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A MATTER OF INTRAGROUP STATUS: THE IMPORTANCE OF RESPECT FOR THE VIABILITY OF GROUPS

13 David De Cremer and Tom R. Tyler

ABSTRACT

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Respect is an important indicator of intragroup status, and it can influence within-group behavior. Being respected by other group members indicates a positive standing within the group that is relevant to two important identity concerns: belongingness and social reputation. Belongingness refers to the extent to which a person feels included in the group, and social reputation refers to how other in-group members evaluate a person. We review a series of studies that show that respect indeed communicates information relevant to these identity concerns, and as such influences a person's sense of affiliation, self-esteem, and cooperation (all variables considered to be important for the viability of groups). In addition, we also discuss whether the source of respect (i.e., peers vs. authority), culture, and group size matter in influencing these group-related variables. Finally, some implications for research on groups are discussed.

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Status and Groups

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1 In contemporary society, one of the aims of many organizations is to
2 achieve a high status, relative to other organizations. Status derived from
3 interorganizational comparisons provides a company with economic benefits
4 (i.e., having a competitive edge) and social benefits (i.e., being a proud
5 organization). Consequently, a great deal of research has been devoted to
6 understanding the role of group status for group members. For example,
7 social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) states that people use their
8 group memberships to define their social identity, as such implying that
9 people prefer to derive their sense of worth and identity from high-status
10 groups. Individual employees prefer to belong to high-status and prestigious
11 organizations in which they can bask in reflected glory (cf., Cialdini et al.,
12 1976).

13 Of course, the striving for high-status group memberships may complicate
14 how members of different groups and organizations interact. For example,
15 the issue of intergroup-based status plays an important role in several industries
16 that rely heavily on employees from both their own company, but,
17 in addition, also from employees of other more marginal businesses (e.g.,
18 hotels, retail establishments). In these situations, employees from the main
19 and high-status company (in-group) are more or less “forced” to work
20 together with employees from related, but, more marginal businesses (out-
21 group). Research on such in-group vs. out-group interactions shows convincingly
22 that status differences between such companies negatively influence working
23 relationships and collaborative behavior between them (Stamper & Masterson,
24 2002).

25 However, in the present chapter we wish to argue that employees do not
26 only derive a sense of their personal status from intergroup relations, but
27 also attend to their status within the group, and that such intragroup status
28 has important consequences for group behavior. Surprisingly, social psychology
29 and management research has devoted little attention to the relation between
30 intragroup status, and the viability of groups and organizations. In fact,
31 assessing the impact of how people perceive their status (how they are perceived
32 by themselves and others) within groups and organizations has only recently
33 attracted the attention of social scientists (e.g., Kramer, 2001; Tyler, 1999;
34 Tyler & Blader, 2000).

35

37 THE IMPORTANCE OF INTRAGROUP STATUS

39 The recent interest in the issue of intragroup status emerges largely from
40 several lines of inquiry examining how newcomers in groups and organi-

1 zations attend to social information. For example, Kramer (2001, p. 173)
2 observed that newcomers in organizations are very motivated to engage in
3 the process of sense-making “to reduce uncertainty about standing.” For
4 these purposes, newcomers assign significant weight to relational informa-
5 tion, which communicates how others perceive their intragroup status.
6 Thus, concerns about intragroup status could be expected to strongly in-
7 fluence newcomers’ actions and attitudes, more so than those of old-timers
8 in organizations. Such a perspective is indeed supported by recent research
9 conceptualizing the newcomer as an active participant in the socialization
10 process, in which he or she actively seeks information to define his or her
11 role in a clear and stable way (e.g., Bauer & Green, 1994; Ashford & Black,
12 1996).

13 What social psychological motives underlie people’s search for intragroup
14 status information? In the present chapter, we argue that information about
15 one’s status within the group or organization influences one’s relational self,
16 or, in other words, that aspect of their identity which is based on the quality
17 of their interactions with others (Tyler & Smith, 1999). One’s relational self
18 is based on personalized relationships with particular others and these re-
19 lationships include friendships, relationships with colleagues, and with su-
20 pervisors (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). This type of self relies on the process
21 of reflected appraisal, and this level of appraisal is, in turn, associated with
22 how people evaluate interpersonal relatedness, intimacy, and interdepend-
23 ence within the relationship (see Baumeister & Leary, 1995).

24 Thus, one’s relational self is constructed within the context of intragroup
25 relationships and can be assessed by means of one’s status within the group.
26 Following from such a focus on the relational self, we reason that knowing
27 one’s intragroup status provides information about two identity concerns:
28 (1) whether one belongs or not (i.e., inclusion) and (2) whether one is evalu-
29 ated positively by others (i.e., social reputation). Obtaining such diagnostic
30 social information reduces uncertainty about one’s social self (see cf., Van
31 den Bos & Lind, 2002; De Cremer & Sedikides, 2003). In line with this
32 assumption, several lines of inquiry have indeed indicated that the attempt
33 to define one’s relational self raises questions, such as: (a) “Can I define
34 myself in terms of my relationships with others in the group?” (i.e., “Do I
35 belong to this group?”) and (b) “Am I evaluated positively by the others
36 (i.e., social reputation)?” Moreover, research on procedural fairness has also
37 defined the concept of intragroup status by referring to the process of in-
38 clusion (Lind, 2001), and the process of social evaluation of one’s position
39 within the group (Tyler, 1989): processes similar to the two identity concerns
of belongingness and social reputation.

1 In the following sections, we will focus more closely on the meaning and
importance of both identity concerns, and will operationalize intragroup
3 status by using the concept of received respect.

5

7 *Belongingness and Reputation as Identity Concerns*

9 Owing to our focus on the relational self, we will examine both the identity
concerns at the interpersonal level. Why? First, the *need to belong* implies
11 that people wish to form positive and potentially continuous social rela-
tionships, and, therefore, they focus strongly on what happens at the in-
13 terpersonal level (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; De Cremer & Leonardelli,
2003). Second, evidence exists that particularly within *interpersonal rela-*
15 *tionships* people seek social approval and wish to convey favorable images of
themselves through others (Baumeister, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990). We
17 will explore the implications of these two identity concerns at the interper-
sonal level.

19 With respect to belongingness needs, several lines of research point to the
conclusion that people are social beings in that they use their relationships
21 with other individuals or groups to define their social self (Aron & Aron,
1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A crucial aspect in this process is that people
23 thus pursue a sense of inclusion for self-definitional purposes, a tendency
that is believed to be inherent in human beings in general (Kurzban & Leary,
25 2001).

Research on the need to belong (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Gardner,
27 Pickett, & Brewer, 2000b; Twenge, Baumeister, Tice, & Stucke, 2001;
Twenge, Catanese, & Baumeister, 2002), indeed demonstrates that people
29 are fundamentally motivated to belong to groups and relationships con-
sidered to be important to the self. As a result, people are very attentive
31 toward any type of relational information communicated by others, but
particularly so when their need to belong is unfulfilled. The importance and
33 pervasiveness of this need to belong has been shown by research demon-
strating that a lack of positive social relationships has detrimental effects on
35 the physical, cognitive, and behavioral level (Baumeister & Leary, 1995;
Reis, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). For example, not feeling accepted by
37 others influences well-being negatively, reinforces selective memory for so-
cially relevant information and undermines intrinsic motivation (e.g., Be-
39 rscheid & Reis, 1998; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Gardner, Gabriel, & Diekmann,
2000a; Gardner et al., 2000b), whereas fulfilling the need to belong positively

1 influences cooperative behavior within groups (De Cremer & Leonardelli,
2003).

3 We are also interested in social reputation. As early as the writings of
4 James (1890), researchers acknowledge that one's social self is, at least
5 partly, determined by one's social reputation. Indeed, because social eval-
6 uation is an important element in the process of constructing the self (cf.,
7 Tice, 1992), people are, by their very nature, motivated to obtain a positive
8 image or reputation (e.g., the extensive literature on people's public self-
9 presentation skills; Baumeister, 1982; Leary, 2001). In fact, social reputa-
10 tions largely determine how one's behaviors are recognized and rewarded
11 (e.g., Johnson, Erez, Kiker, & Motowidlo, 2002). As a result, one's social
12 self clearly entails a concern about social evaluation and consequently a
13 concern about one's reputation within the group. The powerful effects of
14 social reputation in groups has, for example, been demonstrated by recent
15 research showing that people exhibit more cooperative behavior when their
16 reputation is threatened, help others more easily when they have a positive
17 image, and are more likely to develop positive and enjoyable relationships
18 with others if they possess a positive reputation (e.g., Gächter & Fehr, 1999;
19 De Cremer, & DeWitte, 2001; Milinski, Semmann, & Krambeck, 2002).

20 Of course, we acknowledge that due to their connection to identity issues,
21 concerns about inclusion and about social reputation are strongly related to
22 one another. In fact, research suggests that belongingness needs and concern
23 for reputation share a common ground. That is, a lack of social connections
24 (e.g., being abandoned by others, being a peripheral member of society, etc.)
25 and feelings of having a deprived status (i.e., a low social reputation), often
26 seem to go hand in hand in negatively influencing a person's mental well-
27 being, emotions, cognitions, and actions (e.g., Baumeister, 1991; Baumeister
28 & Leary, 1995). For example, youth lacking social bonds frequently join
29 gangs to feel included, just as they join them to get a positive social rep-
30 utation from those gangs (Jankowski, 1991). All of these suggest that a lack
31 of belongingness and a low social reputation, or deprived social status are
32 often linked, with both making people focus more on relational informa-
33 tion, such as their intragroup standing (e.g., Forsyth, 1991) or how they are
34 treated by others (Tyler & Smith, 1999). Although they may be related at
35 some conceptual level, it is important to note that the aim of the present
36 chapter is not to outline which factor determines the other, but to stress that
37 information about both belongingness and reputation is communicated by
38 information about one's intragroup status.

39

Respect as an Indicator of Intragroup Status

3 What type of intragroup information is related to these identity concerns?
4 One specific type of information that indicates one's position and status
5 within the group, and as such influences one's self-definition, is whether one
6 feels *respected* by the other group members. In the present chapter, respect is
7 seen as social information including one's relational value within the group,
8 which is communicated by others via the way they treat the person in
9 question (see also Tyler & Smith, 1999). Why should respect be particularly
10 relevant to intragroup status?

11 In the present chapter, we start from the assumption that people attend to
12 cues about their relationships within their group to derive information
13 about their social self and self-regard (see Tyler & Smith, 1999; De Cremer,
14 2002b). Following relational models of justice (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Tyler &
15 Lind, 1992), one important type of information that provides us with such
16 cues is the fairness of procedures enacted by the group and its members.
17 Research on procedural fairness has indeed shown that the use of fair pro-
18 cedures positively influences people's self-regard and identity (e.g., Koper,
19 van Knippenberg, Bouhuijs, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1993). The reason for this is
20 that fair procedures communicate to people that they are perceived as hav-
21 ing a respected position within the group. Thus, in these relational models,
22 respect is seen as an important indicator of intragroup status. In line with
23 this proposition, research indeed shows that people's judgments about their
24 standing within the group, and their associated feelings of self-regard, are
25 enhanced when they receive respectful treatment by the group and its au-
26 thorities (Tyler, DeGoey, & Smith, 1996; Boeckman & Tyler, 2002). As such,
27 we consider respect not as something that people simply intuit by them-
28 selves, but rather as a judgment that emerges from the treatment they receive
29 from others.

30 Thus, Tyler and colleagues (e.g., Tyler & Smith, 1999; Tyler, 2001) argue
31 that whether people feel that others treat them with respect shape their
32 judgments about their acceptance within their group (inclusion) and about
33 their status within the group (reputation). Based on this, we predict that the
34 respect given by in-group members can be seen as an important means to tell
35 people whether: (a) they belong to the relationships within their group and
36 (b) they have a positive social reputation within those relationships. There-
37 fore, we perceive respect as an indicator of intragroup status communicating
38 identity-relevant information, which, in turn, will influence important group
39 outcomes (see Fig. 1).

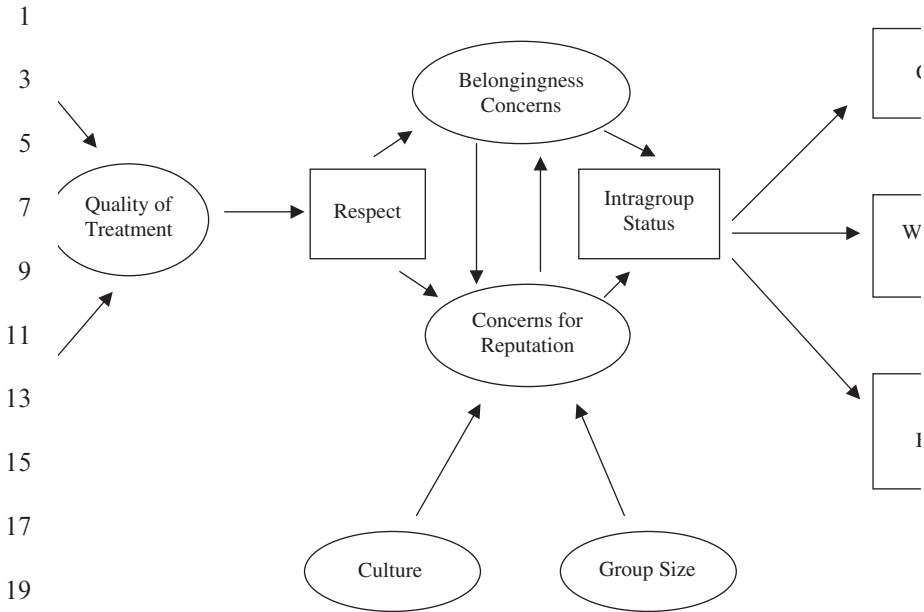


Fig. 1. Respect as Intragroup Status Model.

23 The implication of these predictions, as derived from our respect model, is
24 that once people's need for belongingness and positive social reputation are
25 satisfied, they will care less strongly about issues of respect. However, we
26 hasten to say that this latter assumption only implies that people will be less
27 likely to use information about respect to satisfy the above-mentioned
28 identity needs. They may still be strongly motivated to use respect for other
29 purposes associated with their high(er) intragroup status. For example,
30 Chen, Brockner, and Greenberg (in press) showed that both high- and low-
31 status members of work organizations (in terms of their management po-
32 sition) valued relational information like procedural fairness, but for differ-
33 ent purposes. Those high in status were interested in affirming existing
34 power differences. Thus, this data suggests that those with high intragroup
35 status positions may still value and process respect information, but we
36 argue that they will do so for reasons that have less to do with identity
37 concerns, but rather for reasons associated with power and legitimacy (e.g.,
38 Jost & Major, 2001).

39

QA:1

RESPECT AND THE VIABILITY OF GROUPS

What behavioral, cognitive, and affective outcomes does respect influence by addressing identity concerns, and why is respect important for the viability of groups? In the present chapter, we will focus on three such outcomes that are of relevance toward the group and its members – cooperation, feelings of affiliation, and members' self-esteem (see Fig. 1).

Groups fare well if their members are willing to devote extra time, energy, and effort to interdependent tasks and actions that benefit the group or organization. This contribution of individual effort, time, and resources to collective projects is referred to as *cooperation* (e.g., cf., Katz, 1964; Smith, Carroll, & Ashford, 1995; Van Vugt, Snyder, Tyler, & Biel, 2000). For a variety of reasons, cooperation has long been deemed necessary to the survival of groups. For example, cooperation by the group members leads to improved coordination of activities and interdependent tasks, a factor considered important to the success of groups in reaching their goals (e.g., Smith et al., 1995; Wagner II, 1995). Further, promoting cooperation reduces non-cooperative tendencies like free riding and social loafing (e.g., Olson, 1965; Kerr & Bruun, 1983).

Further, for groups to remain viable and long lasting, their members also have to identify with the group and feel that they are part of it. If no sense of *affiliation* exists, group members are likely to leave, leading to the group's demise. In addition, the nature of work (e.g., role definition, organizational goals) can change rapidly, and only group members who feel a strong sense of affiliation may be intrinsically motivated to adapt to these changes. Indeed, having affiliations with others is a fundamental psychological need, and as Deci and Ryan (2000, p. 233) argue "intrinsic motivation will be facilitated by conditions that conduce toward psychological need satisfaction." Moreover, expressing strong group identification is also believed to motivate people to pursue the group goals, sacrifice own interests, and to express loyalty to the group (e.g., De Cremer & Van Vugt, 1999; De Cremer & Van Dijk, 2002).

Finally, because of changing business conditions, which have been characterized by an increasing trend toward employee involvement in decision making, group research has begun to devote more attention to the role members' *self-esteem* plays in terms of group functioning (e.g., Pfeffer, 1998; McAllister & Bigley, 2002). More precisely, in the last decade it has become increasingly clear that self-esteem is not only an important psychological need, but also an important economic need (Branden, 1998). That is, self-

1 esteem plays a role in how people evaluate themselves and how efficacious
they feel. These feelings, in turn, are of major importance in the process of
3 how employees, at different levels in the organization, reason, decide, and
regulate action (e.g., Wiesenfeld, Brockner, & Thibault, 2000). Moreover,
5 research has also demonstrated that individuals with high and low self-
esteem react differently toward conflict situations and task interdependence,
7 and perceive relationships with others in the group as serving different
functions (Brockner, 1988; Duffy, Shaw, & Stark, 2000; Leary & Baumeister,
9 ter, 2000).

In the following section, we will review our research on the extent to
11 which belongingness needs and concerns for reputation account for the
effect of respect on the above-mentioned group outcomes.

13

15

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

17 To examine whether concerns for belongingness and reputation explain why
group members attend carefully to respect information, we conducted several
19 experimental and field studies. These studies used a moderator approach
to examine more closely whether respect indeed communicates
21 information relevant to belongingness and social reputation. That is, in our
line of research, we assessed whether respect influences a person's affect,
23 cognition, and behavior more strongly when concerns for belongingness and
social reputation were high rather than low. Finding this type of evidence
25 would indicate that respect communicates information relevant to both
identity concerns. Thus, a moderator approach informs us about the processes
27 underlying both the hypothesized moderator (i.e., identity concerns)
and the relevant social domain (i.e., respect information) (Snyder & Cantor,
29 1998; De Cremer, 2002a). Below, we will provide an overview of some of
these studies. More precise evidence will be presented that the interactive
31 effect between respect and belongingness needs influences cooperation, and
that the interactive effect between respect and social reputation influences
33 affiliation and reports of self-esteem.

35

37

Belongingness as Moderator

In order to examine the interactive effect of belongingness needs and respect
39 on cooperation experimentally, we conducted a study in which we employed
the public good paradigm (De Cremer, 2002b). Public good dilemmas rep-

1 resent the conflict between personal and collective interests (as often ob-
3 served in-group and organizational settings), and as such provide a useful
5 tool to assess the degree of cooperation group members are willing to engage
7 in. More precisely, in this paradigm group members are asked to contribute
9 toward the establishment of a public good (e.g., contributing time and effort
11 to a team project, investing departmental money to achieve a higher out-
13 come for the company, etc.). Provision of the good provides each group
15 member with a (monetary) bonus. Once the public good is provided, how-
17 ever, every group member can benefit, regardless of his or her contributions.
This *impossibility of exclusion* (Olson, 1965) leads individuals to think about
whether it is possible to consume the good even without contributing sub-
stantially to its provision. It is thus in one's personal interest not to con-
tribute (Dawes, 1980). However, if all people adopt such a self-interest
perspective, nobody will contribute, and the public good will not be pro-
vided. In other words, the emergence of cooperation may be problematic,
because the pursuit of personal self-interest may lead to non-cooperation.

17 Participants took part in this study in groups of three. Before starting
19 with this study, participants were required to fill out a questionnaire as-
21 sessing different personality types, referred to as Type O or P personality.
Then, the structure of the dilemma game was explained. Each participant
23 received an endowment of 300¢ (Dutch) (approximately U.S. \$1.20) and
25 was free to choose any amount they wanted to contribute (ranging from 0 to
300¢). The total amount contributed by the group would be multiplied by
two and then divided equally amongst all group members, regardless of their
contribution. The amount one decided not to contribute would accrue to-
tally to oneself.

27 Thereafter, participants were told that the members in their group were all
classified as personality P types. The Type P personality was made relatively
29 *attractive* (compared to the Type O personality) by pointing out the positive
traits that are usually exhibited by those with a P personality. This was done
31 because it is assumed that people are more motivated to gain acceptance by
desired groups. Then, the manipulation of need to belong was introduced.
33 In the *peripheral* membership condition (i.e., high need to belong; see Noel,
Wann, & Branscombe, 1995), participants were told that their questionnaire
35 responses placed them just inside the Type P category. If they had responded
slightly different, they would not have been a Type P personality but an O
37 personality. Participants in the *core* membership condition (i.e., low need to
belong) were told that their responses were clear examples of a core member
39 of the Type P category. That is, they could be considered as a near-perfect
example of a person with a Type P personality.

1 Thenceforth, participants received a message from the other two group
2 members expressing their opinion about the group and its members. This
3 was the respect manipulation. Respect was operationalized by using self-
4 identified criteria in the interactional justice scale of Moorman (1991). More
5 specifically, based on this scale the summarizing message included a refer-
6 ence to the extent that: (a) the group would accept feedback or not about
7 group decisions and its implications; (b) the viewpoint of others would be
8 considered or not; and (c) others would be treated in a friendly and kind way
9 or not. In the respect condition, participants were informed that the other
10 group members would appreciate the opinions of others, would be willing to
11 discuss important issues, and pay respect to what others say. In the dis-
12 respect condition, the message said exactly the opposite.

13 The most important result was a significant interaction, showing that the
14 respect manipulation influenced cooperation among peripheral group mem-
15 bers (respect vs. disrespect: $M_s = 145.23\text{¢}$ vs. 83.00¢), but not among core
16 members (respect vs. disrespect: $M_s = 128.05\text{¢}$ vs. 119.95¢). These results
17 clearly point out that peripheral group members contributed the most when
18 they received respect (although this level of cooperation was not signifi-
19 cantly different from the levels reported by core group members), and con-
20 tributed the least when disrespect was shown. Thus, levels of cooperation
21 were only a function of respect when the need to belong was high. If the
22 need to belong was low, respect did not matter.

23 In addition, we also found the same interaction pattern in a public good
24 dilemma study (see De Cremer & Tyler, 2003) in which the desire to belong
25 was not manipulated, but directly assessed by means of the individual dif-
26 ference scale of need to belong (see Leary, Kelly, Cottrell, & Schreindorfer,
27 2001 for the use of this scale). In this study (dis)respect was also commu-
28 nicated by the other in-group members. Finally, in a field study including
29 employees working with chemicals (in a German company; De Cremer &
30 Tyler, 2003), again we found that respect from coworkers was significantly
31 and positively correlated with organizational citizenship behavior (OCB)
32 among employees high in need to belong, but not among employees low in
33 need to belong. We considered OCB to be an example of the organizational
34 cooperative behavior Katz (1964) and others alluded to (Organ, 1988).

35 To summarize, within groups, respect information influenced decisions
36 about cooperating. This effect, however, only occurred when group mem-
37 bers had a strong need to belong. As such, this moderating approach pro-
38 vides evidence that respect communicates information relevant to people's
39 identity concern of belongingness, and in this process influences cooperation
within groups.

1 *Social Reputation as Moderator*

3 To examine whether people's concern about their social reputation mod-
5 erated the effect of respect, we first conducted several studies assessing in-
7 dividual differences in the extent to which people cared about their
9 reputation (De Cremer & Tyler, 2003). These studies showed that respect
influenced affective reactions and feelings of affiliation when people's con-
cerns about reputation were high, relative to low. In addition, we also at-

11 tempted to manipulate people's concern about their social reputation.
To manipulate concern for social reputation, it was reasoned that if the
13 way you are evaluated or how you act is identifiable to others, people
become concerned about conforming to normative social influences (De-
15 utsch & Gerard, 1955), and as a consequence are concerned about their
social reputation. For example, if people are evaluated negatively and others
17 are aware of this, those under scrutiny will fear for their social reputation.
Therefore, concern for reputation was operationalized by means of identifi-
ability of evaluations or actions (see also Sedikides, Herbst, Hardin, &
Dardis, 2002).

19 In this study, participants were given a scenario that asked them to im-
agine that they were part of a workforce at their university, and that they
21 would defend their own proposal to the university council. Then, the ma-
nipulation of respect was introduced. In the *disrespect* condition, partici-
23 pants read that the university council did not respect their proposal and the
presentation of it, whereas in the respect condition the university council did
25 respect all of these. Thereafter, the identifiability manipulation was intro-
duced. In the identifiability condition, participants were told that the out-
27 come of their meeting with the university council would be communicated to
the rest of the university community, whereas this would not be the case in
29 the no identifiability condition.

With respect to the affiliation data, the results revealed a significant in-
31 teraction showing that feelings of affiliation were more strongly influenced
by our respect manipulation when their actions were identifiable (respect vs.
33 disrespect: $M_s = 5.30 \phi$ vs. 2.85ϕ) than when they were not identifiable (re-
spect vs. disrespect: $M_s = 3.84 \phi$ vs. 2.75ϕ). With respect to the self-esteem
35 data, a similar interaction pattern was found. Participants' self-esteem in the
identifiability condition (respect vs. disrespect: $M_s = 5.37 \phi$ vs. 2.67ϕ) was
37 more strongly influenced than in the no identifiability condition (respect vs.
disrespect: $M_s = 4.15 \phi$ vs. 2.79ϕ).

39 To summarize, variations in respect influenced group members' sense of
affiliation and self-esteem, but particularly so when they were concerned

1 about their social reputation. Thus, these data support our assertion that
2 respect (as an indicator of intragroup status) exerts significant influence
3 because it communicates information relevant to group members' social
4 reputation.
5

7 *Does It Matter Who Respects? Authority or Peers as Source*

9 To date, most research on respect and the importance of intragroup status
10 was motivated by assumptions derived from the relational model of au-
11 thority (Tyler & Lind, 1992). As a consequence, the impact of this group
12 variable has been examined mostly in hierarchical relationships. However,
13 authorities are not the only group members serving as the source for respect.
14 Indeed, recent research has demonstrated that one's peers or own group
15 members can also be seen as the source that communicates this type of
16 relational information (see e.g., Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje,
17 2002; De Cremer, 2002b; Simon & Stürmer, 2003). For example, the earlier
18 reported studies by De Cremer (2002b) showed that respect from the other
19 in-group members or coworkers significantly influenced cooperation within
20 groups.

21 In fact, this non-hierarchical perspective on respect fits well with recent
22 suggestions by social justice researchers. For example, Smith and Tyler
23 (1997, p. 157) reasoned that "respect is an important aspect of group mem-
24 bership even when there is no clear authority structure." More recently,
25 Lind (2001, p. 222), in discussing the importance of feelings of inclusiveness
26 and belongingness in fair process effects, mentioned that "The ... threat of
27 exclusion (i.e., not belonging) manifests itself very starkly in hierarchical
28 contexts ... but it can be just as strong in close equal-power relations." In
29 line with these recent suggestions, Tyler and Blader (2003) suggested that
30 respect from both authorities and others in the group are relevant to one's
31 identity. Future research, however, is urgently needed to examine this prop-
32 osition in greater detail.

33 Thus, both authorities and in-group members may function as a source of
34 respect. The question, of course, is which relational aspect people evaluate
35 to conclude whether they are respected or not? We suggest that both sources
36 communicate respect via the quality of how they treat others. In other
37 words, the quality of treatment people receive is considered to be a main
38 communication channel of respect (Tyler & Blader, 2000). This perspective
39 suggests that people not only evaluate authorities and in-group members in
40 terms of the quality of the decisions they make (e.g., "Formal rules have

1 been followed, so I should be happy about my group membership.”), but
also in terms of how they are treated when making these decisions (e.g.,
3 “When following formal procedures, I also felt that I was really being val-
ued and treated well.”).

5 These arguments suggest that quality of treatment is linked to the specific
type of information that signals how one is perceived and evaluated in terms
7 of his or her dealings, and relationships with the group, and as such, closely
resembles our treatment of respect as an indicator of intragroup status.
9 Thus, the concept of quality of treatment has no association with the out-
comes that people receive, but more with the quality of treatment that
11 accompanies the communication of outcomes. For example, if employees
have to be fired because of economic reasons, a respectful and fair treatment
13 is beneficial when communicating the bad personal outcome of being fired
because it mitigates the negative interpersonal message. Indeed, being treat-
15 ed with respect and dignity signals to the fired employee that he or she is not
excluded from the group due to judgments about them as a person. To be
17 fired due to external problems that a company is having does not necessarily
reflect on a person. To be fired due to perceived incompetence does reflect
19 on the person. To conclude, based on our studies, it appears to be the case
that group members will assign more weight to quality of treatment when
21 they are in need of belongingness and social reputation information.

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SITUATIONAL MODERATORS OF THE RELATIONSHIP RESPECT IDENTITY: CULTURE AND GROUP SIZE

29

Of course, treating respect as a major impetus to the identity concerns of
31 belongingness and social reputation also invites suggestions as to when this
relationship will be the strongest. Two situational features that have re-
33 ceived considerable attention in the literature on groups, teams, and or-
ganizations are the influence of culture and the size of the group one
35 operates in (Thomas & Fink, 1963; Steiner, 1972; Hofstede, 1980; Kim,
Park, & Suzuki, 1990). In a similar vein, we think that these two situational
37 influences will also matter in determining the extent to which respect satisfies
belongingness and social reputation concerns. To the degree that this is true,
39 these situational influences need to be included in future research examining
the impact of respect in group settings.

1 Regarding the influence of culture, it could be the case that respect from
3 others, as a function of cultural differences, is more or less relevant to
5 identity. That is, an interesting finding emerging from cross-cultural re-
7 search is that the importance of one’s interaction partner for one’s self-
9 definition varies with cultural values (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus,
11 Kitayama, & Heiman, 1996). Findings have shown that people in collecti-
13 vistic cultures are more likely to use the social norms adopted by the mem-
15 bers of their groups to shape their behavior, self-esteem, and personal
17 attitudes (e.g., Abrams, Ando, & Hinkle, 1998). People in individualistic
19 cultures, however, tend to think of themselves as autonomous individuals
21 and as such do not use their interdependent relationships as input for their
23 attitudes, self-esteem, and feelings (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Conse-
25 quently, recent procedural fairness research has suggested that differences in
27 terms of the collectivistic–individualistic dimension will determine whether
29 much attention is devoted to relational information (De Cremer, Brockner,
31 Van den Bos, & Chen, in press). Following from these findings, we suggest
33 that cultural differences in terms of individualism vs. collectivism may
35 moderate the extent to which respect satisfies belongingness and social rep-
37 utation needs (see Fig. 1).

QA:3

Another cultural difference variable that may impact the influence of
respect on identity concerns is whether one lives in a high-power vs. low-
power society, or, also referred to as masculine vs. feminine cultures, re-
spectively (Hofstede, 1980). Hofstede (1991, p. 93) argued that “Organiza-
tions in a masculine society stress results and want to reward on the basis of
equity, organizations in a feminine society, however, are more likely to
reward people on the basis of equality.” Thus, in contrast to masculine
cultures, feminine cultures stress the importance of solidarity and equality.
As a result, feminine cultures, or low-power societies, may regard respect as
more important than masculine or high-power societies, because due to its
identity potential of communication belongingness information, people in
those cultures will regard respect as more important of the viability of their
groups, organizations, and societies. Similarly, Tyler, Lind, and Huo (2000)
found that people in high-power distance cultures were less strongly influ-
enced by relational information than were those in low-power distance cul-
tures.

Another important situational feature that may moderate the relationship
between respect and identity is how the group or organization is structured,
or, in other words, are you a member of a small or large group? Research,
for example, has shown that group size has a significant influence on po-
tential productivity and on process loss (Steiner, 1972). Also, cooperation

1 mostly decreases in groups because social constraints like identifiability, a
2 strong sense of social responsibility, and so forth are not present anymore.
3 For these reasons, De Cremer and Leonardelli (2003) argued that when such
4 social constraints that promote cooperation are absent (or at least present to
5 a lesser degree), cooperation might depend on psychological needs, such as
6 the need to belong. In line with this prediction, they found that group
7 members high in the need to belong were more cooperative than those low in
8 the need to belong, but only in large groups. In small groups, no such
9 difference was found. Deriving from this finding, one could suggest that the
10 need to belong may be a more salient motive in larger groups, and as such,
11 respect can be expected to have a stronger influence in larger groups than in
12 smaller groups where the need to belong is not so strongly activated (see
13 Fig. 1).

15

CONCLUDING REMARKS

17

18 Several researchers have noted that throughout our society (e.g., organiza-
19 tions, teams, close relationships, customer relationships, etc.) there is an
20 increasing demand for respect (Tyler & Lind, 1992; Hill Jr., 2000; O'Conn-
21 ell, 2000), leading people to constantly worry about whether such respect
22 has been granted. Our present chapter suggests that one important reason
23 for this concern is that respect can be considered an indicator of one's
24 intragroup status, and as such, communicates information about two im-
25 portant identity concerns. As a result, contributing positively to these iden-
26 tity concerns by means of respectful treatment leads to outcomes that are
27 relevant to group productivity and the well-being of its members – coop-
28 eration, affiliation, and self-esteem. For these reasons, it is essential that
29 contemporary organizations, societies, and groups recognize that success
30 does not solely depend on how well one performs relative to economic
31 competitors (Dosi, 1995), but also on the extent to which one devotes at-
32 tention to how the quality and trustworthiness of relationships are devel-
33 oped and maintained.

34 On a final note, it is interesting to acknowledge that from the perspective
35 of the group, this demand for respect (to infer one's intragroup status) and
36 its related outcomes is not easy to understand, because it is generally as-
37 sumed that the group and its norms influence the behavior of its members.
38 However, our studies show that group members actively seek individual
39 attention before they engage in group-promoting activities. As such, this
observation signals a certain rise of individualism in group settings. That is,

1 group members seem to be active participants that contribute to group life
and productivity as a function of how they have been treated by the group
3 (see also Simon & Stürmer, 2003). In a similar vein, Heuer, Penrod, Hafer,
and Cohn (2002) also noted that “People care about respect, because of
5 what it conveys about others evaluation of their worth as individuals rather
than its group-based connotations.”

7 All these observations align well with the recent debate in the literature on
self and identity; that is, whether the personal self or the self derived from
9 the collective or group is primary in determining people’s actions in social
settings. A recent meta-analysis by Gaertner, Sedikides, Vevea, and Luzzini
11 (2002) demonstrates that the personal self seems most primary, suggesting
that indeed the individual needs and motives of group members may dictate
13 group outcomes to a large extent.

15

UNCITED REFERENCE

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19 Richardson & Manaster (2003).

19

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23

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