


# Testing an Integrative Model of Respect: Implications for Social Engagement and Well-Being

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## Abstract

Prior research demonstrates that feelings of respect affect important aspects of group functioning and members' psychological well-being. One limitation is that respect has been variously defined as reflecting individuals' status in the group, degree to which they are liked by the group, and how fairly they are treated in interactions with group members. These different conceptions are integrated in the dual pathway model of respect. The authors tested the model's prediction that fair treatment from group members shapes attitudes toward the group and self via two distinct pathways: status and inclusion. Findings from a field study supported the model and yielded new insights: Whereas perceptions of status predicted social engagement, liking was more important in predicting well-being (especially among dominant subgroups). Discussion focuses on the utility of the dual pathway model for understanding how respect perceptions are formed and how they affect the welfare of groups and individuals.

## Keywords

status, inclusion, social identity, procedural justice, group processes, self-esteem

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One of the most consistent findings to emerge from groups research is that individuals are deeply affected by how they are viewed and evaluated by fellow group members. Individuals' assessment of the quality of their relationship with other group members is referred to as *respect* (see Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006; Tyler & Smith, 1999). Existing empirical evidence shows that giving and receiving respect are important in regulating intragroup relations and in influencing personal well-being (see Huo & Binning, 2008, for a review). Studies have linked respect to attitudes and behaviors that affect the welfare of the group, ranging from community engagement (Boeckmann & Tyler, 2002) to socially destructive behaviors (J. D. Leary, Brennan, & Briggs, 2005). The link between respect and the self-concept is also well documented (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). Together, these findings suggest that the experience of respect is an important aspect of social life.

Although the implications of feeling respected or disrespected are clear (see also Miller, 2001), pinpointing the essence of what it is to be respected remains elusive. At the broadest level, there is agreement that respect represents some aspect of the group's evaluation of the individual, similar to the notion of *social reputation*—a reflection of the collective opinions other group members hold of the person (Emler & Hopkins, 1990). Beyond this general consensus, there is divergence in how respect has been conceptualized.

It has been conceptualized as individuals' perceptions of their standing and worth to the group (perceived status; Tyler & Smith, 1999), their sense of inclusion within the group (perceived liking; Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004; Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005), and as fair and respectful treatment from group members (treatment quality; De Cremer & Blader, 2006; Simon & Stürmer, 2003, 2005; Smith et al., 2003; Tyler, DeGoey, & Smith, 1996).

## The Dual Pathway Model of Respect

These disparate views of respect can be accounted for by the fact that the research emerges from distinct theoretical and empirical traditions—each with its own assumptions about why respect from the group matters to individuals. The dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008) was recently developed to integrate these various conceptions of

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respect into a single conceptual framework. Organized around two core social motives—the need for status (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006; Frank, 1985) and the need for social inclusion (Baumeister & Leary, 1995)—the model describes two pathways (status and inclusion) through which social evaluative feedback from the group (i.e., respect in its various manifestations) shapes attitudes and behaviors that affect the functioning of the group (social engagement) and of the individual (personal well-being). These components of respect are, in turn, informed by perceptions of the quality of interactions with group authorities and peers. In the present research, we seek to examine the utility of this model for advancing understanding of how the different conceptions of respect relate to each other, the experiences that shape them, and how each component of respect uniquely influences attitudes toward the group and the self. We do so by testing the model's predictions using survey data collected in a real-world setting in which individuals reported about their actual experiences with others in a meaningful, self-relevant group. In the following, we describe and outline predictions derived from the dual pathway model of respect.

**Status pathway.** In the model, one of the two pathways through which respect shapes attitudes toward the group and the self is status. 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, 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 individual's perceptions of his or her standing or worth as a group member (i.e., perceived status).

The idea of respect as reflecting individuals' perceptions of their standing within the group can be traced to the group-value model (Lind & Tyler, 1988) and the relational model of authority (Tyler & Lind, 1992). The theoretical perspective represented by these models was developed to explain the fair treatment effect—the observation that people are affected by the quality of their interactions with group authorities. To explain the effect, the group-value model begins with the premise that people care about their standing within groups they belong to and identify with. They seek out information about the degree to which they are valued by self-relevant groups. One way in which their status within these communities can be conveyed is through the actions of group authorities. Empowered by the group, the actions of authorities are presumed to reflect collective opinions. Thus, individuals pay close attention to whether the authority has behaved in a neutral, trustworthy, and polite way. When authorities' behaviors conform to these relational standards, people feel that they have been treated fairly. Fair treatment, in turn,

suggests that the individual is a high status, valued group member. Treatment that fails to meet these standards communicates an absence of respect and that the individual is a low status, marginal group member.

**Inclusion pathway.** The dual pathway model also includes a second pathway in which respect is assumed to reflect individuals' perceptions of the degree to which the group feels warmly toward them (i.e., perceived liking). A number of studies have found that respect, operationalized as liking, shaped attitudes toward the group (Branscombe et al., 2002; Ellemers et al., 2004; Spears et al., 2005). In these investigations, being liked by other group members is thought to matter because it satisfies the fundamental need to feel included in social groups (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). There is empirical support for this assumption. One study found that self-reported belongingness mediated the relationship between perceived respect and contributions to the group (De Cremer, 2003). Another found a stronger relationship between the opportunity for voice (a common operationalization of procedural justice) and organizational identification as well as self-evaluations among those who reported a strong need to belong (De Cremer & Blader, 2006). A third study concluded that respectful treatment from peers increased individuals' perceptions that they are welcomed group members (Simon & Stürmer, 2005). Together, these findings lend support to the suggestion that the liking component of respect is rooted in inclusion concerns and conveys important information about the quality of individuals' social connections to other group members.

**Support for the distinction.** The dual pathway model suggests that one's sense of their subjective status within and connectedness to self-relevant groups contributes to their general experience of respect. More importantly, although these two forms of respect judgments presumably share common variance, they are theoretically distinguishable, much like the distinction between competence (related to status concerns) and warmth (related to inclusion concerns) in social perception (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Work by Spears and colleagues (2005) offers insight into the importance of distinguishing between status and liking. In an effort to disentangle the effects of these two components of respect, they experimentally manipulated liking and competence (reflecting status) and found that those who were evaluated as highly competent on a group task, yet not well liked, report the highest level of negative emotions although not lower group commitment. Similarly, a study by Simon and Stürmer (2005) suggests that liking may be more closely tied to perceptions of acceptance by group members than to status. Together, these different lines of work hint that the two components of respect are distinguishable and that the way in which one is respected by fellow group members may have predictable consequences.

Following the dual pathway model, the current study examines the independent influence of group members' perceptions of the degree to which others in their group value them (perceived status) and like them (perceived liking) on

the functioning of the group (social engagement) and of the individual (personal well-being). If the two components represent the same construct, then controlling for the effects of one component should remove the influence of the other. On the other hand, if, as the model suggests, the two components are distinguishable, then it raises the interesting question of when one component may be more important than the other. In considering this question, the dual pathway model suggests that the influence of perceived status and liking may be moderated by whether the outcome variable reflects the welfare of the group or of the individual.

### *Perceived Status and Liking as Predictors of Group Functioning*

We first consider the relationship between components of respect and group functioning. We focus on the individuals' identification with and commitment to the group's goals and welfare—an array of variables we refer to as social engagement. According to the dual pathway model, social engagement should be linked to individuals' perceptions of the extent to which the group regards them as worthy and valued members (perceived status). Individuals' status within a group has been argued to be a reflection of how useful they are to the group and the extent to which their talents, abilities, and values contribute to the overall functioning of the group (Berger et al., 1972). In this way, status respect can be thought of as social currency—a reward or recognition that the group gives to members who contribute or has the potential to contribute to the group's success (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Furthermore, because status judgments are rooted in the group's beliefs and values, it has been argued that this component of respect, when communicated to group members, activates norms for attitudes and behaviors that promote group goals (Tyler & Smith, 1999). This is not to say that perceptions of being liked are unrelated to social engagement. In fact, studies operationalizing respect as liking have documented its effects on a number of group-serving behaviors (Branscombe et al., 2002; Ellemers et al., 2004). Rather, when both perceived status and liking are considered together, status concerns, because of the presumed role it plays in regulating the internal dynamics of groups, should emerge as the stronger predictor of social engagement.

### *Perceived Status and Liking as Predictors of Psychological Functioning*

Next, we consider the relationship between components of respect and psychological functioning. We refer to this array of variables, which includes self-esteem and general mental health, as personal well-being. Self-esteem has been the focus of research on the psychology of respect (Smith et al., 2003). We included general mental health as an outcome variable because there is growing evidence, largely epidemiological, suggestive of the role that respect may play in shaping mental

and physical health (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000; Marmot, 2004). The inclusion of general mental health is an initial step in addressing the question of whether experiences with respect may have broader consequences for psychological functioning than has been previously documented.

The evidence suggests that perceived status and liking each play a role in shaping personal well-being, but for different reasons. The group-value model (Tyler & Smith, 1999) proposes that information about one's relative standing within a self-relevant group should lead to more positive feelings about the self. A review of 10 data sets found moderate positive associations between status-based respect (perceived worthiness/value as a group member) and self-esteem (Smith et al., 2003). Additionally, experimental evidence shows that status respect mediates the link between fair treatment and self-esteem, especially when the information comes from an ingroup decision maker (Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998). These linkages are not surprising when we consider the psychological benefits of having high standing in a social group. Status is associated with power and control, which are positively correlated with psychological functioning (Adler et al., 2000).

There is also compelling evidence that being liked is positively associated with self-esteem (M. R. Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995; Srivastava & Beer, 2005). This work is motivated by the sociometer hypothesis, which proposes that self-esteem is a reflection of social acceptance—the degree to which one is liked by others and included in the group (M. R. Leary & Baumeister, 2000). This premise is consistent with findings that social exclusion leads to anxiety and depression (Williams, Forgas, von Hippel, & Zadro, 2005). Together, the evidence suggests that feedback that one is well liked should positively correlate with personal well-being, and this relationship is attributable to the desire for inclusion. In sum, perceptions of one's worth or contributions to the group rooted in status concerns and liking rooted in the desire for inclusion should each predict personal well-being, albeit for different reasons.

### *Authorities and Peers as Sources of Respect*

Another contribution of the dual pathway model is the suggestion that part of the experience of respect comes from individuals' interactions with fellow group members. That is, how individuals are treated by group authorities and peers can shape perceptions of the extent to which they are valued and liked by the group. The relational model of authority (Tyler & Lind, 1992) suggests that authorities who behave in a neutral, trustworthy, and benevolent way are judged to have acted fairly. Fair treatment by group authorities signals to the individual that he or she is a respected and valued member of the group and, in turn, motivates social engagement and enhances the self-concept.

There is evidence in support of respect mediating between treatment quality and relevant outcome variables, but they

have been gathered primarily in the context of authority-subordinate relations and have focused on the status component of respect (Smith et al., 2003; Smith & Tyler, 1997). Here, we examine the relationship between respect communicated by group members in interpersonal interactions (with both authorities *and* peers) and *each* of the two components of respect (perceived status and liking). Doing so allows us to address two important yet to our knowledge unexplored questions. First is whether liking mediates between treatment quality and indicators of collective and individual well-being in much the same way as has been demonstrated when respect is conceived of as status. The second is whether the source of treatment matters in shaping components of respect. Although we offer no strong predictions regarding the relationship between sources of treatment quality and components of respect, we can speculate about possible differences. An argument can be made that peer treatment would be the more important source of information about how well one is liked by the group. The logic follows from the observation that warmth or liking should be most salient in communal relationships such as that among peers (Fiske et al., 2007). In contrast, authorities, because of their special position and influence within a group, should be a particularly diagnostic source of information about the individual's standing within the group (Tyler & Smith, 1999).

### Overview of Current Study

The current study tests predictions from the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008). The model represents an effort to integrate different lines of research on the psychological experience of respect and its implications for group and individual functioning. At the core of the model is the assumption that respect reflects not one but two distinct dimensions of social evaluation: status (perceiving that the group judges oneself to be a valued or worthy member) and liking (perceiving that the group feels warmly towards oneself). Predictions from the model will be tested using data gathered from a diverse sample of high school students reporting about their everyday school experiences. The sample we draw from has some attractive features for our purposes. First, this naturally occurring context is characterized by both hierarchical (teacher-student) and peer (student-student) relationships. Second, it allows us to capitalize on a group membership that is salient and meaningful to participants. These features lend themselves to a valid test of the hypothesized relationships. Finally, the diversity of the sample presents an opportunity to examine whether the relationships specified in the model hold up across gender and ethnic groups. Although we have no a priori predictions regarding subgroup membership, evaluating the model across these different groups is potentially informative in evaluating its robustness.

In testing the model, our first step is to examine whether perceived status and liking can be empirically distinguished.

If so, we proceed to test the hypothesis that the relative strength of relationship between each component of respect and the outcome variables depends on whether the outcome is an indicator of social engagement or of personal well-being. For social engagement, we argue that perceived status, because of the role it plays in regulating internal group dynamics, will be a primary predictor. In contrast, given that status and inclusion needs each has implications for how individuals feel about themselves, both perceived status and liking may play a role in predicting personal well-being. Finally, we test the prediction that respect as reflected in the actions of other group members (authorities and peers) will indirectly influence the outcome variables through the two components of respect (perceived status and liking). In testing these predictions, we aim to extend and clarify our understanding of *how* the interplay of respect, in its various manifestations, affects the functioning of groups and of the individuals within it.

## Method

### Participants

A written questionnaire was administered to 1,377 students (58% female, 42% male) at two public high schools in the greater Los Angeles area. Data were collected at the first site ( $N = 801$ ) in December 2005, followed at the second site ( $N = 576$ ) in October 2006. Similar procedures were used in both waves of data collection. Average age was 15.75 years ( $SD = 1.15$ ). Reflective of the region's diversity, the sample was 44% Latino, 18% White, 15% Asian American, 15% African American, and 8% from other ethnic categories. In addition, 13% of the sample indicated they were from more than one ethnic group (see Binning, Unzueta, Huo, & Molina, 2009).

### Procedure

Parental consent forms (in English and in Spanish) were sent home the week prior to the administration of the survey. To increase the informed consent return rate, all students who returned their signed parent consent form, with or without parental permission to participate, were entered in a raffle (two \$10 prizes per class). Students with parental permission to participate were asked for their assent to participate. Surveys were completed in a single session in the students' assigned classroom. A total of 60% of students who were present at the time their classroom was visited completed the questionnaire.

### Predictor Variables

Participants were asked to report about their experiences at school, their views about the school and about themselves, and demographic questions. Unless otherwise noted, all



items were rated on 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*).

**Perceived status.** Five items measured participants' perceptions of their status within the school. Because we were interested in participants' perceptions of how the overall community feels about them, they were asked to consider the views of everyone, including peers (other students) and authorities (teachers/school staff). These items were adapted from work by Tyler and his colleagues (1996) and begin with the stem "Most of the time I feel that people at school . . .": "Respect my achievements," "Value my opinions and ideas," "Approve of how I live my life," "Think well of how I conduct myself," and "Think highly of my abilities and talents." The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

**Perceived liking.** Four items measured participants' perceptions of the extent to which they are well liked by others (both peers and authorities) within their school. Paralleling the perceived status items, these items begin with the stem "Most of the time I feel that people at school . . .": "Like me as a person," "Feel warmly towards me," "Consider me to be a nice person to have around," and "Don't like me" (reverse coded). The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .76$ ).

**Authority treatment.** For this variable, 10 items measured the participants' perceptions of how they are treated by school authorities (teachers and school staff). These items were adapted from previous work on authority-subordinate interactions (Huo, 2003). Participants were asked to consider how often each statement describes their experiences with teachers and school staff (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*): "Treat me fairly," "Are fair in the way they make decisions about me," "Are honest in their dealings with me," "Get all the facts before making decisions that affect me," "Show concern for my rights," "Treat me politely," "Consider my views when dealing with me," "Show they care about my concerns," "Give me a chance to express my opinions before making decisions about me," and "Try to be fair to all students—not just some students." The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .93$ ).

**Peer treatment.** Here, 10 items measured the participants' perceptions of how they are treated by other students. Participants were asked to consider how often each of 10 statements describes their experiences with other students at their school (1 = *never*, 5 = *always*). These items paralleled the items for authority treatment. The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .94$ ).

### Outcome Variables

The two categories of outcomes, social engagement and personal well-being, were each measured with two variables. Group identification and group-oriented behaviors represented social engagement. Self-esteem and general mental health represented personal well-being.

**Group identification.** Three items measured the extent to which participants feel identified with their school: "I am proud to be a member of my school," "What my school stands for is important to me," and "When someone praises the accomplishments of my school, I feel it is a personal compliment to me." The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

**Group-oriented behaviors.** Four items measured the extent to which participants report willingness to engage in behavior that help the group: "I like to do things that help to improve my school's image," "I talk up my school to other people as a good place to be a student," "I like to volunteer for activities at my school," and "I like to help out at school." The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

**Personal self-esteem.** The 10-item Rosenberg (1965) self-esteem scale was used to measure personal self-esteem (e.g., "I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others;" 1 = *disagree strongly* and 4 = *agree strongly*). The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .71$ ).

**General mental health.** Five items representing the general mental health subscale of the Medical Outcomes Study (Ware & Sherbourne, 1992) were included to indicate psychological well-being. Participants were asked how often each of the following situations applied to them over the course of the current year: "Been a very nervous person" (reverse coded), "Felt so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer you up" (reverse coded), "Felt calm and peaceful," "Felt downhearted and blue" (reverse coded), and "Been a happy person." The rating scale ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*always*). The items were reliable and averaged to form a single variable ( $\alpha = .69$ ).

## Results

### Analysis Approach

Prior to conducting a full test of the dual pathway model using structural equation modeling (SEM), we conducted confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) to evaluate the hypothesis that respect consists of two distinguishable dimensions. For both CFA and SEM, a significant chi-square test indicates that the model did not fully fit the data. However, chi-square tests are sensitive to sample size, and degrees of freedom and are usually significant with large samples. Based on analyses conducted using EQS 6.1, two alternative fit indices, not sensitive to sample size, were used to assess model fit following guidelines suggested by Bentler (2007): root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; best if .05 or lower) and Comparative Fit Index (CFI; best if .95 or greater). Summary statistics and intercorrelations for all measured variables are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Main Variables

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Perceived status	3.48	0.80	—	.57**	.47**	.50**	.47**	.38**	.26**	.28**	.11**	.03
2. Perceived liking	3.87	0.81		—	.32**	.43**	.37**	.30**	.26**	.29**	.20**	-.03
3. Authority treatment	3.67	0.82			—	.34**	.42**	.31**	.21**	.23**	.15**	.08**
4. Peer treatment	3.16	0.86				—	.30**	.26**	.21**	.15**	.00	.00
5. Group identification	3.27	1.04					—	.65**	.18**	.27**	.13**	.00
6. Group-oriented behavior	2.93	0.99						—	.17**	.26**	.11**	.03
7. General mental health	3.29	0.91							—	.44**	.07**	.03
8. Self-esteem	3.13	0.45								—	.04	.03
9. Gender	—										—	-.07*
10. Ethnic group status (high/low)	—											—

Note: High scores indicate greater levels of the construct.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

### Are Perceived Status and Liking Empirically Distinguishable?

We conducted confirmatory factor analysis to evaluate whether perceived status and liking are empirically distinguishable factors. The factors were allowed to correlate because they are each related to the more general construct of respect, and bivariate correlation shows that the two variables are related ( $r = .57, p < .01$ ). The model produced a significant Satorra-Bentler (SB) chi-square value, SB  $\chi^2(26) = 194.18, p < .001$ , but alternative indices revealed acceptable fit: RMSEA = .07 (90% confidence interval [CI] = .06-.08), CFI = .96. We also evaluated a one-factor model and found it was a poor fit to the data: SB  $\chi^2(27) = 584.34, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .13 (90% CI = .12-.14), CFI = .85. A chi-square difference test comparing the two models (Bentler & Bonett, 1980) suggested that the two-factor model produced a significantly better fit,  $\chi^2(1) = 390.16, p < .001$ . To further explore the relationship between perceived status and liking, we examined the partial correlation between each variable and a single, face-valid item assessing general respect (“Most of the time I feel that people at school have a lot of respect for me”). Both variables were significantly correlated with reports of general respect ( $r = .52$  for perceived status;  $r = .57$  for perceived liking;  $ps < .001$ ). After controlling for the other variable, perceived status and liking each continued to be correlated with general respect ( $r = .28, r = .40, ps < .001$ , respectively). These results suggest that the two components of respect, while sharing some common variance, can be empirically distinguished.

### Testing the Dual Pathway Model

Our analysis strategy took advantage of the fact we have two independent data sets—collected at different times at

different sites. The plan was to test the hypothesized model using data from the first school we surveyed and, based on post hoc modification indices, make adjustments to the model and replicate it using the second sample.<sup>1</sup> The testing procedure on the first data set will inform us where (a) the model introduces paths that the empirical data indicate are not needed and (b) the model omitted paths that the empirical data indicate should be included. A Wald test for dropping parameters and a Lagrange multiplier (LM) test for adding parameters were requested in the EQS data output.

The hypothesized model included paths from each of the treatment factors (authority and peer treatment) to each component of respect (perceived status and liking) and from each component of respect to each of two outcomes: social engagement (represented by group identification and group-oriented behavior) and personal well-being (represented by self-esteem and general mental health).<sup>2</sup> Estimates were included for the factor correlation between authority and peer treatment, as well as for the correlation between the factor disturbance terms for (a) perceived status and liking and (b) social engagement and personal well-being. The factor-to-factor paths *not* included in the model were from the treatment factors to the outcome factors. These missing paths reflected the assumption that the effects of authority and peer treatment on the outcomes would be fully mediated by perceptions of respect. Given the large sample size, the test of the hypothesized model, not surprisingly, produced a significant chi-square value, SB  $\chi^2(93) = 212.32, p < .001$ . However, alternative fit indices revealed good fit. The average absolute standardized residual was .026 (with the highest three individual residuals, .070, .069, and .068), which indicated that the model was generally able to reproduce the correlations among the variables within  $\pm .03$ . The RMSEA was .041 (90% CI = .038-.047) and the CFI was .978.

We examined the Wald and LM tests to glean information about where the model was potentially misspecified. The Wald test indicated that the model included two paths that were not needed: (a) path from perceived liking to social engagement and (b) correlated error term between social engagement and personal well-being. Both could be dropped without significantly decreasing model fit,  $\chi^2$  change = 1.70 and 5.08,  $p > .05$ . The suggestion to drop the path from perceived liking to social engagement is consistent with our thought that social engagement would be primarily shaped by perceived status. The suggestion to drop the correlated disturbance term between the two outcome dimensions simply indicated that the residuals of the outcomes were unrelated to one another, and given the very different nature of these outcomes, dropping this path seemed reasonable.

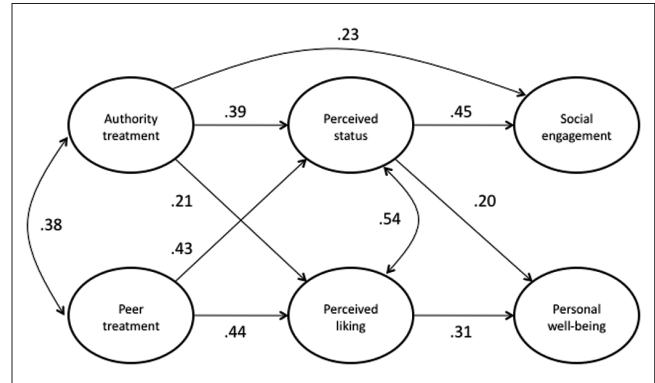
The LM test focuses on whether unspecified factor-to-factor paths, if included in the model, would lead to an improvement in model fit. This test indicated that a path from authority treatment to social engagement would significantly improve model fit,  $\chi^2$  change = 29.19,  $p < .001$ . This finding suggests that the relationship between authority treatment and social engagement was not fully mediated by perceived status and liking. However, analyses revealed that the effect of authority treatment on social engagement was partially mediated, as the strength of this added direct path ( $B = .23$ ) was significantly lower than the unmediated direct effect ( $B = .35$ ,  $t = 3.54$ ,  $p < .001$ ). No other missing factor-to-factor paths would significantly improve model fit if included. Making the modifications to the model suggested by the Wald and LM tests increased degrees of freedom by one, and upon rerunning the model based on these modifications, the model displayed an improvement in overall fit, SB  $\chi^2(94) = 193.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .038 (90% CI = .031-.045), CFI = .981.

Because post hoc modifications to the model may capitalize on chance, we replicated the modified model with the sample from the second school site. A parallel test of the modified model produced an average absolute standardized residual of .025 (largest residuals = .101,  $-.101$ ,  $-.096$ ) and an overall fit comparable to the fit from the first sample, SB  $\chi^2(94) = 171.26$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .040 (90% CI = .031-.049), CFI = .979. More importantly, the direction and magnitude of the path estimates were comparable between the two samples.

Given the high degree of similarity in findings across the samples, our final step in assessing model fit was to combine both samples and retest the model. The average absolute standardized residual was .017 (largest residuals =  $-.084$ ,  $-.074$ ,  $.073$ ), and the fit indices revealed good fit, SB  $\chi^2(94) = 289.12$ , RMSEA = .039 (90% CI = .034-.044), CFI = .979. The next step was to analyze and interpret the path estimates.

### Analyses of Path Estimates

*Authority and peer treatment predicting components of respect.* The observed estimates from the combined sample



**Figure 1.** Standardized parameter estimates from test of the dual pathway model (combined sample)

Note: All displayed paths are significant at  $p < .001$ .

are depicted in Figure 1. All the estimates presented are statistically significant at the  $p < .05$  level. Several intriguing relationships are apparent. First, authority and peer treatment both predicted perceived status and their coefficients were not significantly different from each other ( $B_s = .39$  and  $.43$ , for authority and peer treatment, respectively,  $t = 0.30$ , *ns*). Peer treatment was stronger ( $B = .44$ ) than authority treatment ( $B = .21$ ) in predicting perceived liking,  $t = 5.98$ ,  $p < .001$ . Authority and peer treatment explained 45% of the variance in perceived status and 31% of the variance in perceived liking.

*Components of respect predicting outcome variables.* The residuals of perceived status and liking were, not surprisingly, significantly correlated ( $r = .54$ ). However, perceived status and liking were differentially related to social engagement and personal well-being. First, perceived status was a stronger predictor of social engagement ( $B = .45$ ) than of personal well-being ( $B = .20$ ),  $t = 6.04$ ,  $p < .001$ . As noted previously, the path from perceived liking to social engagement was dropped from the model based on the earlier Wald test. Nonetheless, we verified that this path was not significant when included in the model ( $B = .09$ ),  $t = 1.85$ , *ns*. In contrast, perceived liking was a significant predictor of personal well-being ( $B = .31$ ), and this relationship was significantly stronger than the relationship between perceived status and personal well-being ( $B = .20$ ),  $t = 2.53$ ,  $p < .01$ .

*Indirect effects of treatment.* In addition to these direct effects of perceived status and liking on social engagement and personal well-being, there were also several indirect effects from authority and peer treatment on the outcomes mediated by the two respect components. Specifically, there were significant standardized indirect effects of authority treatment on social engagement (.19) and on personal well-being (.15). And, there were standardized indirect effects of peer treatment on social engagement (.20) and personal well-being (.22). The model as a whole, including the direct path from authority to social engagement specified by the LM test, was able to explain 39% of the variance in social engagement and 22% of the variance in personal well-being.

**Table 2.** Structural Equation Fit Indices From Independence, Hypothesized, and Alternative Models

		<i>df</i>	Chi-square	CFI	RMSEA	90% CI for RMSEA
Independence (null) model		120	9,331.77	—	—	—
Hypothesized model						
1	Two treatment factors, two respect factors	94	289.12	.979	.039	.034-.044
Alternative models						
2	Two treatment factors, one respect factor $\chi^2(24)$ difference = 145.3, $p < .01$	70	434.42	.957	.063	.057-.069
3	One treatment factor, two respect factors $\chi^2(26)$ difference = 1,166.48, $p < .01$	68	1,455.54	.810	.125	.120-.131
4	One treatment factor, one respect factor $\chi^2(45)$ difference = 1,360.26, $p < .01$	49	1,649.38	.758	.157	.151-.164

Note: The chi-square difference test compares the relative fit of each alternative model (2-4) against the hypothesized model (1). The significant values for the chi-square difference tests suggest that each alternative model produced a worse fit to the data compared to the hypothesized model. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = root mean square error of approximation; CI = confidence interval.

### Testing Alternative Models

The next set of tests evaluated whether a series of alternative models could fit the data better than the dual pathway model. Specifically, our model posits distinctions between different sources of treatment (authority and peer treatment) and different aspects of respect (perceived status and liking). More parsimonious accounts might suggest that such distinctions are unnecessary and that a simpler model could fit the data better. Three alternative models were examined, each of which had fewer assumptions (and fewer degrees of freedom) than the hypothesized model: (a) one in which no distinction was made between the different aspects of respect (perceived status and liking were combined to form a single factor, i.e., respect), (b) one in which no distinction was made between the different sources of treatment (authority and peer treatment were combined to form a single factor, i.e., treatment), (c) and one in which no distinction was made either between the different sources of treatment or between the different sources of respect. Because analysis within each subsample revealed highly comparable patterns of findings, the presentation of the alternative models is based on analysis of the combined sample. Examination of the fit indexes presented in Table 2 indicated that none of the alternative models were a better fit to the data than the hypothesized model. These analyses provided reassurance that not only is it necessary to distinguish respect into status and liking components but also to distinguish between authorities and peers as sources of social information.

### Ethnic and Gender Differences

Given the ethnic and gender diversity of the sample, we examined whether the model held for these different subgroups. To maintain statistical power associated with large sample size, the four ethnic groups were organized into two groups (Asian Americans and Whites combined,  $N = 457$ ;

and African Americans and Latinos combined,  $N = 811$ ). The model for Asian Americans and Whites was a good fit,  $SB \chi^2(94) = 153.58, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .038, CFI = .981, as was the model for African Americans and Latinos,  $SB \chi^2(94) = 233.21, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .045, CFI = .974. The model also displayed a very good fit for men ( $n = 571$ ),  $SB \chi^2(94) = 159.66, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .036, CFI = .984, and for women ( $n = 789$ ),  $SB \chi^2(94) = 196.23, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .038, CFI = .979.

A breakdown of the factor-to-factor path estimates for the different groups is displayed in Table 3. Examination of the table reveals patterns of relationships within each subgroup consistent with the relationships demonstrated in the overall sample. Findings revealed only one notable departure that involved differences in the relationship between perceived status and well-being among the various subgroups. The pattern of findings for African Americans and Latinos and for women was consistent with the pattern in the overall sample, with perceived status and liking both explaining variance in personal well-being ( $Bs = .27$  and  $.25, ps < .001$ , for African Americans and Latinos and for women, respectively). In contrast, perceived status did not explain a significant amount of variance in well-being for Asian Americans and Whites or for men ( $Bs = .11$  and  $.04, ns$ , respectively). For these groups, only perceived liking predicted personal well-being.

### Discussion

Two observations motivated this research. First, a growing body of research has demonstrated that the experience of respect is important in regulating group dynamics and in influencing personal well-being. Second, despite the robustness and consistency of the observed relationships, respect has been variously defined as indicative of status within a group, degree to which one is liked by fellow group members, and how fairly one is treated by group leaders and peers.



**Table 3.** Standardized Parameter Estimates From Tests of the Dual Pathway Model by Demographic Group

Predicted factor	Asian Americans/Whites		African American/Latinos	
	Predictors			
	Authority treatment	Peer treatment	Authority treatment	Peer treatment
Perceived Status	.34***	.50***	.42***	.38***
Perceived Liking	.14**	.53***	.24***	.40***
Social Engagement	.25***	—	.20***	—
Personal Well-Being	—	—	—	—
	Perceived status	Perceived liking	Perceived status	Perceived liking
Social Engagement	.49***	—	.47***	—
Personal Well-Being	.11	.34***	.27***	.31***

Predicted factor	Men		Women	
	Predictors			
	Authority treatment	Peer treatment	Authority treatment	Peer treatment
Perceived Status	.37***	.49***	.36***	.39***
Perceived Liking	.27***	.45***	.09	.48***
Social Engagement	.20***	—	.25***	—
Personal Well-Being	—	—	—	—
	Perceived status	Perceived liking	Perceived status	Perceived liking
Social Engagement	.45***	—	.41***	—
Personal Well-Being	.04	.57***	.25***	.24***

To more fully understand this central experience of social life, we tested predictions generated from the dual pathway model of respect (Huo & Binning, 2008), which sought to clarify existing ambiguities by delineating the ways in which different conceptions of respect together shape the way we view our group and ourselves. Data from a field study of individuals' everyday experiences with members of an established community (urban high schools) were used to test predictions derived from the dual pathway model. Findings are consistent with the model's main premise that there are two related but distinct dimensions of respect (status and inclusion) and that it is through these experiences (being valued and being liked) that interpersonal treatment by group members (both authorities and peers) shapes outcomes relevant to group and individual functioning.

### Contributions of the Dual Pathway Distinction

When we began this research, it was not clear that the distinction between the status and inclusion dimensions of respect would find support. After all, perceiving that one has standing within the group (status) and that one is welcomed (liking) by fellow group members both represent the group's positive evaluations of the individual. Notably, previous work oftentimes referenced these two aspects of respect interchangeably. However, our data suggest that these two aspects of respect, although related, are distinguishable. The distinction is important because it can be leveraged to more fully account for variances in the two categories of

outcome variables that have been the focus of previous research—social engagement and personal well-being. Consistent with our reasoning, the *relative* predictive value of perceived status and liking was moderated by the nature of the outcome variable. When perceived status and liking were both included in the model, only perceived status predicted social engagement. In contrast, although both perceived status and liking predicted well-being, perceived liking was the stronger predictor.

We first consider the finding that status concerns were the primary influence in shaping social engagement. This finding is consistent with our suggestion that the giving and receiving of status is a central mechanism through which group functioning is regulated. In particular, we argued that status recognition is both a reward for action taken on behalf of the group and a reminder of how good group members should behave. Thus, perceptions that one is a worthy group member should, in these ways, motivate attitudes and behavior in line with the goals and interests of the group. In contrast to our findings and conclusions, other research suggests that liking is key in affecting emotional and behavioral responses toward the group (Spears et al., 2005). While these conclusions seem at odds, careful consideration of the distinct methodologies that produced the findings may not only reconcile them but also raise provocative questions for future research. Specifically, whereas the current data drew on the real life experiences of individuals with other members of a highly self-relevant group (the school), the contrasting findings were based on laboratory experiments of individuals in

ad hoc groups. When interpreted in light of these methodological distinctions, the findings may not be as inconsistent as they first appear. That is, it is possible that when members are new to the group or the group itself is new (as is the case in the experimental studies), inclusion concerns may be primary. Once initial concerns about social acceptance have been addressed when entering a group, status concerns become the dominant influence in shaping attitudes and behaviors in ongoing relationships within groups (as is the case in the current field study). In line with this reasoning, studies have shown that those who are uncertain about their acceptance in groups are sensitive to information about their future relationship with the group (i.e., whether they will be accepted or rejected; Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003). Thus, while it stands to reason that concerns about status are primary in the type of group context we investigated, this analysis also suggests that inclusion concerns may take on a more central role under different conditions, such as when a group is newly formed or when individuals have just joined a group.

In contrast to social engagement, personal well-being was explained by both status and inclusion concerns. While each component of respect explained unique variance in individual functioning, they may do so for different reasons. Perceived status may contribute to well-being because it is associated with a sense of power and control (see Marmot, 2004). Liking may also contribute to personal well-being, but because it satisfies inclusion concerns (see M. R. Leary et al., 1995). Although we cannot fully evaluate the validity of these explanations, there is some support in our data. Specifically, while the dual pathway model held across gender and ethnic groups for the most part, there was one interesting difference. Among African Americans and Latinos, the relationship between perceived status and well-being demonstrated in the overall sample held as it did among women. In contrast, the same relationship was attenuated among Asian Americans and Whites as well as among men. These findings suggest that status concerns may have played a lesser role in shaping well-being for Asian Americans and Whites and for men, groups generally considered to hold relatively higher and more secure status in contemporary American society (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In contrast, individuals whose social group status (ethnicity or gender) is more uncertain or under threat may shift their attention to information about their personal standing within the group as a means to satisfy the general need for status attainment. While these findings lend support to the suggestion that the effects of perceived status and liking are linked to social needs, the broader body of work on the psychology of respect would benefit from studies that prime these two needs to observe their effect on the relationship between the components of respect and personal well-being. Such research would directly test and provide additional support for a core assumption of the dual pathway model that the experience of respect is

motivated by basic social motives—the need for status and for inclusion.

In contrast to past research, which focused primarily on self-esteem, we included general mental health as an additional indicator of well-being. Our decision to consider the influence of respect on mental health was motivated by epidemiological studies showing that status (social position within a community) independently predicted health outcomes (Marmot, 2004). A key idea behind this research is that low status is associated with less control over life outcomes, which then contributes to poor health outcomes. While the epidemiological analyses focus on objective status, our work suggests that *subjective* perceptions of status (conceived of as perceptions of one's worth as a group member) and liking similarly contribute to self-reports of psychological well-being. Given the social policy implications of the relationship between respect and psychological and physical health, this link is deserving of further investigation.

### *Insights About the Sources of Respect*

Because the dual pathway model distinguishes between authorities and peers as sources of respect, we explored the ways in which these pieces of information contribute to perceived status and liking. The insight that messages about respect are communicated through the actions of others represents one of the main streams of research on the psychology of respect and is grounded in the group-value theory of procedural justice and the relational model of authority (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992). Both theories focus on the role of authorities in communicating information about status-based respect. We extend this work by showing that authorities and peers are *independent* sources of information about the state of one's relationship with the group.

The data also showed some interesting differences in the relative strength of relationship between authority and peer treatment and each of the components of respect. While both peer and authority treatment predicted liking, the relationship between peer treatment and liking was stronger. This finding is consistent with the idea that information about social inclusion should dominate communal relationships such as those among peers (Fiske et al., 2007). Surprisingly, we found that both authorities and peers were equally important in shaping perceptions of status. This finding departs from past theorizing and research that emphasized the role that group authorities play in conveying information about standing. A number of studies across different group contexts ranging from supervisor-employee relations to police-citizen interactions have demonstrated that authority treatment influences attitudes toward the group and the self (Huo & Tyler, 2001; Smith et al., 1998; Tyler, Lind, Ohbuchi, Sugawara, & Huo, 1998). Thus, a contribution of the current study is to suggest that the role of peers as sources of status information has perhaps been underestimated. Certainly, in a

school setting where peer relationships are critical, equal status others played a more important role in shaping perceptions of respect than past research would have led us to expect (cf. Simon & Stürmer, 2003, 2005).

One departure from the hypothesized model is an unanticipated direct effect of authority treatment on social engagement. While we assumed that the two components of respect would fully mediate the relationship between treatment quality (from authorities and peers) and the outcome variables, that both an indirect and direct effect were observed is not terribly surprising. Relational accounts of the fair treatment effect have focused on either status or inclusion concerns as mediating motives (De Cremer & Blader, 2006; Tyler & Blader, 2002). However, alternative accounts highlight other explanatory mechanisms such as the desire to resolve uncertainty (van den Bos & Lind, 2002). Thus, it is not unreasonable to find that the effect of authority treatment was not entirely accounted for by concerns about respect.

### *Strengths and Limitations of Study Context*

Finally, given that we tested the dual pathway model within the school setting, it prevails upon us to comment more generally on the strengths and potential limitations of findings generated from this particular social context. In general, we feel that the school setting provides an appropriate and attractive context for testing the predictions from the dual pathway model of respect. Within this context, we were able to survey individuals about their everyday experiences within a self-relevant and meaningful group. The resulting rich data set allowed us to test the complex relationships specified in the model. In addition, the diversity of the sample allowed us to test the generalizability of the study's findings across demographic subgroups. Nonetheless, these same features also pose potential limitations. Next, we address these limitations and suggest avenues for future research.

One obvious limitation is the cross-sectional nature of the data. Although our data are consistent with the hypothesized causal chain in which interactions with group members shape attitudes toward the group and self by way of perceptions of respect, future research would benefit from alternative methodologies. In particular, a longitudinal field study would be especially appropriate. Data collected across time would have the benefit of allowing for tests of causal relations while capitalizing on individuals' reports of their experiences within existing groups as is the case in the current study.

Second, although we argue that the school context is appropriate for the study's purpose, it is worth considering the extent to which the findings are generalizable. On the one hand, we were able to show that our patterns of findings are consistent across data collection sites and subgroups. Moreover, one can argue that the school context presents a "hard test" of our hypotheses. That is, even in a setting where social acceptance may stand in for social status (i.e., popularity is

equated with status), perceived status can be differentiated from liking. Nonetheless, we bear in mind that groups differ in size, function, and other characteristics (Johnson et al., 2006). It is certainly possible that the relative importance of status and inclusion concerns may depend on the primary function served by the groups. For example, in contrast to the current study's findings, inclusion concerns may overshadow status concerns in intimacy group such as families or friendship networks. Although this analysis suggests that the relevance of the two components of respect may vary across groups serving different functions, the more general assumption of the dual pathway model that there are two distinct pathways through which the actions of group members shape social engagement and well-being should hold.

Finally, the current study focused on how respect shapes the dynamics among individuals who share a common group membership. Findings from other studies suggest that respect coming from the outgroup has consequences that are distinct from respect from the ingroup (Branscombe et al., 2002). Although our focus is on intragroup dynamics, there are communities in which subgroups are nested within a superordinate category (e.g., work groups in an organization, ethnic groups within a nation). An important question that remains open for future investigation is how the dynamics of respect operate within these more complex social structures (see Huo & Molina, 2006, for a discussion).

### *Concluding Remarks*

Past research suggests that respect is a form of social evaluation that emerges in group interactions and plays an important role in shaping the well-being of the group and individuals within it. However, the literature has been characterized by inconsistencies in the way respect has been defined in related lines of research. Findings from the current study are largely consistent with predictions generated from an integrative model of respect, which suggests that these alternative conceptions of respect are not right or wrong, or even competing with each other. Instead, when considered together systematically within a single conceptual framework, they offer important theoretical insights about the distinct dimensions underlying the experience of respect (reflecting the need for status and for social inclusion) and help clarify and explain why the nature of our relationship to self-relevant groups shape not only our commitment to these groups but also our psychological well-being.

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## Notes

1. Given the large number of measured variables in the data set, we used a partial disaggregation strategy (Bandalos & Finney, 2001) to reduce problems associated with highly complex models (e.g., increased measurement error, inflated standard errors). This approach utilized aggregates of items (i.e., item parceling) to limit the number of measured indicators to two to four per latent construct.
2. Our initial model included both paths from each of the treatment factors to each component of respect and also from each component of respect to each of two outcomes (social engagement and personal well-being). Although we made predictions about the relative strength of relationships among the variables, there was no clear evidence to rule out a priori an absence of relationship along any of these paths. Thus, we felt it was reasonable to begin with a full model and then conduct Wald tests to evaluate improvement in model fit if specific paths were dropped from the model.

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