



Why the Psychological Experience of Respect Matters in Group Life: An Integrative Account

Yuen J. Huo* and Kevin R. Binning

University of California, Los Angeles

Abstract

The psychological experience of respect has implications for the nature and quality of group life and for the individual's psychological and physical well-being. However, the manner in which respect has been studied and defined has frequently differed among researchers, making it difficult to connect the various findings. Whereas some researchers have focused on the implications of respectful treatment from group members (e.g., authorities, peers), others have focused on individuals' perceptions of how they are generally evaluated by the group. We present the dual pathway model of respect in which these various lines of research are integrated within a single framework. Organized around two basic social motives – the need for status and the need to belong – the model describes two pathways (status evaluation and liking) through which respect from the group shapes social engagement, self-esteem, and health. These evaluative dimensions are informed by interactions with group authorities and peers and differentially predict social psychological outcomes.

What respect is and who deserves it are central questions in social life. Those who have experienced social exclusion, a loss of standing within a community, or endured undignified treatment by others fully understand the significance of the psychological experience of respect. Normative ideals of what respect is and who deserves it have been central questions in the discipline of philosophy (e.g., Rawls, 1971). However, only in recent years has empirical research begun to map out the phenomenological experience of respect and its social-behavioral consequences. What is now clear is that the giving and receiving of respect are important both in regulating group dynamics and in influencing personal well-being. Alluding to this point, the sociologist Richard Sennett (2003, p. 3) poignantly asked, 'Unlike food, respect costs nothing. Why then should it be in short supply?' The observation that respect is withheld and doled out sparingly highlights its significance in social relationships. Although it cannot be quantified in the same way that money or other concrete resources can be, it is valuable and can be thought of as a form of social currency. Our goal is to review

the various lines of social-behavioral work on the role of respect in group life and to present a conceptual model for integrating what we currently know about the determinants of this distinct psychological experience and its consequences for the functioning of the group and the individuals within it.

Respect in Group Life

For the lay person, respect connotes attitudes as varied as deference to social rules, the distribution of power in groups, and concern for others (Langdon, 2007). Because respect is a term that is frequently and widely used in everyday language, it naturally evokes a wide range of interpretations. The various conceptions of respect are important in their own right and useful in the analysis of a number of different phenomena including close relationships (Hendrick & Hendrick, 2006) and the formation of social policy (Sennett, 2003). However, our focus is on the role of perceived respect in shaping group life. In this context, the feeling of respect, in its broadest sense, is operationalized as an individual's 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). Groups capable of providing meaningful social feedback can be as defined and as small as a few individuals charged with solving a specific problem at work. Or they can be as diffuse and as large as a residential community such as the city one resides in. What matters is that these groups are important to how the individual sees him/herself (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Conceiving of respect as reflecting the collective opinion group members hold of the individual, we consider the research evidence linking respect to a number of outcomes that affect the dynamics of a group and the internal mental and physical state of the individual. We will also address one of the essential conceptual challenges facing this emerging field: Respect seems to mean different things to different researchers. In particular, it has alternately been conceived of as respectful treatment from another group member or leader, affective evaluation (liking), and status evaluation (judgments of worth). That respect has been conceived of in these different ways is not surprising, given that the empirical work emerged primarily out of two distinct theoretical traditions – the group-value model of procedural justice and the related relational model of authority (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler & Lind, 1992) and social identity theory (see discussion of respect within the social identity framework in Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006).

These different lines of thinking about respect and their outcomes have in common the shared understanding that what is at stake is people's relationships to their groups. As social beings, people seek out meaningful

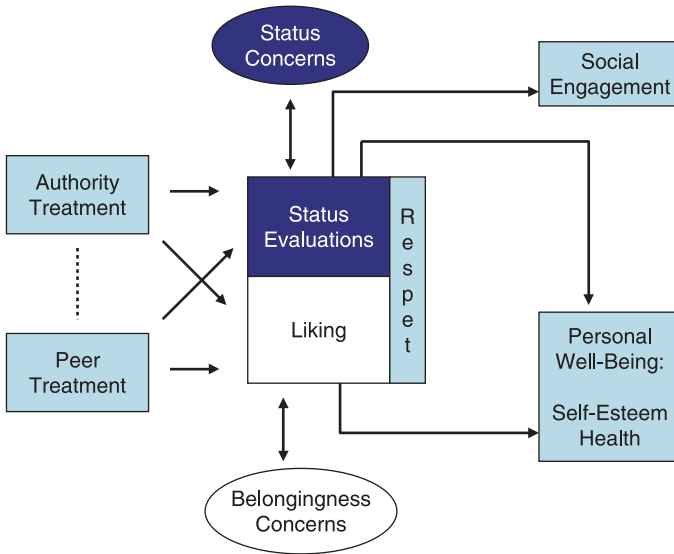


Figure 1 Dual-Pathway Model of Respect.

social interactions and are attentive to information about the quality of their relationship with others in the group. The dual-pathway model of respect (see Figure 1) represents an effort to integrate these different traditions. Within this model, we propose that the experience of respect matters to people because it satisfies two core motives of social life – the striving for status and the need to belong. Relying on these core motives as organizing principles, we outline two pathways (liking and status evaluation) through which respect feedback from the group shapes attitudes and behaviors that affect the welfare of the collective (social engagement) and of the individual (self-esteem and health).

Core Motives as Organizing Principles

The emerging field of the psychology of respect has demonstrated that perceived respect plays a critical role in shaping not only group dynamics but also the individual's emotional experiences and self-construal (see Spears et al., 2006; Tyler & Smith, 1999 for reviews). The question becomes one of *why* this psychological experience should matter in these important ways. We suggest that the experience of respect matters to people because it reflects two core motives of social life – the striving for status (recognition as a worthy contributor to the group) and the need to belong (formation of meaningful, affiliative bonds with other group members). The current 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. Below, we clarify the distinctions between the motives and discuss the implications of viewing respect as reflecting the two motives.

Respect as reflecting the status motive

The striving for status has been argued to be a universal and primary social motive that underlies interactions in social groups (Frank, 1985; Hogan & Hogan, 1991). To have high status within a group can alternatively imply that one has a highly regarded role or position (e.g., captain of the team vs. one of the players), to be perceived to be a generally worthy member of the group (Tyler & Smith, 1999), or to be viewed as competent on specific dimensions important to the group (e.g., to be a productive scholar in an academic department; Spears et al., 2006; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Sociological conceptions of status tend to focus on the person's objective status, which has been found to predict a number of important outcomes including social power, psychological well-being, and physical health (Adler, Epel, Castellazzo, & Ickovics, 2000; Berger, Cohen, & Zelditch, 1972; Marmot, 2004). Status can also be thought of as socially constructed. As such, respect can be derived from the collective opinions of the group members (Emler & Hopkins, 1990) and reflect the reputational self – i.e., the part of one's identity that is linked to attributes valued by the group (Tyler & Smith, 1999).

The notion of respect as reflecting one's status or position within the group was propelled in large part by the group-value model of procedural justice (Lind & Tyler, 1988) and the related relational model of authority (Tyler & Lind, 1992). The theoretical perspective represented by these models was developed to explain what has been termed the procedural justice effect or the fair treatment effect – the observation that people are strongly affected by the interpersonal aspects of their interactions with decision makers. To explain the relatively robust fair treatment effect, the group-value model takes as its point of departure the premise that people care about their status within groups they belong to and identify with. They seek out information about the degree to which they are valued members of the community. 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 these authorities are presumed to reflect the views of group members as a whole. 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 will feel that they have been treated fairly. Fair treatment, in turn, suggests that the individual is a respected (valued) member of the community. Treatment that fails to meet these standards communicates an absence of respect and that the individual is a marginal member of the group.

Respect as reflecting the belongingness motive

Just as some 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. There are several lines of work in support of respect as serving 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 are 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.

Together, the need for status and the need to belong represent core social needs that can potentially be met when individuals participate in group life. By recognizing that they are conceptually distinct, we can then explore their antecedents as well as their effects on different social psychological outcomes.

Reactions to the Experience of Respect

We have argued that the experience of respect matters because it satisfies concerns about fundamental social needs. In our conceptual model, we posit that the satisfaction of these concerns, in turn, has critical implications for the functioning of the group and the well-being of individuals within the group. Research has shown that by knowing people's perceptions of the extent to which they are respected by relevant others, it is possible to predict and explain significant aspects of everyday experience, including when and why people choose to engage in groups and communities (social engagement), how people feel about themselves (self-esteem), and differences in psychosocial and physical well-being (health). Below, we introduce the evidence linking respect (variously operationalized) to each of these key outcomes of social life.

Social engagement

Social engagement refers to a broad cluster of attitudes and behavioral intentions that are associated with the desire to actively participate in, and to maintain and improve upon, the collective experience in groups and communities. Much of the research on respect has focused on its effect on the internal dynamics of groups. We now have clear evidence that

having information about the extent to which group members feel respected tells us much about the role they will play in sustaining and improving the groups to which they belong. This evidence comes from both laboratory studies of ad hoc groups and from field studies of individuals reporting about their everyday life experiences.

Laboratory experiments are important in demonstrating that the experience of being respected by other group members *leads to* higher levels of social engagement. For example, the communication of respect by group members results in increases in (1) willingness to engage in group-serving behavior and identification with the group (Simon & Sturmer, 2005; Simon, Lucken, & Sturmer, 2006); (2) cooperation in a social dilemma (De Cremer, 2002); and (3) efforts to improve the group (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002; Smith & Tyler, 1997; Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2005). It is critical to note that across these studies, the causal effect of respect on social engagement depended on the social evaluation coming from other members of the ingroup. In fact, when individuals who were not well respected within an ingroup instead received respect from an outgroup, they reported feelings of shame (Ellemers, Doosje, & Spears, 2004). The finding that respect matters most when it comes from the ingroup is consistent with our assumption that one of the purposes of respect is to regulate the internal dynamics of a group.

Field studies of people's experiences in their everyday life draw similar conclusions. Studies of perceived respect from authorities in natural groups found that feeling respected was linked to a number of indicators of social engagement, including compliance with group rules, group commitment, and engaging in extra-role behavior to improve the group (Tyler, Degoe, & Smith, 1996). While this set of studies focuses on authorities as the source of respect, other studies evaluate the influence of respect from peers – or other group members. Respect from other group members has been linked to the desire to engage in group-oriented behaviors, especially behaviors that are not required but nonetheless help the group (e.g., voluntary activities that enhance the reputation of the group; Smith & Tyler, 1997). Along the same lines, perceived respect from the community predicts higher levels of self-reported civic engagement (e.g., going to neighborhood meetings; Boeckmann & Tyler, 2002). At the intergroup level, feelings of respect also shape social engagement. Feeling that one's ethnic subgroup (e.g., Latinos) is respected by others in the broader community predicts support for political institutions among Americans (Huo & Molina, 2006) and school engagement among students (Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2008).

Although thus far we have focused on feelings of respect, feelings of *disrespect* also have significant implications. Interviews with inner city youth generate two important insights about what happens when the need for respect is not met (Anderson, 1994). First, among at-risk youths, disrespectful treatment carries with it the risk of retaliatory violence as

a way of regaining lost status. Second, it is among this most marginalized segment of society that respect seems to carry the most weight. These conclusions are consistent with findings from a survey of young African-American men by Leary, Brennan, and Briggs (2005). Leary et al. developed an African-American Respect Scale and found that scores on this scale were negatively correlated with violent behavior. The less respect an individual reported feeling, the more likely that person was to report engaging in some form of violent behavior.

These studies suggest that having a basic level of respect is important, but they also suggest that the significance of respect may be moderated by situational and historical features of the environment. Ethnographic studies point to the idea that 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 (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Being deprived of respect can be construed as a signal to outsiders that one is unable or unwilling to protect one's self or resources, which can trigger anger and violence on behalf of the wronged in an effort to restore status.

Self-esteem

Feelings of respect are important not only for the well-being of the collective; they also affect the individual. One of the most robust effects in the research on respect is the relationship between respect and personal self-esteem (how the individual feels about him or herself) as predicted by the group-value model (Lind & Tyler, 1988). 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 0.36 (Smith, Tyler, & Huo, 2003). These associations are documented in data from correlational studies of experiences in real groups (e.g., Tyler et al., 1996) and in experimental studies in the laboratory (e.g., Smith et al., 1998). 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 et al., 2004). As a form of social evaluation, respect seems to play an important role in shaping the self-concept.

Health

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.

Research on stereotype threat (Steele, 1997) provides a potential illustration of how perceived respect at the psychological level can contribute to poor health outcomes. This research has found 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 (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. Although the literature on experiences with racial prejudice and health outcomes has not, to our knowledge, directly assessed perceived respect, a number of studies suggests that negative social evaluations of one's group membership can have significant adverse effects on stress level, depression, and overall physical health (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Fang & Myers, 2001; and Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000).

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 (Elovainio et al., 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 have 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).

Respect, self-esteem, and health

Interestingly, there is evidence that respect for a group one belongs to and identifies with is associated with reports of health outcomes, but not

with personal self-esteem (Huo, Molina, Binning et al., 2008). This pattern of findings suggests that the impact of group respect may be more easily detected in physiological processes, which is a more direct measure of internal states than are reports of self-esteem. Moreover, the absence of a relationship between group respect and self-esteem is a significant departure from other work, which shows that personal respect or respect for the individual is reliably associated with higher levels of self-esteem (Smith et al., 2003). These findings suggest that group respect may function differently from personal respect. When a self-relevant group identity is under scrutiny, it poses an additional source of threat to the self. However, negative evaluation of an individual based on group membership may be perceived as illegitimate and thus buffers its effect on the self-concept.

Together, these diverse pieces of evidence, while tentative, suggest that the experience of respect can operate at a more fundamental level than we may have anticipated – eliciting psychological responses that are filtered through physiological pathways. It also suggests the importance of distinguishing between self-esteem and more health-related outcomes since the effect of group-level respect on these person-level variables appear to differ in potentially interpretable and meaningful ways.

Status and Liking: Two Pathways

It should be clear by now that perceived respect plays an important role in regulating not only group life, but also in shaping the individual's internal mental and physical state. However, as we noted, this body of literature has alternatively operationalized respect as treatment by another group member (an authority or peer), liking, or status evaluation. In an effort to clarify these distinctions and their relationship to the various psychological outcomes of perceived respect, we outline two pathways through which respect may shape social engagement and personal well-being (self-esteem and health): the status path (reflecting the need for status) and the liking path (reflecting the need to belong).

These two paths draw from the observation that there are two basic dimensions on which individuals can be judged by the group: how worthy a group member they are and how much they are liked by others. Both are social evaluations of the person and contribute to more general assessments of perceived respect within the group. Although these two forms of evaluations presumably share common variance, they are theoretically distinct much like the two basic dimensions of warmth and competence in social perception (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 or vice versa. For example, one can win the title of Miss Congeniality in

a beauty pageant but not the pageant title itself. 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 by other group members and by perceptions of one's status in the eyes of the same group members.

The works 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 et al., 2002) and willingness to work on behalf of the group (Ellemers et al., 2004). There is also evidence that competence judgments reflecting status concerns has similar effects as liking on both the desire to exert effort on behalf of the group and on self-evaluations (Spears et al., 2005). Interestingly, when the two dimensions are considered jointly in an experimental context, warmth or liking emerges as the primary influence on the person's self-perceptions and perceptions of the group (Spears et al., 2005).

Spears et al. (2005) have also found evidence of an interaction between the two aspects of respect 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. A field study of adolescents similarly show that the two forms of evaluations are empirically distinct, and that they independently predict perceptions of the extent to which an individual report feeling respected by the community as a whole (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2008). Thus, there is already some empirical evidence to support the conceptual distinction between status evaluation and liking. These distinctions are important in designing future research to flush out the two paths through which respect affects different outcomes variables (i.e., social engagement, self-esteem, and health).

Authorities and Peers as Sources of Respect

As we have pointed out, research on respect has developed from two theoretical traditions. The work by Spears et al. demonstrated that the liking and status evaluation dimensions of respect are distinct and uniquely predict group-based attitudes and emotions (Spears et al., 2006). One of the primary contributions of their work is the identification of two distinct sources 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). In contrast, the work by Tyler & Smith (1999) highlights the role that the actions of individual group members (authorities in particular) can have in shaping perceptions of respect. In our model, we bring these two

perspectives together by suggesting that treatment by group authorities and peers can shape people's perceptions of the extent to which they are liked and valued by the group.

The manner in which status perceptions (judgments of one's worth as a group member) are formed can be easily answered by going back to the relational model of authority (Tyler & Lind, 1992). According to the relational model, fair and respectful treatment by group authorities communicates to the individual that s/he is a respected and valued member of the group. 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 social engagement (Tyler & Smith, 1999). Being accorded status also shapes the individual's evaluations of him or herself (Smith et al., 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 et al. suggests that peer treatment can motivate social engagement in much the same way as authority treatment (Simon & Sturmer, 2003).

What shapes perceptions of liking? The answer to this question is less clear but there is evidence pointing toward peer treatment as the more influential (although not sole) source of information about how well one is liked by the group as a whole. This argument follows from the observation that the dimensions of warmth or liking should be most salient in communal relationships such as that found among peers (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007). Work on the sociometer theory also point 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. This is not to say that the actions of group authorities cannot also convey similar sentiments. However, the actions of the peers, unfiltered through authority channels, may be a more authentic reflection of the degree to which an individual is accepted within a group.

Status Evaluations vs. Liking: Which One Matters?

The relative ability of liking and status evaluation to predict different outcome variables is an important one. There are intriguing hints in the literature that the relative strength of each variable depends on whether we are considering group-oriented or person-oriented variables. When

we consider person-oriented variables, including one's level of self-esteem and health, there is evidence implicating both status and belongingness concerns. For example, research on the group-value model shows a consistent relationship between status (perceived worthiness/value as a group member) and self-esteem (Smith et al., 2003). More recent work on the health gradient demonstrates that relative social standing predicts health and longevity (Marmot, 2004). These linkages are not surprising when we consider the psychological benefits of having high status in social groups. Status is associated with power and control which are positively correlated with more positive psychological functioning (Adler et al., 2000).

Liking should have similar effects as status evaluation on personal well-being although for different reasons. The sociometer hypothesis highlights the belongingness motive, 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). In sum, the need to belong as reflected in liking and the need for status as reflected in judgments of one's worth or contributions to the group should both predict person-oriented variables including self-esteem and health.

The evidence linking respect to social engagement seems to point more strongly toward the need for status as the primary motive relative to the need to belong. Because perceived status reflects how generally useful we see ourselves to be to the group and the extent to which our specific talents and abilities contribute to the overall functioning of the group, it is easy to see why status should be linked to social engagement. As a form of social identity, when respect is granted, it activates norms for behavior that are consistent with group goals (Spears et al., 2006; Tyler & Smith, 1999). It can also be thought of as a form of social currency – a reward or recognition that the group gives to members who contributes or has the potential to contribute to the group's success (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959). Thus, the relationship between respect and group members' willingness to act on behalf of the group is reinforced in both directions.

In contrast, whether others think of us as likable and feel warmly toward us primarily reflects affiliative signals and should affect how we feel about ourselves but perhaps not of tasks and other behaviors relevant to group functioning. Although some studies found that information about how much one is liked by other group members leads to higher levels of group commitment and group-oriented behavior (Branscombe et al., 2002; Ellemers et al., 2004), findings from other studies suggest that when status is controlled for, the relationship between liking and indicators of social engagement attenuates (Huo, Binning, & Molina, 2008; Spears et al., 2005). Although by no means definitive, these initial findings suggest that the extent to which a person is willing to work on behalf of a group may be more strongly linked to status versus belongingness concerns.

Conclusion

What do we know about the psychology of respect? We know that it is a basic form of social evaluation that emerges in group interactions and that it plays an important role in shaping not only social engagement in group life but also the self-esteem and physical well-being of the individual. There is little disagreement on the predictive value of perceived respect. Where opinions diverge is on how individual researchers choose to define respect and how these various experiences with respect shape different outcomes. We suggest that these alternate definitions (and their consequences downstream) are not right or wrong or even competing with each other. On the contrary, our understanding of the phenomenological experience of respect can only be enriched by drawing these alternative conceptions together within an integrated framework.

The dual-pathway model is intended to move toward this goal and does so by organizing the various lines of work around two core motives – the need for status and the need to belong. By recognizing that there are two distinct motivational bases for concerns about respect, we are able to use insights derived from past work to suggest the different paths through which interpersonal treatment from group authorities and members can shape perceptions of two distinct social evaluations from the group (liking vs. status evaluations) which then forms the basis of generalized respect. Most importantly, we suggest that the identification of the two pathways underlying the core motives has the potential to illuminate the psychological bases of a number of important outcomes including what individuals are willing to do for the group, how they feel about themselves, and even their physical health.

Short Biographies

Yuen J. Huo is associate professor of psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research explores how fairness concerns and social identity processes jointly operate to influence efforts at conflict management as well as the exercise of authority. Her publications on these topics have appeared in numerous journals and three co-authored books: *Social Justice in a Diverse Society* (Westview Press, 1997), *How Different Ethnic Groups React to Legal Authority* (2000, PPIC), and *Trust in the Law* (Russell Sage, 2002). Her current research efforts focus on the role of justice-based emotions on political attitudes and on the relationship between perceptions of (in)justice and health outcomes. Her research examining the influence of group identities on ethnic conflicts in diverse settings was recognized by the Otto Klineberg Intercultural and International Relations Award from the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI). She currently sits on the Board of Directors for SPSSI. Before joining the UCLA faculty, she was a research fellow at the Public Policy

Institute of California. She holds BA, MA, and PhD degrees from the University of California, Berkeley.

Kevin R. Binning is a doctoral candidate in social psychology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He received a master's in social psychology from the same institution in 2003, has won several awards for research and teaching, and is currently funded by the Frank Joseph McGuigan Dissertation Year Fellowship. His research focuses on the psychology of intragroup and intergroup relations, including issues related to respect, discrimination, and the beliefs and ideologies underpin tolerance of inhumane treatment of outgroups. Binning expects to defend his dissertation in spring of 2008 and looks forward to a career of teaching and research.

Endnotes

* Correspondence address: Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, 4625 Franz Hall, Box 951563, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1563, USA. Email: huo@psych.ucla.edu.

References

- Adler, N. E., Epel, E., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy White women. *Health Psychology, 1*, 586–592.
- Anderson, E. (1994). The code of the streets. *The Atlantic Monthly, 273*, 81–94.
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 117*, 497–529.
- Berger, J., Cohen, B. P., & Zeltich, M. Jr. (1972). Status characteristics and social interactions. *American Sociological Review, 37*, 241–255.
- Blascovich, J., Spencer, S. J., Quinn, D., & Steele, C. (2001). (African Americans and high blood pressure: The role of stereotype threat. *Psychological Science, 12*, 225–229.
- Boeckmann, R. J., & Tyler, T. R. (2002). Trust, respect and the psychology of political engagement. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 2067–2088.
- Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., Ellemers, N., & Doosje, B. (2002). Intragroup and intergroup evaluation effects on group behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 744–753.
- Clark, R., Anderson, N. B., Clark, V. R., & Williams, D. R. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans. *American Psychologist, 54*, 805–816.
- Cohen, D., Nisbett, R., Bowdle, B., & Schwarz, N. (1996). Insult, aggression, and the southern culture of honor: An experimental ethnography. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 70*, 945–60.
- Cohen, G. L., Garcia, J., Apfel, N., & Master, A. (2006). Reducing the racial achievement gap: A social-psychological intervention. *Science, 313*, 1307–1310.
- De Cremer, D. (2002). Respect and cooperation in social dilemmas: The importance of feeling included. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 1335–1341.
- De Cremer, D. (2003). Noneconomic motives predicting cooperation in public good dilemmas: The effect of received respect on contributions. *Social Justice Research, 16* (4), 367–377.
- Ellemers, N., Doosje, B., & Spears, R. (2004). Sources of respect: The effects of being liked by ingroups and outgroups. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 34*, 155–172.
- Elovainio, M., van den Bos, K., Linna, A., Kivimäki, M., Ala-Mursula, L., & Pentti, J. et al. (2005). Combined effects of uncertainty and organizational justice on employee health: Testing the uncertainty management model of fairness judgments among Finnish public sector employees. *Social Science & Medicine, 61* (12), 2501–2512.

- Emler, N., & Hopkins, N. (1990). Reputation, social identity and the self. In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances* (pp. 113–130). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Fang, C. Y., & Myers, H. F. (2001). The effects of racial stressors and hostility on cardiovascular reactivity in African American and Caucasian men. *Health Psychology, 20*, 64–70.
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Glick, P. (2007). Universal dimensions of social cognition: Warmth and competence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences, 11* (2), 77–83.
- Fiske, S., Xu, J., Cuddy, A., & Glick, P. (1999). (dis)respecting versus (dis)liking: Status and interdependence predict ambivalent stereotypes of competence and warmth. *Journal of Social Issues, 55*, 473–489.
- Frank, R. H. (1985). *Choosing the Right Pond: Human Behavior and the Quest for Status*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Greenberg, J. (2006). Losing sleep over organizational injustice: attenuating insomniac reactions to underpayment inequity with supervisory training in interactional justice. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 58–69.
- Hendrick, S. S., & Hendrick, C. (2006). Measuring respect in close relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 23*, 881–899.
- Hogan, R., & Hogan, J. (1991). Personality and status. In D. G. Gilbert & J. J. Connolly (Eds.), *Personality, Social Skills, and Psychopathology: An Individual Differences Approach* (pp. 137–154). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Huo, Y. J., & Molina, L. E. (2006). Is pluralism a viable model of diversity? The benefits and limits of subgroup respect. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 9*, 359–376.
- Huo, Y. J., Binning, K. R., & Molina, L. E. (2008). *Liking vs. Status Evaluation as Sources of Generalized Respect*. Manuscript in preparation.
- Huo, Y. J., Molina, L. E., Binning, K. R., & Funge, S. (2008). *Subgroup Respect, Social Engagement, and Well-Being: A Field Study of an Ethnically Diverse High School*. Manuscript under review.
- Langdon, S. W. (2007). Conceptualizations of respect: Qualitative and quantitative evidence of four (five) themes. *The Journal of Psychology, 141*, 469–484.
- Leary, J. D., Brennan, E. M., & Briggs, H. E. (2005). The African American adolescent respect scale: A measure of a prosocial attitude. *Research on Social Work Practice, 15*, 462–469.
- Leary, M. R., & Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 32*, 1–62.
- Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). Acculturation and psychological well-being among immigrant adolescents in Finland: A comparative study of adolescents from different cultural backgrounds. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 15*, 446–469.
- Lind, E. A., & Tyler, T. R. (1988). *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Marmot, M. (2004). *The Status Syndrome*. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Schmitt, M., & Dörfel, M. (1999). Procedural injustice at work, justice sensitivity, job satisfaction and psychosomatic well-being. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29* (4), 443–453.
- Sennett, R. (2003). *Respect in a World of Inequality*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Simon, B., & Stürmer, S. (2003). Respect for group members: Intragroup determinants of collective identification and group-serving behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*, 183–193.
- Simon, B., & Stürmer, S. (2005). In search of the active ingredient of respect: A closer look at the role of acceptance. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 35* (6), 809–818.
- Simon, B., Lücken, M., & Stürmer, S. (2006). The added value of respect: Reaching across inequality. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 45* (3), 535–546.
- Smith, H. J., & Tyler, T. R. (1997). Choosing the right pond: The impact of group membership on self-esteem and group-oriented behavior. *Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology, 33*, 146–170.
- Smith, H. J., Tyler, T. R., & Huo, Y. J. (2003). Interpersonal treatment, social identity and organizational behavior. In S. A. Haslam, D. van Knippenberg, M. J. Platow, & N. Ellemers (Eds.), *Social Identity at Work: Developing Theory for Organizational Practice* (pp. 155–171). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.

- Smith, H. J., Tyler, T. R., Huo, Y. J., Ortiz, D., & Lind, E. A. (1998). The self-relevant implications of the group-value model: Group membership, self-worth, and treatment quality. *Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology*, **34**, 470–493.
- Spears, R., Ellemers, N., & Doosje, B. (2005). Let me count the ways in which I respect thee: Does competence compensate or compromise lack of liking from the group? *European Journal of Social Psychology*, **35** (2), 263–279.
- Spears, R., Ellemers, N., Doosje, B., & Branscombe, N. (2006). *The Individual Within the Group: Respect!* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Srivastava, S., & Beer, J. S. (2005). How self-evaluations relate to being liked by others: Integrating sociometer and attachment perspectives. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, **89** (6), 966–977.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, **52**, 613–629.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.
- Thibaut, J. W., & Kelley, H. H. (1959). *The Social Psychology of Groups*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Tyler, T. R., & Smith, H. J. (1999). *Justice, Social Identity, and Group Processes*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Tyler, T. R., DeGoe, P., & Smith, H. (1996). Understanding why the justice of group procedures matters: A test of the psychological dynamics of the group-value model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, **70**, 913–930.
- Tyler, T. R., & Lind, A. E. (1992). A relational model of authority in groups. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, **25**, 115–191.
- Williams, K. D., Forgas, J. P., von Hippel, W., & Zadro, L. (2005). The social outcast: An overview. In K. D. Williams, J. P. Forgas, & W. von Hippel (Eds.), *The Social Outcast: Ostracism, Social Exclusion, Rejection, and Bullying* (pp. 1–16). New York, NY: Psychology Press.