negatively affect organizational outcomes including productivity, profit, and turn-over (Harter, Schmidt, & Hayes, 2002). Feeling devalued or excluded can also negatively impact the overall well-being of individual group members, which can in turn influence their ability to contribute to group productivity. The relationships outlined highlight how fairness perceptions generated from interpersonal interactions with fellow group members can affect group engagement and well-being downstream. While fairness and respect also matter in relationships that cross group boundaries (different ethnic groups or work groups within an organization), we argue that the dynamics of these two judgments and their psychological effects are distinct from what would occur in an intragroup context.

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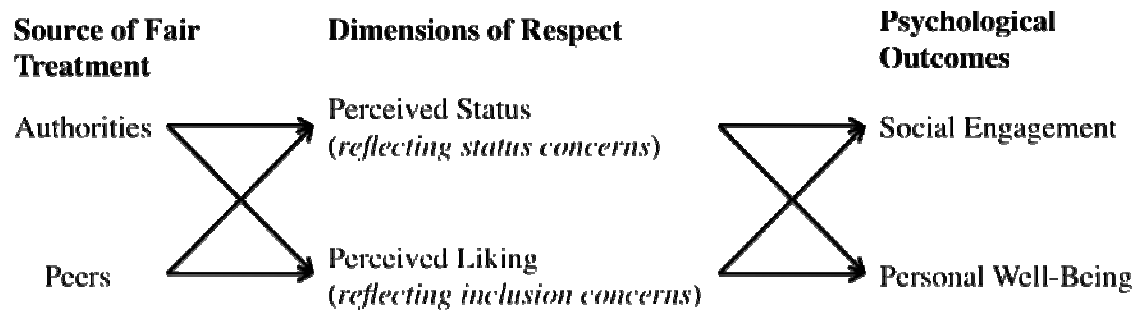
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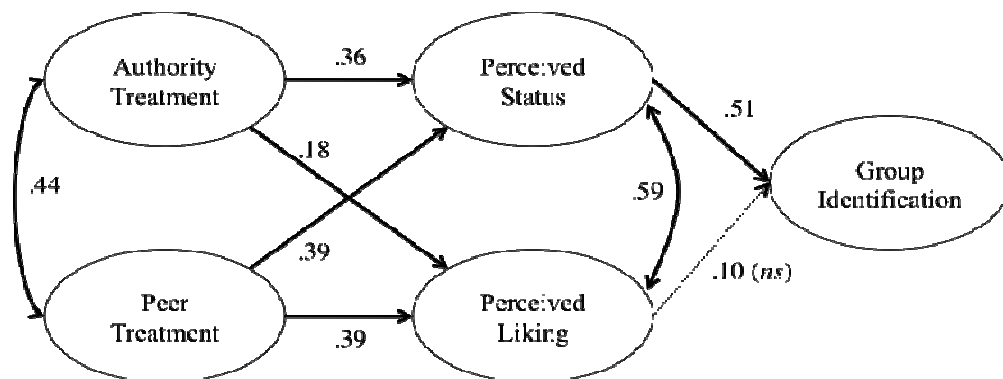
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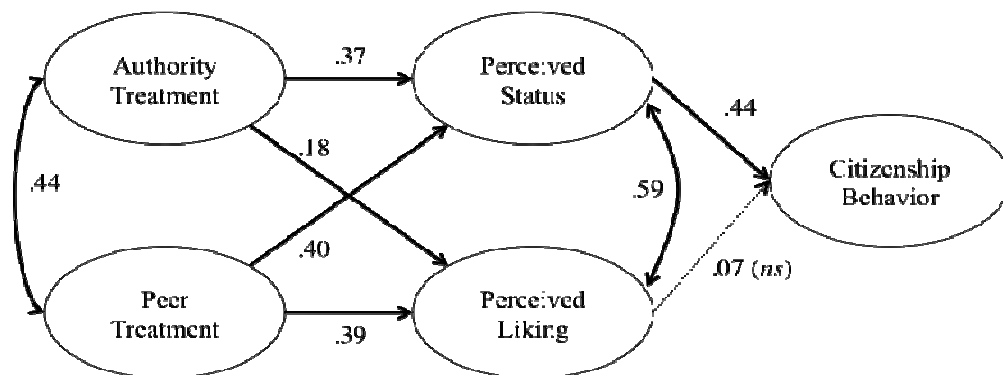
Figure captions.

Figure 1. Dual Pathway Model of Respect

Figures 2 (a-c) Structural Equation Models of Dual Pathway Model for Group Identification (2a),

Organizational Citizenship Behavior (2b), and Alienation (2c)

Source of Fair Treatment

Dimensions of Respect

Psychological Outcomes

Authorities

Peers

Perceived Status
(*reflecting status concerns*)

Perceived Liking
(*reflecting inclusion concerns*)
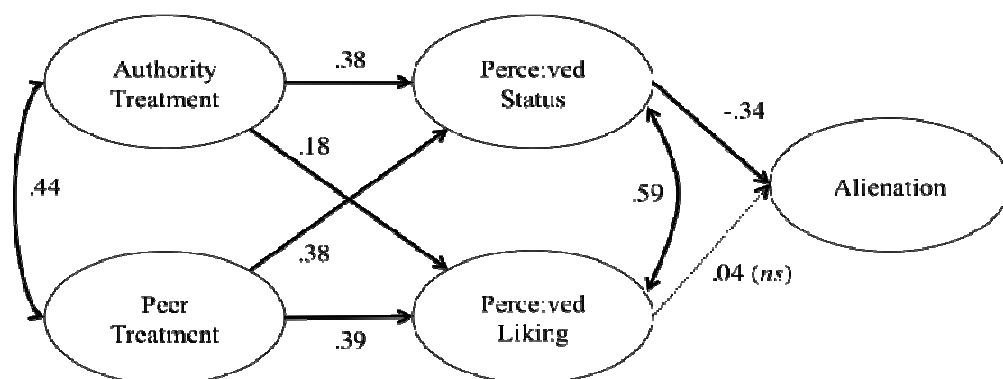
Social Engagement

Personal Well-Being

Satorra-Bentler $\chi^2(144) = 279.79, p < .001$
RMSEA = .03
CFI = .972

Satorra-Bentler $\chi^2(144) = 265.10, p < .001$
RMSEA = .03
CFI = .974

Satorra-Bentler $\chi^2(144) = 281.80, p < .001$
RMSEA = .04
CFI = .967